CHARLES BRADLAUGH

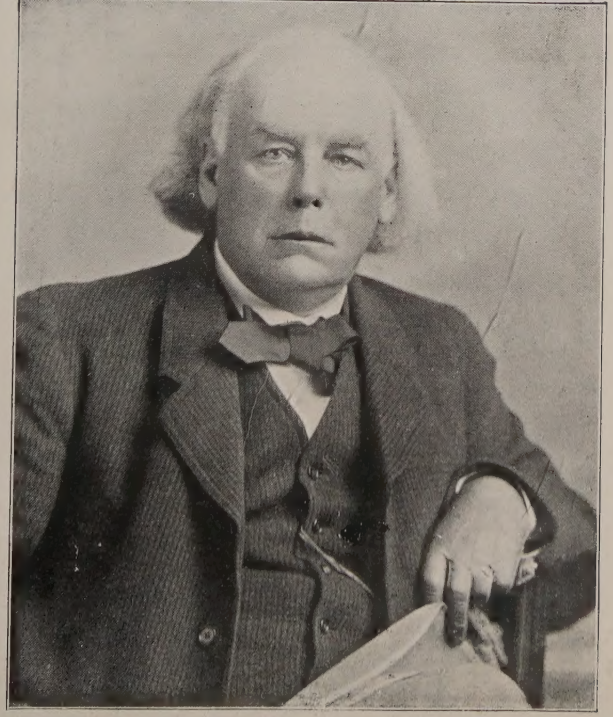
Unwin's Half-Crown Library of History and Biography.

Illustrated. Large crown 8vo, cloth. 2s. 6d. net

1. THE LIFE OF RICHARD COBDEN. By the Right Hon. John Morley.
2. THE LIFE OF GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By Professor Pasquale Villari.
3. THE LIFE OF NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI. By Professor Pasquale Villari.
4. THE LIVES OF ROBERT AND MARY MOFFAT By John Smith Moffat.
5. THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE (for the first two centuries). By Professor Pasquale Villari.
6. ENGLISH WAYFARING LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES (XIVth Century). By J. J. Jusserand.
7. LORD BEACONSFIELD. By T. P. O'Connor.
8. ROME AND POMPEII. ARCHÆOLOGICAL RAMBLES. By Gaston Boissier.
9. HOLYOAKE: SIXTY YEARS OF AN AGITATOR'S LIFE. By George Jacob Holyoake.
10. SIR WALTER RALEGH. By Martin A. S. Hume.
11. THE DAWN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND. By John Ashton.
12. LIFE OF GOETHE. By Heinrich Düntzer.
13. CHARLES BRADLAUGH. By Hypatia Bradlaugh and J. M. Robertson, M.P.

AGED 20

CHARLES BRADLAUGH



AGED 57

CHARLES . . .
BRADLAUGH

A RECORD OF HIS LIFE AND WORK BY HIS DAUGHTER . HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER.

With an Account of his Parliamentary Struggle Politics and Teachings by John M. Robertson, M.P. . Seventh Edition With Portraits and Appendices . . . . .

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT TYLER
LIBRARY

T. FISHER UNWIN

LONDON LEIPSIC
ADELPHI TERRACE INSELSTRASSE 20

128684

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PREFACE.

"I WISH you would tell me things, and let me write the story of your life," I said in chatting to my father one evening about six weeks before his death. "Perhaps I will, some day," he answered. "I believe I could do it better than any one else," I went on, with jesting vanity. "I believe you could," he rejoined, smiling. But to write the story of Mr Bradlaugh's life with Mr Bradlaugh at hand to give information is one thing: to write it after his death is quite another. The task has been exceptionally difficult, inasmuch as my father made a point of destroying his correspondence; consequently I have very few letters to help me.

This book comes to the public as a record of the life and work of a much misrepresented and much maligned man, a record which I have spared no effort to make absolutely accurate. Beyond this it makes no claim.

For the story of the public life of Mr Bradlaugh from 1880 to 1891, and for an exposition of his teachings and opinions, I am fortunate in having the assistance of Mr J. M. Robertson. We both feel that the book throughout goes more into detail and is more controversial than is usual or generally desirable with biographies. It has, however, been necessary to enter into details, because the most trivial acts of Mr Bradlaugh's life have been misrepresented, and for these misrepresentations, not for his acts, he has been condemned. Controversy we have desired to avoid, but it has not been altogether possible. In dealing with strictures on Mr Bradlaugh's conduct or opinions, it is not sufficient to say that they are without

justification; one must show how and where the error lies, and where possible, the source of error. Hence the defence to an attack, to our regret, often unavoidably assumes a controversial aspect.

A drawback resulting from the division of labour in the composition of the book is that there are a certain number of repetitions. We trust, however, that readers will agree with us in thinking that the gain of showing certain details in different relations outweighs the fault of a few re-iterations.

In quoting Mr Bradlaugh's words from the *National Reformer*, I have for the sake of greater clearness and directness altered the editorial plural to the first person singular.

I desire to express here my great indebtedness to Mrs Mary Reed for her help, more especially in searching old newspaper files with me at the British Museum.

HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER.

1894.

CONTENTS.

Part 1.

BY HYPATIA BRADLAUGH BONNER.

Vol. I.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD 1

Origin of the Bradlaugh family—James Bradlaugh—Charles Bradlaugh, senr.—His marriage—Birth of Charles Bradlaugh—Needy circumstances of the family—Character and tastes of his father—Character of his mother—Schooling—Handwriting—Amusements—Early lessons in politics.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD 7

Charles Bradlaugh as office-boy—Wharf clerk and cashier—Politics at Bonner's Fields—Sunday School—The Rev. J. G. Packer—Suspended from duties as Sunday School teacher—Bonner's Fields on Sunday—Mrs Sharples Carlile—The Warner Street Temperance Hall—A teetotaller—Mr Packer's methods—An angry father—The ultimatum—Leaving home—Mr Packer's responsibility.

CHAPTER III.

YOUTH 17

Alone in the world—B. B. Jones—A youthful "coal merchant"—The baker's wife—Selling braces—Mrs Carlile offers a home—"A little Hebrew and an imperfect smattering of other tongues"—Hypatia Carlile—Brother and sister—Youthful oratory—The *British Banner*—Austin Holyoake—George Jacob Holyoake—The first pamphlet—A "season's campaign."

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE
ARMY LIFE 25

Poverty, hunger, and debt—Enlisting for the East India service —Enrolled in the 50th Foot—Transferred to the 7th Dragoon Guards—Family reconciliation—The father's changed character —Troubles at sea—Temperance advocacy under difficulties— "Leaves"—At Rathmines Church—A right-of-way—A new officer—Donnybrook Fair—An Irish tragedy.

CHAPTER V.

ARMY LIFE CONCLUDED 35

The father's death—Letters home—Death of Miss Elizabeth Trimby—Mother and Daughter—Purchasing his discharge— Advantages derived from Army life—James Thomson.

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGE 41

Changes at home—A soldier in search of work—With Mr Rogers, of 70 Fenchurch Street—Anonymous busybodies again— "Iconoclast"—The Hooper family—Old letters—Poetry—Calumnies refuted—Common-sense justice—First recorded lawsuit— Marriage—My sister's birth—My mother.

CHAPTER VII.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS, 1855 52

The new Sunday Bill—In Hyde Park—"Go to Church"— Hyde Park again—The Bill abandoned—The Royal Commission —Mr Bradlaugh's evidence.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORSINI ATTEMPT 62

Lecturing and writing—"The Bible: what it is"—Arrest of Edward Truelove—Felice Orsini—Simon Bernard—Thomas Allsop—"Thorough"—Recollections of W. E. Adams.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY LECTURES AND DEBATES 72

Provincial lectures—First visit to Northampton—President of the London Secular Society—Robert Owen's last paper—*The Investigator*—Political meetings—Hyde Park—Guildhall— Debates: Thomas Cooper—Rev. Brewin Grant—Dr Mensor— Rev. T. D. Matthias—Mr Court—John Smart.

CHAPTER X.

PAGE
HARD TIMES 90

The Manchester poisoning case—Mr Harvey—Rheumatic fever —Elysium Villa—My brother's birth—Kate—Railway journeys —A lecturer's profits—An editor's profits.

CHAPTER XI.

A CLERICAL LIBELLER 99

An articled clerk—The Naples Colour Company—Financial operations—"Black Friday"—Sunderland Villa—The Rev. Hugh M'Sorley.

CHAPTER XII.

TOTTENHAM 108

Our home—James Thomson ("B.V.")—Harriet Bradlaugh—Father and children.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE "NATIONAL REFORMER" 119

The *National Reformer* Company—The coming of Joseph Barker—Turkish baths and Secularism—The difficulties of a dual editorship—A house divided—Sole editor—G. J. Holyoake as chief contributor—More difficulties—Arbitration—Messrs Smith and Son's boycott—John Watts as editor—My father resumes—The *Saturday Review*—"B. V." replies—The Rev. Charles Voysey: 1868 and 1880.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE "NATIONAL REFORMER" AND THE GOVERNMENT PROSECUTIONS 137

Prosecution of *National Reformer* by Mr Disraeli's Government —"Published in defiance of Her Majesty's Government"—The Act of James I.—Collapse of the prosecution—The Press—The Rev. J. Page Hopps—Prosecution of *National Reformer* by Mr Gladstone's Government—Abandonment of the prosecution—John Stuart Mill—Repeal of the odious Security laws—The Postmaster-General and the *National Reformer*.

CHAPTER XV.

ITALY 152

Earning money for Garibaldi—Mazzini—An eloquent passport —Police espionage—Carrying despatches—An American sees "fair play"—The police and the Life Assurance Companies.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLATFORM WORK, 1860-1861 158

Debate with the Rev. B. Grant at Bradford—Dr Brindley—Pursuing Mr Bradlaugh to New York—Debates with Dr Baylee and others—"Extended propaganda"—The *Wigan Examiner*—Mr Hutchings—Dispensing "justice" to the Atheist—More debates—Norwich and Yarmouth—The Yarmouth Magistrates.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEVONPORT CASE, 1861 175

The speech in Devonport Park—Opening a fortnight's campaign—Arrest—Imprisonment—The Guildhall—A marine adventure—The case against Superintendent Edwards—Mr Robert Collier, Q.C., M.P.—Mr Montagu Smith, Q.C.—An unjust judge—The Court of Common Pleas—Lord Chief Justice Erle—Mr Justice Keating—The Court of Appeal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"KILL THE INFIDEL" 189

Religious liberty at Guernsey—Challenging the island authorities—Bill-posting extraordinary—"Kill the Infidel"—An infuriated crowd and a shrewd landlady—The courageous Harbour Master—"An act of natural justice."

CHAPTER XIX.

PROVINCIAL ADVENTURES, 1860-1863 194

Altrincham—Shaw—Sunderland—Rochdale—The Bellman of Leigh—Warrington Journalism—Dumfries—Burnley—Chesterfield—Counter attractions at Worksop—At Boardman's Edge, discussion precedes the lecture—The Dewsbury poster—Leeds—A dream of Voltaire.

CHAPTER XX.

A FREEMASON . . . . . 20[illegible]

The Philadelphs—The Grand Lodge of England—The Prince of Wales as Grand Master—"To the oppressed of all Nations"—Joshua B. Smith as Junior Warden to the Adelphi Lodge—"Ill winds" that blow good to a Masonic charity.

CHAPTER XXI.

PAGE
DEBATES, 1860-1866 207

The Rev. W. Barker—Thomas Cooper—A frank avowal—The Rev. Woodville Woodman again—Mr Porteous—A one-sided debate—Mr Porteous again.

CHAPTER XXII.

"THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY; TO DO GOOD IS MY RELIGION" 214

Sympathy with Garibaldi—Irish Catholic Opposition—An attempt to stab Mr Bradlaugh—Lancashire distress—"Viva la Polonia"—Death of B. B. Jones—Sheffield inundation—Help for the needy—A Hall of Science Company.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REFORM LEAGUE, 1866-1868 220

The National Reform League—Primrose Hill—Trafalgar Square—Sir Richard Mayne's prohibition—The Derby Cabinet—Hyde Park—Another prohibition—Fall of the Hyde Park railings—Agricultural Hall—Bristol—Attacks upon Mr Bradlaugh—Northampton—Luton—Matthew Arnold casts his stone—On horseback at Trafalgar Square—Agricultural Hall again—The *Saturday Review* and its followers—Hyde Park again—The Government "admonition" served and withdrawn—Mr Bradlaugh's resignation—Its result.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROVINCIAL LECTURING, 1866-1869 238

The Mayor of Liverpool—David King—Huddersfield: Arrest; Release; Before the Magistrates—The Rev. J. M'Cann—Huddersfield again—The Murphy riots at Manchester—The New Hall of Science—Blyth and Mr Thomas Burt—The "infidel" on Portsea Common—The people who loved my father—A liberal priest.

CHAPTER XXV.

IRELAND 252

English Misgovernment—The Fenian Brotherhood—Colonel Kelly and General Cluseret—The Irish proclamation of 1867—The Manchester rescue—The death sentence—The Clerkenwell explosion—Pamphlet on "the Irish Question"—A Quakers' discussion society—Lectures on behalf of Ireland—A visit to Dublin.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PAGE
NORTHAMPTON, 1868 26

Mr Bradlaugh's determination to seek a seat in Parliament—The choice of Northampton—First election address—Scorn of the Whigs—Enthusiasm of the people—The election colours—John Stuart Mill—*The Daily Telegraph*—The Irish Reform League—John Bright—W. E. Gladstone—Mr Charles Gilpin and Lord Henley—The press—Dr Lees—Canvassing—The Lord's Day Rest Association—Mr Giffard, Q.C.—Mr Charles Capper, M.P.—Anti-Compulsory Vaccination — The nomination day — The poll—Tributes from the Mayor and from Mr Gilpin—Ministers who rejoiced.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SOUTHWARK ELECTION, 1869 28

Mr Bradlaugh and Mr Odger.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITIGATION, 1867-1871 28

English Joint Stock Bank (Limited) and Charles Bradlaugh—Bradlaugh *v.* De Rin—The Oath question in different Courts—Confusion of the law of evidence—A costly victory—The Evidence Amendment Act, 1870—The *Razor* libel case—Mr O'Malley, Q.C.—"Outlaw or Citizen: Which am I?"—Action against the Mirfield Town Hall Company—Mr Digby Seymour, Q.C.—Mr Justice Willes.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONAL 29

Financial difficulties—Mr Bradlaugh gives up business in the City and devotes himself to public work—Our home sold up—A scattered family—My brother's illness and death—His burial—The Rev. Drummond Ash—The Rev. Theophilus Bennett—My father's grief.

CHAPTER XXX.

LECTURES, 1870-1871 3

Freethought and Republican activity—A full lecture list—The "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick"—A misleading announcement—Stourbridge and Lord Lyttleton—The High Bailiff of Newton Abbot—The Sowerby Bridge champion wrestler—Dr Magee at Norwich Cathedral—Mr Disraeli and the Queen—Mr Gladstone's "Questionable Book."

CHAPTER XXXI.

PAGE
FRANCE—THE WAR 312

Mr Bradlaugh's position—Republican France—Madame de Brimont—"France and Peace"—St James's Hall—Thanks of the Republican Government—Pleading for the recognition of the Republic by the English Government—The conference of European powers—M. C. Tissot.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COMMUNE, AND AFTER 322

Communist friends—An effort for peace—Arrested at Calais—Expelled from France—A second arrest—Allowed to proceed to Paris—A lecture for French refugees—Prince Jérome Napoléon—Emile de Girardin—Emanuel Arago—Léon Gambetta—Yves Guyot—A Marxist attack.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A DOZEN DEBATES 332

George Jacob Holyoake and Secularism—Alexander Robertson and the Existence of Deity—The Rev. A. J. Harrison—Father Ignatius—Mr Burns and Spiritualism.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FAMILY AFFAIRS 346

Father and children—School in Paris—W. R. Bradlaugh.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REPUBLICANISM AND SPAIN 352

English Republicans—Conference at Birmingham—Mr Bradlaugh carries English congratulations to the Spanish Republicans in 1873—Adventures between Irun and Madrid.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MADRID AND AFTER 364

To Lisbon and back—Senor Castelar—Enthusiasm of the Madrid Republicans—The return journey—Reported death.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PAG

GREAT GATHERINGS 37

The Parks Regulation Bill (1872)—Agricultural labourers at Exeter Hall—Miners' meetings in Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire—Agricultural labourers at Yeovil.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA 38

The "London Correspondents'" puff extraordinary—Welcomed on arrival in New York—The Lotos Club—O'Donovan Rossa—Financial panic—At Steinway Hall—Stephen Pearl Andrews and Mrs Victoria Woodhull: a contrast—Wendell Phillips—Charles Sumner—William Lloyd Garrison—Henry Wilson—Joshua B. Smith—An accident at Kansas City—Carlile's daughters at Chicago—Ralph Waldo Emerson—Julia Ward Howe—Dissolution of Parliament—Return to England.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TWO NORTHAMPTON ELECTIONS, 1874 39

The first General Election under the Ballot Act—Northampton and its absent candidate—Reception on his return—Charles Gilpin's recommendation: his death — The bye-election — Mr William Fowler—The bitterness of the contest—Departure for the United States on the night of the poll—Rioting at Northampton—Hostile camps—Better counsels prevail.

Vol. II.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE UNITED STATES AGAIN 1

The *Parthia* -- Mr J. Walter, M.P. — Sumner's opinion of Mr Bradlaugh's lecture — The Delaware Clionian Society—Milwaukee—Chicago—Intense cold—Mrs Lucretia Mott—A third lecturing tour — Dr Otis—The currency question — Religious animus—Death of Henry Wilson—In St Luke's Hospital, New York, with typhoid fever—Moncure D. Conway—Return.

CHAPTER II.

MRS BESANT 12

A friend lost—A friend gained—Mrs Besant and Mr Bradlaugh —"Ajax"—The Knowlton pamphlet — Advantages and disadvantages of a dual defence.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROSECUTION OF MR BRADLAUGH AND MRS BESANT . 20

Appointment to sell the pamphlet—Arrested on a warrant—At the Guildhall—Application for a writ of *certiorari*—The Lord Chief Justice—Who was the prosecutor?—The trial at Westminster—The witnesses—The jury—The verdict—The judgment —Execution of sentence stayed—The Court of Appeal quashes indictment—Expenses of defence paid by subscription—The City —Other proceedings—Mr Truelove's trial and sentence—Effect of the prosecutions.

CHAPTER IV.

AN UNIMPORTANT CHAPTER . . . . . .

Side lights—"Man, whence and how?"—The Turberville legacy —From Turner Street to Circus Road—Selling the Knowlton pamphlet—The day of arrest—At Westminster—Mr G. J. Holyoake—The hearing of the sentence—A riding accident.

CHAPTER V.

MORE DEBATES . . . . . .

Rev. Brewin Grant—Rev. A. Mursell—Mr Walter R. Browne —Mr Robert Roberts, a Christadelphian—Mr William Simpson—Mr Gordon—Rev. John Lightfoot—Rev. R. A. Armstrong—Rev. W. M. Westerby.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME LATER LECTURES . . . . . .

At Oxford—The Suez Canal—Carrying "consolation"—At Congleton—At Newman Street, London—Edinburgh—Professor Flint—Scarborough.

CHAPTER VII.

LUNATICS . . . . . .

Letters—"A mission from God"—John Sladen and the Queen.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "WATCH" STORY . . . . . .

The defiance of Deity an ancient idea—The *British Monarchy*—Abner Kneeland—Emma Martin—G. J. Holyoake—Charles Capper, M.P.—The *Razor*—Rev. P. R. Jones, M.A., Dr Harrison, and other clergymen—The *Christian* and other journals—The Rev. Basil Wilberforce—Dr Parker—The *British Empire*—Prosecution of Edgecumbe—Reckless swearing—A bad plea, "embarrassing and unfair"—Edgecumbe missing—The reward of Mr Bradlaugh's forbearance.

CHAPTER IX.

OTHER FABLES . . . . . .

The "cob of coal"—The "old woman"—Story narrated by the Rev. H. W. Webb-Peploe—Personal slanders—The *World*—Action against Mr Laker—Poisoning the Prince of Wales—A "bagman"—A common accusation.

CHAPTER X.

PAGE

PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS, 1878 82

The "Jingo" fever—Meetings in favour of peace—Auberon Herbert and C. Bradlaugh in Hyde Park—Preparing for difficulties—The war party—The fight—Second Hyde Park meeting—Mr Bradlaugh injured—Ill and depressed.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY 86

The first general association of Freethinkers—Objects of the Society—Its President—First secular almanac—The work of the Society—Mr Bradlaugh's resignation.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST CHAPTER 91

Six years of fighting—A record of injustice—Some who help to find the money to defend the right—Mr Bradlaugh's habits and surroundings—His commercial pursuits—Money difficulties—Death of Alice Bradlaugh—Mr Bradlaugh's illness—Plans for the future—India—Last illness—Memorials.

Part II.

BY JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

CHAPTER I.

PHILOSOPHY AND SECULAR PROPAGANDA.

1. Meaning of "Atheism" 115
2. Bradlaugh's statement of Atheism 122
3. "Materialism" and its critics 127
4. Bradlaugh's popular propaganda 139
5. Secularist ethics 154

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL DOCTRINE AND WORK.

PA
§ 1. The Republican movement 1
§ 2. The Neo-Malthusian movement 1
§ 3. Bradlaugh and the land laws 1
§ 4. Bradlaugh and Socialism 1
§ 5. The Irish question 1
§ 6. Bradlaugh and India 1

CHAPTER III.

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE.

Chronological Summary 2
§ 1. Northampton election of 1880 2
§ 2. The raising of the oath question 2
§ 3. Bradlaugh's request to be let affirm; opposition of select committee 2
§ 4. His first attempt to take the oath; opposition of select committee 2
§ 5. The affirmation question again; opposition of the House . 2
§ 6. Bradlaugh insists on taking the oath; arrested and released; at length sits on affirmation 2
§ 7. His action in the House; enmity outside 2
§ 8. The lawsuit of Clarke and Newdegate—Bradlaugh unseated and re-elected (1881) 2
§ 9. Renewed conflict in Parliament 2
§ 10. Agitation and discussion in the country 2
§ 11. Bradlaugh's return litigation against Newdegate . . . 2
§ 12. Insisting on entering the House, is ejected by physical force (Aug. 1881) 2
§ 13. Further litigation and discussion 2
§ 14. Bradlaugh again at the table of the House—takes the oath—the seat again vacated (February 1882) 2
§ 15. The new election—fresh agitation 2
§ 16. Fresh litigation 2
§ 17. Outside discussion—Bradlaugh and Manning 2
§ 18. The *Freethinker* blasphemy prosecution 2
§ 19. Renewal of the constitutional struggle—fresh debating in the House 2
§ 20. Bradlaugh again takes the oath—again unseated, and again elected (1884) 2
§ 21. Continued litigation—end of the struggle 2
§ 22. The effect of the struggle on parties 2
§ 23. Its constitutional importance 2

CHAPTER IV.

CLOSING YEARS.

PAGE

1886 368
1887 374
1888 384
1889 404
1890-1891 410
Conclusion—Bradlaugh's personality 421

INDEX 445

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD.

ALTHOUGH there has often been desultory talk among us concerning the origin of the Bradlaugh family, there has never been any effort made to trace it out. The name is an uncommon one: as far as I am aware, ours is the only family that bears it, and when the name comes before the public ours is the pride or the shame—for, unfortunately, there are black sheep in every flock. I have heard a gentleman (an Irishman) assure Mr Bradlaugh that he was of Irish origin, for was not the Irish "lough" close akin to the termination "laugh"? Others have said he was of Scotch extraction, and others again that he must go to the red-haired Dane to look for his forbears. My father would only laugh lazily—he took no vivid interest in his particular ancestors of a few centuries ago—and reply that he could not go farther back than his grandfather, who came from Suffolk; in his boyhood he had heard that there were some highly respectable relations at Wickham Market, in Suffolk. But so little did the matter trouble him that he never verified it, though, if it were true, it would rather point to the Danish origin, for parts of Suffolk were undoubtedly colonized by the Danes in the ninth century, and a little fact which came to our knowledge a few years ago shows that the name Bradlaugh is no new one in that province.

Kelsall and Laxfield,* where there were Bradlaughs in th beginning of the 17th century; Wickham Market and Brandesto whence Mr Bradlaugh's grandfather came at the beginning of th 19th, and where there are Bradlaughs at the present day, are a within a narrow radius of a few miles. The name Bradlaugh com menced to be corrupted into Bradley prior to 1628, as may be see from a stone in Laxfield Church, and has also been so corrupte by a branch of the family within our own knowledge. The nam has also, I know, been spelled "Bradlough."

James Bradlaugh, who came from Brandeston about the ye 1807, was a gunsmith, and settled for a time in Bride Lan Fleet Street, where his son Charles, his fourth and last chil was born in February 1811. He himself died in October of th same year, at the early age of thirty-one.

Charles Bradlaugh (the elder) was in due course apprenticed to law stationer, and consequently this became his nominal professio in reality, he was confidential clerk to a firm of solicitors, Mess Lepard & Co. The apprentice was, on the occasion of some gre trial, lent to Messrs Lepard, and the mutual satisfaction seems have been so great that it was arranged that he should rema with them, compensation being paid for the cancelling of h indentures. I have beside me at the moment a letter, yellow a faded, dated July 30th, 1831, inquiring of "——Batchelour, Esq concerning the character of "a young man of the name Bradlaugh," with the answer copied on the back, in which t writer begs "leave to state that I have a high opinion of hi both as regards his moral character and industrious habits, a that he is worthy of any confidence you may think proper to pla in him."

Charles Bradlaugh stayed with these solicitors until his dea in 1852, when the firm testified their appreciation of his servi

---

* A friend studying the *Topographer and Genealogist* found the follow extract in Vol. II. :—

"Hoxne Hundred.

"Kelsall Church. Brass; no figure. / John Parker, gent., who marr Dorothy Bradlaugh, alias Jacob; died 24 April, 1605, aged 66.

"Laxfield Church. On a stone which had the figure of a man and t women still remains a shield with the arms of Bradlaugh alias Jacob."

"A stone in the north wall of the vestry for Nicholas Bradley alias Jac buried 8th August, 1628."

by putting an obituary notice in the *Times*, stating that he had been "for upwards of twenty years the faithful and confidential clerk of Messrs Lepard & Co., of 6 Cloak Lane." He married a nursemaid named Elizabeth Trimby, and on September 26th, 1833, was born their first child, who was named Charles after his father. He was born in a small house in Bacchus Walk, Hoxton. The houses in Bacchus Walk are small four-roomed tenements; I am told that they have been altered and improved since 1833, but I do not think the improvement can have been great, for the little street has a desperate air of squalor and poverty; and when I went there the other day, Number 5, where my father was born, could not be held to be in any way conspicuous in respect of superior cleanliness. But in such a street cleanliness would seem to be almost an impossibility. From Bacchus Walk the family went to Birdcage Walk, where I have heard there was a large garden in which my grandfather assiduously cultivated dahlias, for he seems to have been passionately fond of flowers. Soon the encroaching tide of population caused their garden to be taken for building purposes, and they removed to Elizabeth Street, and again finally to 13 Warner Place South, a little house nominally of seven rooms, then rented at seven shillings per week.

The family, which ultimately numbered seven, two of whom died in early childhood, was in very straitened circumstances, so much so that they were glad to receive presents of clothing from a generous cousin at Teddington, to eke out the father's earnings. The salary of Charles Bradlaugh, sen., at the time of his death, after "upwards of twenty years" of "faithful" service, was two guineas a week, with a few shillings additional for any extra work he might do. He was an exquisite penman; he could write the "Lord's Prayer" quite clearly and distinctly in the size and form of a sixpence; and he was extremely industrious. Very little is known of his tastes; he was exceedingly fond of flowers, and wherever he was he cultivated his garden, large or small, with great care; he was an eager fisherman, and would often get up at three in the morning and walk from Hackney to Temple Mills on the river Lea, with his son running by his side, bait-can in hand. He wrote articles upon Fishing, which were reprinted as late as a year or two ago in a paper devoted to angling, and also contributed a number of small things under the signature C. B———h to the *London Mirror*, but little was known about

this, as he seems usually to have been very reticent and reserv
even in his own family. He had his children baptized—his s
Charles was baptized on December 8th, 1833—but otherwise
seems to have been fairly indifferent on religious matters, a
never went to church.

This is about all that is known concerning my grandfather
till about the time of his son's conflict with the Rev. J. G. Pack
and what steps he took then will be told in the proper pla
His son Charles always spoke of him with tenderness a
affection, as, indeed, he also did of his mother; nevertheless,
never seemed able to recall any incident of greater tenderness
the part of his father than that of allowing him to go with h
on his early morning fishing excursions. Mrs Bradlaugh belong
undoubtedly to what we regard to-day as "the old schoo
Severe, exacting, and imperious with her children, she w
certainly not a bad mother, but she was by no means a tend
or indulgent one. The following incident is characteristic of h
treatment of her children. One Christmas time, when my fath
and his sister Elizabeth (his junior by twenty-one months) we
yet small children, visitors were expected, and some loaf sug
was bought—an unusual luxury in such poor households in th
times. The visitors, with whom came a little boy, arrived in d
course, but when the tea hour was reached, it was discovered th
nearly all the sugar was gone. The two elder children, Char
and Elizabeth, were both charged with the theft; they denied
but were disbelieved and forthwith sent to bed. They listen
for the father's home-coming in the hope of investigation a
release; there they both lay unheeded in their beds, sobbing a
unconsoled, until their grandmother brought them a piece of ca
and soothed them with tender words. Then it ultimat
appeared that it was the little boy visitor who stole the sug
but the children never forgot the dreadful misery of being u
justly punished. The very last time the brother and sister w
together, they were recalling and laughing over the agony th
endured over that stolen sugar.

At the age of seven the little Charles went to school: first of
to the National School, where the teacher had striking ideas up
the value of corporal punishment, and enforced his instructi
with the ruler so heavily that the scar resulting from a wound
inflicted was deemed of sufficient importance some nine or

years later to be marked in the enlistment description when Mr Bradlaugh joined the army. Leaving the National School, he went first to a small private school, and then to a boys' school kept by a Mr Marshall in Coldharbour Street; all poor schools enough as we reckon schools to-day, but the best the neighbourhood and his father's means could afford. Such as it was, however, his schooling came to an end when he was eleven years old.

I have by me some interesting mementoes of those same school-days—namely, specimens of his "show" handwriting at the age of seven, nine, and ten years. The writing is done on paper ornamented (save the mark!) by coloured illustrations drawn from the Bible. The first illustrates in wonderful daubs of yellow, crimson, and blue, passages in the life of Samuel; in the centre is a text written in a child's unsteady, unformed script; and at the bottom, flanked on either side by yellow urns disgorging yellow and scarlet flames, come the signature and date written in smaller and even more unsteady letters than the text, "Charles Bradlaugh, aged 7 years, Christmas, 1840." The second specimen is adorned with truly awful illustrations concerning "the death of Ahab," not exactly suggestive of that "peace and goodwill" of which we hear so much and sometimes see so little. The writing shows an enormous improvement, and is really a beautiful specimen of a child's work. The signature, "Charles Bradlaugh, aged 9 years, Christmas, 1842," is firmly and clearly written. The third piece represents the "Death of Absalom" (the teacher who gave out these things seems to have been of a singularly dismal turn of mind), with illustrations from 2 Sam. xiv. and xviii. The writing here has more character; there is more light and shade in the up and down strokes, as well as more freedom. As an instance of the humane nature of the teaching, I quote the text selected to show off the writing: "Then said Joab, I may not tarry thus with thee. And he took three darts in his hand and thrust them through the heart of Absalom while he was yet alive in the midst of the oak. And ten young men of Joab's smote Absalom and slew him." As a lesson in sheer wanton cruelty this can hardly be exceeded. The signature, "Charles Bradlaugh, aged ten years, Christmas, 1843," which is surrounded by sundry pen-and-ink ornaments is, like the text, written with a much freer hand than that of the other specimens.

The boy's amusements—apart from the prime one of going

fishing with his father, which he did when eight years old—co
sisted chiefly in playing at sham fights with steel nibs for soldier
and dramatic performances of "The Miller and his Men," enacte
by *artistes* cut out of newspaper. Then there was the more sob
joy of listening to an old gentleman and ardent Radical, name
Brand, who took a great affection for the lad, and used to expla
to him the politics of the day, and doubtless by his talk inspire
him to plunge into the intricacies of Cobbett's "Political Gridiron
which he found amongst his father's books, and from that to th
later and more daring step of buying a halfpenny copy of th
People's Charter.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD.

Now came the time when the little Charles Bradlaugh should put aside his childhood and make a beginning in the struggle for existence. His earnings were required to help in supplying the needs of the growing family; and at twelve years old he was made office boy with a salary of five shillings a week at Messrs Lepard's, where his father was confidential clerk. In later years, in driving through London with him, he has many a time pointed out to me the distances he used to run to save the omnibus fare allowed him, and how if he had to cross the water he would run round by London Bridge to save the toll. The money thus saved he would spend in books bought at second-hand book-stalls, outside of which he might generally be found reading at any odd moments of leisure. One red-letter day his firm sent him on an errand to the company of which Mr Mark E. Marsden was the secretary. Mr Marsden, whose name will be remembered and honoured by many for his unceasing efforts for political and social progress, chatted with the lad, asking him many questions, and finished up by giving him a bun and half-a-crown. As both of these were luxuries which rarely came in the office boy's way, they made a great impression on him. He never forgot the incident, although it quite passed out of Mr Marsden's mind, and he was unable to recall it when the two became friends in after years.

The errand-running came to an end when my father was fourteen, at which age he was considered of sufficient dignity to be promoted to the office of wharf clerk and cashier to Messrs Green, Son, & Jones, coal merchants at Brittania Fields, City Road, at a salary of eleven shillings a week. About this time, too, partly impelled by curiosity and swayed by the fervour of the political movement then going on around him, but also

undoubtedly with a mind prepared for the good seed by the earl talks with old Mr Brand, he went to several week-evenin meetings then being held in Bonner's Fields and elsewhere. I was in 1847 that he first saw William Lovett, at a Chartis meeting which he attended. His Sundays were devoted t religion; from having been an eager and exemplary Sunday schoo scholar he had now become a most promising Sunday schoo teacher; so that although discussions were held at Bonner's Field almost continually through the day every Sunday, they were no for him: *he* was fully occupied with his duties at the Church o St Peter's, in Hackney Road.

At this time the Rev. John Graham Packer was incumbent a St Peter's; and when it was announced that the Bishop o London intended to hold a confirmation at Bethnal Green, M Packer naturally desired to make a good figure before his clerica superior. He therefore selected the best lads in his class fo confirmation, and bade them prepare themselves for the importan occasion. To this end Charles Bradlaugh carefully studied an compared the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England an the four Gospels, and it was not long before he found, to h dismay, that they did not agree, and that he was totally unabl to reconcile them. "Thorough" in this as in all else, he wa anxious to understand the discrepancies he found and to be pu right. He therefore, he tells us, "ventured to write Mr Packe a respectful letter, asking him for his aid and explanation Instead of help there came a bolt from the blue. Mr Packe had the consummate folly to write Mr Bradlaugh senio denouncing his son's inquiries as Atheistical, and followed u his letter by suspending his promising pupil for three month from his duties of Sunday-school teacher.

This three months of suspension was pregnant with influen for him; for one thing it gave him opportunities which he ha heretofore lacked, and thus brought him into contact with perso of whom up till then he had scarcely heard. The lad, horrified being called an Atheist, and forbidden his Sunday school, natural shrank from going to church. It may well be imagined also th under the ban of his parents' disapproval home was no pleasa place, and it is little to be wondered at that he wandered off Bonner's Fields. Bonner's Fields was in those days a great pla for open-air meetings. Discussions on every possible subje

were held; on the week evenings the topics were mostly political, but on Sundays theological or anti-theological discourses were as much to the fore as politics. In consequence of my father's own theological difficulties, he was naturally attracted to a particular group where such points were discussed with great energy Sunday after Sunday. After listening a little, he was roused to the defence of his Bible and his Church, and, finding his tongue, joined in the debate on behalf of orthodox Christianity.

The little group of Freethinkers to which Mr Bradlaugh was thus drawn were energetic and enthusiastic disciples of Richard Carlile. Their out-door meetings were mostly held at Bonner's Fields or Victoria Park, and the in-door meetings at a place known as Eree's Coffee House. In the year 1848 it was agreed that they should subscribe together and have a Temperance Hall of their own for their meetings. To this end three of them, Messrs Barralet, Harvey, and Harris, became securities for the lease of No. 1 Warner Place, then a large old-fashioned dwelling-house; and a Hall was built out at the back. As the promoters were anxious to be of service to Mrs Sharples Carlile, who after the death of Richard Carlile was left with her three children in very poor circumstances, they invited her to undertake the superintendence of the coffee room, and to reside at Warner Place with her daughters Hypatia and Theophila and her son Julian.

When my father first met her, Mrs Sharples Carlile, then about forty-five years of age, was a woman of considerable attainments. She belonged to a very respectable and strictly religious family at Bolton; was educated in the Church with her two sisters under the Rev. Mr Thistlethwaite; and, to use an expression of her own, was "quite an evangelical being, sang spiritual songs, and prayed myself into the grave almost." Her mind, however, was not quite of the common order, and perhaps the excess of ardour with which she had thrown herself into her religious pursuits made the recoil more easy and more decided. Be this as it may, it is nevertheless remarkable that, surrounded entirely by religious people, reading no anti-theological literature, she unaided thought herself out of "the doctrines of the Church." After some two-and-a-half-years of this painful evolution, accident made her acquainted with a Mr Hardie, a follower of Carlile's. He seems to have lent her what was at that time called "infidel literature," and so inspired her with the most ardent enthusiasm for Richard Carlile, and in a less

degree for the Rev. Robert Taylor. On the 11th January 183[illegible] whilst Carlile was undergoing one of the many terms of imprison ment to which he was condemned for conscience' sake, Mis Sharples came to London, and on the 29th of the same mont she gave her first lecture at the Rotunda.

On the 11th of February this young woman of barely twenty eight summers, but one month escaped from the trammels of life i a country town, amidst a strictly religious environment, started "weekly publication" called *Isis*, dedicated to "The young wome of England for generations to come or until superstition is extinct. The *Isis* was published at sixpence, and contains many of Mis Sharples' discourses both on religious and political subjects. I religion she was a Deist; in politics a Radical and Republican thus following in the footsteps of her leader Richard Carlile. have been looking through the volume of the *Isis;* it is all ver "proper" (as even Mrs Grundy would have to confess), and I a bound to say that the stilted phrases and flowery turns of speec of sixty years ago are to me not a little wearisome; but with a its defects, it is an enduring record of the ability, knowledge, an courage of Mrs Sharples Carlile. She reprints some amusin descriptions of herself from the religious press; and were I n afraid of going too much out of my way, I would reproduce the here with her comments in order that we might picture her mo clearly; but although this would be valuable in view of the ev use made of her name in connection with her kindness to my fathe it would take me too far from the definite purpose of my work. I her preface to the volume, written in 1834, she thus defends h union with Richard Carlile:—

"There are those who reproach my marriage. They are scarce worth notice; but this I have to say for myself, that nothing cou have been more pure in morals, more free from venality. It w not only a marriage of two bodies, but a marriage of two congeni spirits; or two minds reasoned into the same knowledge of tr principles, each seeking an object on which virtuous affection mig rest, and grow, and strengthen. And though we passed over legal obstacle, it was only because it could not be removed, a was not in a spirit of violation of the law, nor of intended offen or injury to any one. A marriage more pure and moral was nev formed and continued in England. It was what marriage shou be, though not perhaps altogether what marriage is in the majori

of cases. They who are married equally moral, will not find fault with mine; but where marriage is merely of the law or for money, and not of the soul, there I look for abuse." *

Of course, all this happened long before Mr Bradlaugh became acquainted with Mrs Carlile; when he knew her, sixteen or seventeen years later, she was a broken woman, who had had her ardour and enthusiasm cooled by suffering and poverty, a widow with three children, of whom Hypatia, the eldest, could not have been more than fourteen or fifteen years old at the most. I have been told by those who knew Mrs Carlile in those days that in spite of all this she still had a most noble presence, and looked and moved "like a queen." Her gifts, however, they said, with smiles, certainly did not lie in attending to the business of the coffee room —at that she was "no good." She was quiet and reserved, and although Christians have slandered her both during her lifetime and up till within this very year on account of her non-legalised union with Richard Carlile, she was looked up to and revered by those who knew her, and never was a whisper breathed against her fair fame.

Amongst the frequenters of the Warner Street Temperance Hall

---

* In the *Gauntlet* for Sept. 22nd, 1833, Carlile, who had been formally separated from his wife nine months previously, says :—

"Many months did not elapse before we stood pledged to a moral marriage, and to a resolution to avow that marriage immediately after my liberation. I took the first opportunity of doing it, as I now take the first of explaining the introduction. As a public man, I will be associated with nothing that is to be concealed from the public. Many, I know, will carp upon my freedom as to divorce and marriage; and to such persons I say, if they are worth a word, that I do so because I hate hypocrisy, because I hate everything that is foul and indecent, because I will not deceive any one. I have led a miserable wedded life through twenty years, from disparity of mind and temper; and, for the next twenty, I have resolved to have a wife in whom I may find a companion and helpmate. . . . . I will make one woman happy, and I will not make any other woman unhappy. RICHARD CARLILE.

"*P.S.*—I would not have intruded this matter upon the public notice had it not been intended that the lady, as well as myself, will continue to lecture publicly. We are above deception. Our creed is truth, and our morals nothing but is morally and reasonably to be defended. Priestcraft hath no law for us; but every virtue, everything that is good and useful to human nature in society, has its binding law on us. We will practise every virtue and war with every vice. This is our moral marriage and our bond of union. Who shall show against it any just cause or impediment?"

I find the names of Messrs Harvey, Colin Campbell, the brothe Savage,* the brothers Barralet, Tobias Taylor, Edward Cooke, an others, of whom most Freethinkers have heard something. The seem to have been rather wild, compared with the sober dignit of the John Street Institution, especially in the way of lectu bills with startling announcements, reminding one somewhat of th modern Salvation Army posters. The neighbourhood looked wit no favourable eye upon the little hall, and I am told that or night, when a baby was screaming violently next door, a rumou got about that the "infidels" were sacrificing a baby, and th place was stormed by an angry populace, who were with difficul appeased.

It was to this little group of earnest men that the youth Charl Bradlaugh was introduced in 1848, as one eager to debate, ar enthusiastically determined to convert them all to the "tr religion" in which he had been brought up. He discussed wi Colin Campbell, a smart and fluent debater; he argued with Jam Savage, a man of considerable learning, a cool and calm reasone and a deliberate speaker, whose speech on occasion was full biting sarcasms; and after a discussion with the latter upon "T Inspiration of the Bible," my father admitted that he was co vinced by the superior logic of his antagonist, and owning hims beaten, felt obliged to abandon his defence of orthodoxy. Nev theless, he did not suddenly leap into Atheism: his views were a little time inclined to Deism; but once started on the road doubt, his careful study and—despite his youth—judicial temp gradually brought him to the Atheistic position. With the Fr thinkers of Warner Place he became a teetotaller, which was additional offence in the eyes of the orthodox; and while still i state of indecision on certain theological points, he submitt

* There were three of these brothers, all remarkable for their coura pertinacity, or ability. One of them, John Savage, refused to pay taxes 1833. The best of his goods were seized and, in spite of Mr Savage's prote carried away in a van. There was so much feeling about the taxes at the t that no sooner did the people living in the neighbourhood (Circus Str Marylebone) hear of the seizure than they collected in great numbers. van was followed, taken possession of, and brought back to Circus Str The goods were removed, the horse taken out of the shafts, and the van molished. After the news spread throughout the metropolis the excitem became so great that the Horse Guards at the Regent's Park Barracks w put under arms. They had lively times sixty years ago.

Robert Taylor's "Diegesis" to his spiritual director, the Rev. J. G. Packer.

During all this time Mr Packer had not been idle. He obtained a foothold in my father's family, insisted on the younger children regularly attending Church and Sunday School, rocked the baby's cradle, and talked over the father and mother to such purpose that they consented to hang all round the walls of the sitting-room great square cards, furnished by him, bearing texts which he considered appropriate to the moment. One, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God," was hung up in the most prominent place over the fireplace, and just opposite the place where the victim sat to take his meals. Such stupid and tactless conduct would be apt to irritate a patient person, and goad even the most feeble-spirited into some kind of rebellion; and I cannot pretend that my father was either one or the other. He glowered angrily at the texts, and was glad enough to put the house door between himself and the continuous insult put upon him at the instigation of Mr Packer. In 1860, the rev. gentleman wrote a letter described later by my father as "mendacious," in which he sought to explain away his conduct, and to make out that he had tried to restrain Mr Bradlaugh, senior. In illustration thereof, he related the following incident:—

"The father, returning home one evening, saw a board hanging at the Infidels' door announcing some discussion by Bradlaugh, in which my name was mentioned not very respectfully, which announcement so enraged the father that he took the board down and carried it home with him, the Infidels calling after him, and threatening him with a prosecution if he did not restore the placard immediately.

"When Mr Bradlaugh, senior, got home, and had had a little time for reflection, he sent for me and asked my advice, and I urged him successfully immediately to send [back] the said placard."

That little story, like certain other little stories, is extremely interesting, but unfortunately it has not the merit of accuracy. The facts of the case have been told me by my father's sister (Mrs Norman), who was less than two years younger than her brother Charles, and who, like him, is gifted with an excellent, almost unerring memory. Her story is this. One autumn night (the end of October or beginning of November) Mr Packer came to the house to see her father. He had not yet come home from his office, so Mr Packer sat down and rocked the cradle, which contained a few-

days-old baby girl. After some little time, during which
Packer kept to his post as self-constituted nurse, Mr Bradlaug
sen., returned home. The two men were closeted together for a f
minutes, and then went out together. It was a wild and stor
night, and Mr Bradlaugh wore one of those large cloaks that
I think called "Inverness" capes. After some time he came hon
carrying under his cape two boards which he had taken away fr
the Warner Place Hall. He behaved like a madman, raving a
stamping about, until the monthly nurse, who had long known t
family, came downstairs to know what was the matter. He show
her the boards, and told her he was going to burn them. M
Bailey, the nurse, begged him not to do so, talked to him a
coaxed him, and reminded him that he might have an acti
brought against him for stealing, and at length tried to induce him
let her take them back. By this time the stress of his rage was ov
and she, taking his consent for granted, put on her shawl, and h
ing the boards beneath it, went out into the rain and storm
replace them outside the Hall. The inference Mrs Norman dr
from these proceedings was that Mr Packer had urged on her fath
to do what he dared not do himself. It is worthy of note th
when Mrs Norman told me the story neither she nor I had re
Mr Packer's version, and did not even know that he had writt
one.

When Mr Packer received the "Diegesis" he seems to ha
looked upon the sending of it as an insult, and, exercising all t
influence he had been diligently acquiring over the mind of
Bradlaugh, sen., induced him to notify Messrs Green & Co., t
coal merchants and employers of his son, that he would withdr
his security if within the space of three days his son did
alter his views. Thus Mr Packer was able to hold out to
rebellious pupil the threat that he had three days in which
change his opinions or lose his situation."

Whether it was ever intended that this threat should be carr
out it is now impossible to determine. Mr Bradlaugh, who seld
failed to find a word on behalf of those who tried to injure him
even for Mr Newdegate and Lord Randolph Churchill he co
find excuses when any of us resented their bigoted or spite
persecution—said in his "Autobiography," written in 1873, t
he thought the menace was used to terrify him into submissi
and that there was no real intention of enforcing it. Looking

the whole circumstances, and from a practical point of view, this seems likely. One is reluctant to believe that a father would permit himself to be influenced by his clergyman to the extent of depriving his son of the means of earning his bread. His own earnings were so scanty that he could ill afford to throw away his son's salary, especially if he would have to keep him in addition. The one strong point in favour of the harsher view is that when the son took the threat exactly to the letter, the father never called him back or made a sign from which might be gathered that he had been misunderstood; and he suffered the boy to go without one word to show that the ultimatum had been taken too literally.

At the time, at any rate, my father had no doubt as to the full import of the threat. He took it in all its naked harshness—three days in which to change his opinions or lose his situation. To a high-spirited lad, to lose his situation under such circumstances meant of course to lose his home, for he could not eat the bread of idleness at such a cost, even had the father been willing to permit it. On the third day, therefore, he packed his scanty belongings, parted from his dear sister Elizabeth, with tears and kisses and a little parting gift, which she treasures to this hour, and thus left his home. From that day almost until his death his life was one long struggle against the bitterest animosity which religious bigotry could inspire. In the face of all this he pursued the path he had marked out for himself without once swerving, and although the cost was great, in the end he always triumphed in his undertakings—up to the very last, when the supreme triumph came as his life was ebbing away in payment for it, and when he was beyond caring for the good or evil opinion of any man.

It is now the fashion to make Mr Packer into a sort of scapegoat: his harsh reception of his pupil's questions and subsequent ill-advised methods of dealing with him are censured, and he is in a manner made responsible for my father's Atheism. If no other Christian had treated Mr Bradlaugh harshly; if every other clergyman had dealt with him in kindly fashion; if he had been met with kindness instead of slanders and stones, abuse and ill-usage, then these censors of Mr Packer might have some just grounds on which to reproach him for misusing his position; as it is, they should ask themselves which among them has the right

to cast the first stone. The notion that it was Mr Pack treatment of him that drove my father into Atheism is, I am s absolutely baseless. Those who entertain this belief forget t Mr Bradlaugh had already begun to compare and criticise various narratives in the four Gospels, and that it was on acco of this (and therefore after it) that the Rev. J. G. Packer wa injudicious as to denounce him as an Atheist, and to suspend from his Sunday duties. This harsh and blundering method dealing with him no doubt hastened his progress towards Athei but it assuredly did not induce it. It set his mind in a state opposition to the Church as represented by Mr Packer, a s which the rev. gentleman seems blindly to have fostered by ev means in his power; and it gave him the opportunity of Sunday's leisure to hear what Atheism really was, expounded some of the cleverest speakers in the Freethought movemen that time. But in spite of all this, he was not driven pell-m into Atheism; he joined in the religious controversy from orthodox standpoint, and was introduced into the little Wa Place Hall as an eager champion on behalf of Christianity.

Those persons too who entertain this idea of Mr Pack responsibility are ignorant of, or overlook, what manner of Mr Bradlaugh was. He could not rest with his mind unset or undecided; he worked out and solved for himself e problem which presented itself to him. He moulded his i on no man's: he looked at the problem on all sides, studied pros and cons, and decided the solution for himself. There having once started on the road to scepticism, kindlier treatm would no doubt have made him longer in reaching the standp of pure Rationalism, but in any case the end would have been same.

CHAPTER III.

YOUTH.

Driven from home because he refused to be a hypocrite, Charles Bradlaugh stood alone in the world at sixteen; cut off from kindred and former friends, with little or nothing in the way of money or clothes, and with the odium of Atheist attached to his name in lieu of character. To seek a situation seemed useless: what was to be done? To whom should he turn for help and sympathy if not to those for whose opinions he was now suffering? To these he went, and they, scarce richer than himself, welcomed him with open arms. An old Chartist and Freethinker, a Mr B. B. Jones, gave him hospitality for a week, while he cast about for means of earning a livelihood. Mr Jones was an old man of seventy; and in after years, when he had grown too feeble to do more than earn a most precarious livelihood by selling Freethought publications, Mr Bradlaugh had several times the happiness of being able to show his gratitude practically by lecturing and getting up a fund for his benefit. Having learned something about the coal trade whilst with Messrs Green, my father determined to try his fortune as a "coal merchant;" but unhappily he had no capital, and consequently required to be paid for the coals before he himself could get them to supply his customers. Under these circumstances it is hardly wonderful that his business was small. He, however, got together a few customers, and managed to earn a sufficient commission to keep him in bread and cheese. He had some cards printed, and in a boyish spirit of bravado pushed one under his father's door. Mr Headingley, in the "Biography of Mr Bradlaugh" that he wrote in 1880, gives the story of the "principal customer" in pretty much the very words in which he heard it, so I reproduce it here intact:—

"Bradlaugh's principal customer was the good-natured wife of a baker, whose shop was situated at the corner of Goldsmith's Road. As

she required several tons of coal per week to bake the bread, the co
mission on this transaction amounted to about ten shillings a week, a
this constituted the principal source of Bradlaugh's income. The spi
of persecution, however, was abroad. Some kind friend considerate
informed the baker's wife that Bradlaugh was in the habit of attendi
meetings of Secularists and Freethinkers, where he had been known
express very unorthodox opinions. This was a severe blow to the go
lady. She had always felt great commiseration for Bradlaugh's forlo
condition, and a certain pride in herself for helping him in his distre
When, therefore, he called again for orders she exclaimed at once, b
still with her wonted familiarity—

"'Charles, I hear you are an Infidel!'

"At that time Bradlaugh was not quite sure whether he was
Infidel or not; but he instinctively foresaw that the question address
him might interfere with the smooth and even course of his busines
he therefore deftly sought to avoid the difficulty by somewhat exagg
ating the importance of the latest fluctuation in the coal market.

"The stratagem was of no avail. His kind but painfully orthod
customer again returned to the charge, and then Bradlaugh had to f
back upon the difficulty of defining the meaning of the word Infid
in which line of argument he evidently failed to produce a favoura
impression. Again and again he tried to revert to the more congen
subject of a reduction in the price of coals, and when, finally,
pressed hard for the usual order, the interview was brought to a cl
by the baker's wife. She declared in accents of firm conviction, wh
have never been forgotten, that she could not think of having any m
coals from an Infidel.

"'I should be afraid that my bread would smell of brimstone,' s
added with a shudder."

It always strikes me as a little odd that orthodox people, w
believe that the heretic will have to undergo an eternity
punishment—a punishment so awful that a single hour of
would amply suffice to avenge even a greater crime than
inability to believe—yet regard that as insufficient, and do w
they can on earth to give the unbeliever a foretaste of
heavenly mercy to come. This little story of the kind-hear
woman turned from her kindness by some bigoted busybody
a mild case in point. Such people put a premium on hypocri
and make the honest avowal of opinion a crime.

In so limited a business the loss of the chief customer
naturally a serious matter; and although the young coal merch
struggled on for some time longer, he was at last obliged to s

for other means of earning his bread. For a little while he tried selling buckskin braces on commission for Mr Thomas J. Barnes. Mr Barnes gave him a breakfast at starting in the morning, and a dinner on his return at night, but as he could only sell a limited quantity of the braces he grew ever poorer and poorer.

Early in my father's troubles, Mrs Carlile and her children seem to have taken a warm liking for him. He shared Julian Carlile's bed, and there was always a place at the family table—such as it was—whenever he wanted it. He read Hebrew with Mr James Savage, and in turn taught Hebrew and Greek to Mr Thomas Barralet, then a young man of his own age, his particular friend and companion at the time. With the Carlile children he had lessons in French from Mr Harvey, an old friend of Richard Carlile's. These "French" days, I can readily believe, were altogether red-letter days. Usually, from motives of economy, the *menu* was made up on a strictly vegetarian basis; but when Mr Harvey came he invariably invited himself to dinner, and having a little more money than most of the others, he always provided the joint. Mr Bradlaugh says in his "Autobiography" that while with the Carliles he picked up "a little Hebrew and an imperfect smattering of other tongues." Then and with subsequent study he acquired a good knowledge of Hebrew; French he could read and speak (although with a somewhat English accent) as easily as his own tongue; he knew a little Arabic and Greek; and he could make his way through Latin, Italian, or Spanish, though of German and its allied languages he knew nothing.

It was whilst under Mrs Carlile's roof my father fell in love with Hypatia, Mrs Carlile's eldest daughter; and this fleeting attachment of a boy and girl (or rather, I should say of a boy *for* a girl, for I know that Miss Carlile laughed at my father's pretensions, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that she felt anything more than a sisterly affection for him) would hardly be worth alluding to had not a whole scandal been built upon it. As far as I can trace, the vile and iniquitous statements that have been made as to the relations between my father and Hypatia Carlile—he between sixteen and seventeen, and she a year or two younger—originated with the Rev. J. G. Packer and the Rev. Brewin Grant; and since Mr Bradlaugh's death there have not been wanting worthy disciples of these gentlemen, who have

endeavoured to revive these unwarranted accusations. Mrs Carli was also vaguely accused of making "a tool" of the lad, a involving him in money transactions!—— It is not easy sympathise with the temper which makes people so unable understand the generous heart of a woman who, herself desperate poor, could yet freely share the crumbs of her poverty with o whose need was even greater than her own, and give a home a family to the lad who had forfeited his own purely for conscien sake.

As after my father left home he was chiefly sheltered by t Carliles at 1 Warner Place, I cannot imagine what Mr Headingle means by saying that Mr Bradlaugh was saved the anxiety pursuit by his parents. There was no necessity for pursuit; was never at any time far from home, and for the most part w in the same street, only a few doors off. His parents knew whe he was; he was often up and down their street; and his sis Elizabeth would watch to see him pass, or would loiter about ne the Temperance Hall to catch a glimpse of her brother. She w peremptorily forbidden to exchange a word with him; and wh they passed in the street, this loving brother and sister, who we little more than children in years, would look at each other, a not daring to speak, would both burst into tears. In spite of this I never heard my father say an unkind or bitter, or ever merely reproachful word about either of his parents.

Having once begun to speak at the open-air meetings in Bonne Fields, he continued speaking there or at Victoria Park, Sund after Sunday, during the day, and in the evening at the War Place Temperance Hall, or at a small Temperance Hall in Phil Street. I am also informed that he lectured on Temperance at t *Wheatsheaf* in Mile End Road. The *British Banner* for July 31 1850, contains a letter signed D. J. E., on "Victoria Park on t Lord's Day." The writer, after dwelling at length upon t sinfulness and general iniquity of the Sunday frequenters of t park, who, he affirmed, sauntered in "sinful idleness" . . "willing listeners to the harangues of the Chartist, the Social the infidel and scoffer," goes on to say of my father:—

"The stump orator for the real scoffing party is an overgrown boy seventeen, with such an uninformed mind, that it is really amusing

* Biography of Charles Bradlaugh.

see him sometimes stammering and spluttering on in his ignorant eloquence, making the most ludicrous mistakes, making all history to suit his private convenience, and often calling yea nay, and nay yea, when it will serve his purpose. He is styled by the frequenters of the park as the 'baby'; and I believe he is listened to very often m re from real curiosity to know what one so young will say, than from any love the working men have to his scoffings."

At the conclusion of a long letter, the writer says :—

"It gives me great delight to state that the working men have no real sympathy with Infidels and scoffers, but would far sooner listen to an exposition of the Word of God. To give you an instance. One Sunday I opposed the 'baby' of whom I have spoken, and instantly there was a space cleared for us, and an immense ring formed around us. The Infidel spoke first, and I replied; he spoke again, and was in the midst of uttering some dreadful blasphemy, copied from Paine's 'Age of Reason,' when the people could suppress their indignation no longer, but uttered one loud cry of disapprobation. When silence had been obtained, I addressed to them again a few serious kind words, and told them that if they wish me to read to them the Word of God, I would do so; that if they wished me to pray with them, I would do so. Upon my saying this, nearly all the company left the Infidel, and repaired to an adjoining tree, where I read and expounded the Word of God with them for about an hour."

In this first press notice of himself Mr Bradlaugh had an introductory specimen of the accuracy, justice, and generosity, of which he was later to receive so many striking examples from the English press generally, and the London and Christian press in particular.

In attending Freethought meetings Charles Bradlaugh became acquainted with Austin Holyoake, and a friendship sprang up between these two which ended only with the death of Mr Holyoake in 1874. By Austin Holyoake he was taken to the John Street Institution, and by him also he was introduced to his elder and more widely-known brother, Mr George Jacob Holyoake, who took the chair for him at a lecture on the "Past, Present, and Future of Theology" at the Temperance Hall, Commercial Road. Mr G. J. Holyoake, in a sketch of my father's life and career written in 1891, says :—

"It will interest many to see what was the beginning of his splendid career on the platform, to copy the only little handbill in existence Only a few weeks before his death, looking over an old diary, which

I had not opened for forty-one years, I found the bill, of which enclose you the facsimile. It is Bradlaugh's first placard :—

LECTURE HALL,

PHILPOT ST., (3 DOORS FROM COMMERCIAL ROAD).

A LECTURE

WILL BE DELIVERED BY

CHARLES BRADLAUGH, JUN.,

On Friday, October the 10*th*, 1850,

SUBJECT :

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF THEOLOGY.

MR GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE,

Editor of the "Reasoner,"

WILL TAKE THE CHAIR AT EIGHT O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

A Collection will be made after the Lecture for the Benefit of C. Bradlaugh, victim of the Rev. J. G. Packer, of St. Peter's, Hackney Road.

"Being his first public friend, I was asked to take the chair f him. Bradlaugh's subject was a pretty extensive one for the fir lecture of a youth of seventeen, who looked more like fourteen as l stood up in a youth's round jacket; but he spoke with readines confidence, and promise."

In May 1850, "at the age of 16 years 7½ months," M Bradlaugh wrote an "Examination of the four Gospels accor ing to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, with remarks on th life and death of the meek and lowly Jesus." This he "alter and amended" in June 1854, but it was never publishe In the preface, written in 1850, he says, "I think I can pro that there did exist a man named Jesus χρηστος the good man but in 1854 he no longer adheres to this position, and adds note: "I would not defend the existence of Jesus as a m at all, although I have not sufficient evidence to deny i Through the kindness of a friend I am in possession of the M volume containing this "Examination," which, apart from value to me personally, is extremely interesting as showing h carefully my father went about his work, even at an age wh

many lads are still at school. A month or so after writing this critical examination, "C. Bradlaugh, jun.," published his first pamphlet, entitled, "A Few Words on the Christian's Creed." To the Rev. J. G. Packer he dedicated his first printed attack upon orthodox Christianity, addressing him in the following words:—

"SIR,—Had the misfortunes which I owe to your officious interference been less than they are, and personal feeling left any place in my mind for deliberation or for inquiry in selecting a proper person to whom to dedicate these few remarks, I should have found myself directed, by many considerations, to the person of the Incumberer of St Peter's, Hackney Road. A life spent in division from part of your flock, and in crushing those whom you could not answer, may well entitle you to the respect of all true bigots.—Hoping that you will be honoured as you deserve, I am, Reverend Sir, yours truly, C. BRADLAUGH."

At the end of October in the same year he sent "a report of the closing season's campaign in Bonner's Fields, Victoria Park," to the *Reasoner*, from which I take an extract, not without interest for the light it throws upon the manners and methods then common at these out-door assemblies:—

"In May last, when I joined the fray, the state of affairs was as follows: In front of us, near the park gates, were stationed some two or three of the followers of the Victoria Park Mission, who managed to get a moderate attendance of hearers; on our extreme left was the Rev. Henry Robinson, who mustered followers to the amount of three or four hundred; on our right, and close to our place of meeting, was erected the tent of the Christian Instruction Society; sometimes, also, in our midst we have had the Rev. Mr Worrall, V.D.M., who gives out in his chapel one Sunday that infidelity is increasing, and that there must be fresh subscriptions for more Sunday-school teachers (who are never paid), and the next Sunday announces in the Fields that infidelity is dying away. Besides these, we have had Dr Oxley, and some dozens of tract distributors, who seemed to have no end to their munificence—not forgetting Mr Harwood, and a few other irregular preachers, who told us how wicked they had been in their youth, and what a mercy it was the Lord had changed them.

"When I first came out I attracted a little extra attention on account of my having been a Sunday-school teacher, and therefore had more opposition than some of our other friends; and as the Freethinking party did not muster quite so well as they do now, I met with some very unpleasant occurrences. One Monday evening in particular I was well stoned, and some friends both saw and heard several Christians

urging the boys to pelt me. As, however, the attendance of the Fre thinkers grew more regular, these minor difficulties vanished. B more serious ones rose in their place. George Offer, Esq., of Hackne and Dr Oxley, intimated to the police that I ought not to be allowed speak; and a Christian gentleman whose real name and address could never get, but who passed by the name of Tucker, after pretendi that he was my friend to Mrs Carlile, and learning all he could of m appeared in the Park and made the most untrue charges. When found he was being answered, he used to beckon the police and ha me moved on. . . . . I happened to walk up to the Fields one eveni when I saw some of the bills announcing our lecture at Warner Pla pulled down from the tree on which they had been placed. I imme iately renewed them, and on the religious persons attempting to p the bills down again I defended them; and one gentleman having brok a parasol over my arm in attempting to tear the bills, the congregati of which Mr Robinson was the leader, became furious. The pencil Cruikshank would have given an instructive and curious picture of t scene. They were crying out, men and wome n too, 'Down with him 'Have him down!' And here the scene would have been very pain to my feelings, for down they would have had me had not my o party gathered round, on which a treaty of peace was come to on following terms, viz. that the man who tried to pull the bills do should guard them to keep them up as long as the religious peo stayed there. Mr Robinson applied for a warrant against me, but magistrate refused to grant it."

On another occasion, when some people whom he and Mr Jan Savage had been addressing in the Park had become und excited by a Scotch preacher, who politely informed them that th were "a generation of vipers," Mr Bradlaugh stepped forward an attempt to pacify them, but much to his surprise was hims seized by police. Fortunately, several of the bystanders voluntee to go to the police station with him, and he was immediat released.

Nowadays the Parks and the Commons are the happy hunti grounds for the outdoor speaker, where he inculcates almost doctrine he chooses, unmolested by the police or the public.

But all his debating and writing, all his studying, did not fill my father's pockets; they, like their owner, grew leaner every day. With his increasing poverty he fell into debt: it was not much that he owed, only £4 15s., but small as the sum was, it was more than he could repay, or see any definite prospect of repaying, unless he could strike out some new path. My grandfather, Mr Hooper, who knew him then, not personally, but by seeing and hearing him, used to call him "the young enthusiast," and many a time in later years recalled his figure as he appeared in the winter of 1850, in words that have brought tears to my eyes. Tall, gaunt, white-faced and hollow cheeked, with arms too long for his sleeves, and trousers too short for his legs, he looked, what indeed he was, nearly starving. "He looked *hungry*, Hypatia," my grandfather would say with an expressive shudder; "he looked hungry." And others have told me the same tale. How *could* his parents bear to know that he had come to such a pass!

A subscription was offered him by some Freethinking friends, and deeply grateful as he was, it yet brought his poverty more alarmingly before him. One night in December, one of the brothers Barralet met him looking as I have said, and invited him into a coffee house close by to discuss some scheme or other. They went in and chatted for some minutes, but when the waiter had brought the food, it seemed suddenly to strike the guest that the "scheme" was merely an excuse to give him a supper, and with one look at his companion, he jumped up and fled out of the room.

On Sunday, the 15th of December, he was lecturing in Bonner's Fields, and went home with the sons of Mr Samuel Record to dinner. They tell that while at dinner he threw his arms up above his head and asked Mr Record in a jesting tone, "How do

you think I should look in regimentals?" The elder man replie "My boy, you are too noble for that." Unfortunately, a nob character could not clothe his long limbs, or fill his emp stomach, nor could it pay that terrible debt of £4 15s.

With "soldiering" vaguely in his mind, but yet without clearly defined intention of enlisting, he went out two days afte wards, determined upon doing something to put an end to h present position. He walked towards Charing Cross, and the saw a poster inviting smart young men to join the East Ind Company's Service, and holding out to recruits the tempting ba of a bounty of £6 10s. This bounty was an overpowering induc ment to the poor lad; his debts amounted to £4 15s.; th £6 10s. would enable him to pay all he owed and stand fr once more. As Mr John M. Robertson justly says in his Memoi this incident was typical: "All through his life he had to sha his course to the paying off of his debts, toil as he would." Headingley † tells that

"With a firm step, resolutely and soberly, Bradlaugh went do some steps to a bar where the recruiting sergeants were in the habit congregating. Here he discerned the very fat, beery, but hon sergeant, who was then enlisting for the East India Service, and once volunteered. Bradlaugh little imagined, when he stepped out the cellar and crossed Trafalgar Square once more—this time with fatal shilling in his pocket—that after all he would never go to East Indies, but remain in England to gather around him vast mu tudes of enthusiastic partisans, who, on that very spot, would insist his taking his seat in Parliament, as the member for Northampto and this, too, in spite of those heterodox views which, as yet, debarred him from earning even the most modest livelihood.

"It happened, however, that the sergeant of the East India Comp had 'borrowed a man' from the sergeant of the 50th Foot, and determined honestly to pay back his debt with the person of Bradlau so that after some hocus-pocus transactions between the two sergea Bradlaugh was surprised to find that he had been duly enrolled in 50th Foot, and was destined for home service. Such a trick mi have been played with impunity on some ignorant country yokel; Bradlaugh at once rebelled, and made matters very uncomfortable all persons concerned.

---

* Labour and Law, by Charles Bradlaugh. With Memoir by John Robertson.

† Biography of Charles Bradlaugh.

"Among other persons to whom he explained all his grievances was the medical officer who examined him. This gentleman fortunately took considerable interest in the case, and had a long chat with Bradlaugh. He could not engage him for India, as he belonged to the home forces, but he invited him to look out of the window, where the sergeants were pacing about, and select the regiment he might prefer. As a matter of fact, Bradlaugh was not particularly disappointed at being compelled to remain in England; he objected principally to the lack of respect implied in trifling with his professed intentions. He was, therefore, willing to accept the compromise suggested by the physician. So long as his right of choice was respected, it did not much matter to him in which regiment he served.

"After watching for a little while the soldiers pacing in front of the window, his choice fell on a very smart cavalry man, and, being of the necessary height, he determined to join his corps."

The regiment he elected to join proved to be the 7th (Princess Royal's) Dragoon Guards, and thus, through the kindly assistance of the doctor, at the age of "$17\frac{3}{12}$ years," he found himself a "full private" belonging to Her Majesty's forces.

After he enlisted he sent word, not to the father and mother who had treated him so coldly, but to the grandmother who loved him so dearly. She sent her daughter Mary to tell the parents of this new turn in their son's affairs, and the news seems to have been conveyed and received in a somewhat tragic manner. A day or so before Christmas Day she came with a face of gloomy solemnity to tell something so serious about Charles that the daughter Elizabeth, who happened to be there, was ordered out of the room. She remained weeping in the passage during the whole time of the family conclave, thinking that her brother must have done something very dreadful indeed.

Then the father went to see his son at Westminster, and obtained permission for the new recruit to spend the Christmas Day with his family. It is only natural to suppose that this semi-reconciliation must have afforded them all some sort of comfort, while I have a very strong personal conviction that the whole affair preyed upon the father's mind, and that the harshness he showed his son was really foreign to his general temper. Anyhow, his character underwent a great change after he let himself come under the influence of Mr Packer. He who before never went inside a church, now never missed a Sunday; he became concentrated and, to a certain extent, morose, and at length, on the 19th

August 1852, some twenty months after his son's enlistment, was taken suddenly ill at his desk in Cloak Lane. He was broug home in a state of unconsciousness, from which he was only arous to fall into violent delirium, and so continued without once recov ing his senses until the hour of his death, which was reached Tuesday the 24th. He was only forty-one years of age, and h always had good health previously, never ailing anything; and feel quite convinced that the agony of mind which he must ha endured from the time when his son was first denounced to him an "Atheist" was mainly the cause of his early death.

The 7th Dragoon Guards was at that time quartered in Irelan and Mr A. S. Headingley tells at length the tragic-comic adventu the new recruit met with at sea on the three days' journey fr London to Dublin :—

"The recruits who were ordered to join their regiment were march down to a ship lying in the Thames which was to sail all the way Ireland. Bradlaugh was the only recruit who wore a black suit and silk hat. The former was very threadbare, and the latter weak ab the rim, but still to the other recruits he seemed absurdly attired ; and he looked pale and thin and ill conditioned, it was not long before so one ventured to destroy the dignity of his appearance by bonneting h The silk hat thus disposed of, much to the amusement of the recru who considered horse play the equivalent of wit, a raid was made up Bradlaugh's baggage. His box was ruthlessly broken open, and wh it was discovered that a Greek lexicon and an Arabic vocabulary w the principal objects he had thought fit to bring into the regiment, scorn and derision of his fellow soldiers knew no bounds.

"A wild game of football was at once organized with the lexicon, a it came out of the scuffle torn and unmanageable. The Arabic voca lary was a smaller volume, and it fared better. Ultimately, Bradlau recovered the book, and he keeps it still on his shelf, close to his de a cherished and useful relic of past struggles and endeavours.

. . . . . .

"His luggage broken open, his books scattered to the winds, his desecrated and ludicrously mis-shaped by the rough hands of his fell recruits, Bradlaugh certainly did not present the picture of a fut leader of men. Yet, even at this early stage of his military life, opportunity soon occurred which turned the tables entirely in favour.

"The weather had been looking ugly for some time, and now beca more and more menacing, till at last a storm broke upon the ship w a violence so intense that the captain feared for her safety. It

absolutely necessary to move the cargo, and his crew were not numerous enough to accomplish, unaided, so arduous a task. Their services also were urgently required to manœuvre the ship. The captain, therefore, summoned the recruits to help, and promised that if they removed the cargo as he indicated, he would give them £5 to share among themselves. He further encouraged them by expressing his hope that if the work were well and promptly done, the ship would pull through the storm.

"The proposition was greeted with cheers, and Bradlaugh, in spite of his sea-sickness, helped as far as he was able in moving the cargo. The ship now rode the waves more easily, and in due time the storm subsided; and, the danger over, the soldiers thought the hour of reckoning was at hand. The recruits began to inquire about the £5 which had been offered as the reward of their gallant services; but, with the disappearance of the danger, the captain's generosity had considerably subsided. He then hit on a mean stratagem to avoid the fulfilment of his promise. He singled out three or four of the leading men, the strongest recruits, and gave them two half-crowns each, calculating that if the strongest had a little more than their share, they would silence the clamours of the weaker, who were altogether deprived of their due.

"The captain had not, however, reckoned on the presence of Bradlaugh. The pale, awkward youth, who as yet had only been treated with jeers and contempt, was the only person who dared stand up and face him. To the unutterable surprise of every one, he delivered a fiery, menacing, unanswerable harangue, upbraiding the captain in no measured terms, exposing in lucid language the meanness of his action, and concluding with the appalling threat of a letter to the *Times*. To this day Bradlaugh remembers, with no small sense of self-satisfaction, the utter and speechless amazement of the captain at the sight of a person so miserable in appearance suddenly becoming so formidable in speech and menace.

"Awakened, therefore, to a consciousness of his own iniquity by Bradlaugh's eloquence, the captain distributed more money. The soldiers on their side at once formed a very different opinion of their companion, and, from being the butt, he became the hero of the troop. Every one was anxious to show him some sort of deference, and to make some acknowledgment for the services he had rendered."

While serving with his regiment Mr Bradlaugh was a most active advocate of temperance; he began, within a day or so of his arrival in Ireland, upon the quarter-master's daughters. He had been ordered to do some whitewashing for the quartermaster, and that officer's daughters saw him while he was at work, and took pity on him. I have told how he looked; and it is little

wonder that his appearance aroused compassion. They brough him a glass of port wine, but this my father majestically refused and delivered to the amused girls a lecture upon the dangers o intemperance, emphasising his remarks by waves of the whit wash brush. He has often laughed at the queer figure he mu have presented, tall and thin, with arms and legs protruding fro his clothes, and raised up near to the ceiling on a board, above th two girls, who listened to the lecture, wineglass in hand. Late on, when he had gained a certain amount of popularity among his comrades, he used to be let out of the barrack-room window when he could not get leave of absence, by means of blanke knotted together, in order to attend and speak at temperanc meetings in Kildare. But the difficulty was not so much i getting out of barracks as in getting in again; and sometimes th last was not accomplished without paying the penalty of arres The men of his troop gave him the nickname of "Leaves," becau of his predilection for tea and books; his soldier's knapsack co tained a Greek lexicon, an Arabic vocabulary, and a Euclid the beginnings of the library which at last numbered over 700 volumes. Mr Bradlaugh remained a total abstainer for sever years—until 1861. At that time he was in bad health, and w told by his physician that he was drinking too much tea; he dran tea in those days for breakfast, dinner, and tea, and whenever h felt thirsty in between. From that time until 1886 he took mi regularly for breakfast, and in 1886 he varied this regimen b adding a little coffee to his milk, with a little claret or hock f dinner or supper, and a cup of tea after dinner and at teatime. has been said that he had a "passion for tea," but that is a me absurdity. If he had been out, he would ask on coming in for cup of tea, as another man would ask for a glass of beer or brandy and soda, but he would take it as weak as you liked to gi it him.

The stories of the energetic comment of the 300 dragoons up the sermon of the Rev. Mr Halpin at Rathmines Church, and t assertion of a right of way by "Private Charles Bradlaugh, C. 5 VII D. G.," have both been graphically told by Mr Headingley and by Mrs Besant.†

---

* Biography of Charles Bradlaugh.

† Review of Reviews, March 1891.

"On Sundays," relates Mr Headingley, "when it was fine, the regiment was marched to Rathmines Church, and here, on one occasion —it was Whit-Sunday—the Rev. Mr Halpin preached a sermon which he described as being beyond the understandings of the military portion of his congregation. This somewhat irritated the Dragoon Guards, and Bradlaugh, to their great delight, wrote a letter to the preacher, not only showing that he fully understood his sermon, but calling him to account for the inaccuracy of his facts and the illogical nature of his opinions.

"It was anticipated that an unpleasant answer might be made to this letter, and on the following Sunday the Dragoons determined to be fully prepared for the emergency. Accordingly, they listened carefully to the sermon. The Rev. Mr Halpin did not fail to allude to the letter he had received, but at the first sentence that was impertinent and contemptuous in its tone three hundred dragoons unhooked their swords as one man, and let the heavy weapons crash on the ground. Never had there been such a noise in a church, or a preacher so effectively silenced.

"An inquiry was immediately ordered to be held, Bradlaugh was summoned to appear, and serious consequences would have ensued; but, fortunately, the Duke of Cambridge came to Dublin on the next day, the review which was held in honour of his presence diverted attention, and so the matter dropped."

I give the right-of-way incident in Mrs Besant's words. While the regiment was at Ballincollig, she says—

"A curiously characteristic act made him the hero of the Inniscarra peasantry. A landowner had put up a gate across a right-of-way, closing it against soldiers and peasants, while letting the gentry pass through it. 'Leaves' looked up the question, and found the right-of-way was real; so he took with him some soldiers and some peasants, pulled down the gate, broke it up, and wrote on one of the bars, 'Pulled up by Charles Bradlaugh, C. 52, VII D. G.' The landowner did not prosecute, and the gate did not reappear."

The landlord did not prosecute, because when he made his complaint to the officer commanding the regiment, the latter suggested that he should make quite certain that he had the law on his side, for Private Bradlaugh generally knew what he was about. The peasants, whose rights had been so boldly defended, did not confine their gratitude to words, but henceforth they kept their friend supplied with fresh butter, new-laid eggs, and such homely delicacies as they thought a private in a cavalry regiment would be likely to appreciate.

After speaking of the difficulties into which my father mig
have got over the Rathmines affair, Mrs Besant* tells of anot
occasion in which his position

"was even more critical. He was orderly room clerk, and a new
arrived young officer came into the room where he was sitting at wo
and addressed to him some discourteous order. Private Bradlaugh t
no notice. The order was repeated with an oath. Still no moveme
Then it came again with some foul words added. The young sold
rose, drew himself to his full height, and, walking up to the officer, b
him leave the room, or he would throw him out. The officer went,
in a few minutes the grounding of muskets was heard outside, the d
opened, and the Colonel walked in, accompanied by the officer. It
clear that the private soldier had committed an act for which he mi
be court-martialled, and as he said once, 'I felt myself in a tight pla
The officer made his accusation, and Private Bradlaugh was bidden
explain. He asked that the officer should state the exact words in wh
he had addressed him, and the officer who had, after all, a touch of hon
in him, gave the offensive sentence word for word. Then Priv
Bradlaugh said, addressing his Colonel, that the officer's memory m
surely be at fault in the whole matter, as he could not have u
language so unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. The Colo
turned to the officer with the dry remark, 'I think Private Bradla
is right; there *must* be some mistake,' and he left the room."

Many are the stories that might be told of these his soldi
days. One incident that I have often heard him give, and wh
may well come in here, is referred to in Mr Robertson's interest
Memoir appended to my father's last book, "Labour and La
This was an experience gained at Donnybrook Fair, the regim
being then quartered near "that historic village." "Wh
Fair time came near the peasantry circulated a well-plann
taunt to the effect that the men of the Seventh would be afr
to present themselves on the great day. The Seventh ac
accordingly. Sixteen picked men got a day's leave—
shillelaghs. 'I was the shortest of the sixteen,'" said
Bradlaugh, as he related the episode, not without some humor
qualms, and *he* stood 6 feet 1½ inches. "The sixteen just 'fou
through,' and their arms and legs were black for many wee

* See Character Sketch *Charles Bradlaugh.*—Review of Reviews, M
1891.

hough their heads, light as they clearly were, did not suffer eriously. But," he added, with a sigh, as he finished the story, I *couldn't* do it now."

A further experience of a really tragic and terrible kind I will late in my father's own words, for in these he most movingly escribes a scene he himself witnessed, and a drama in which he ook an unwilling part.

"Those of you who are Irishmen," he begins,* "will ant no description of that beautiful valley of the Lee which inds between the hills from Cork, and in summer seems ke a very Paradise, green grass growing to the water side, nd burnished with gold in the morning, and ruddy to very imson in the evening sunset. I went there on a November ay. I was one of a troop to protect the law officers, who nd come with the agent from Dublin to make an eviction a w miles from Inniscarra, where the river Bride joins the Lee. was a miserable day—rain freezing into sleet as it fell—nd the men beat down wretched dwelling after wretched velling, some thirty or forty perhaps. They did not take uch beating down; there was no flooring to take up; the alls were more mud than aught else; and there was but little ouble in the levelling of them to the ground. We had got our ork about three parts done, when out of one of them a woman n, and flung herself on the ground, wet as it was, before the aptain of the troop, and she asked that her house might be ared—not for long, but for a little while. She said her husband d been born in it; he was ill of the fever, but could not live ng, and she asked that he might be permitted to die in it peace. Our Captain had no power; the law agent from Dublin anted to get back to Dublin; his time was of importance, and would not wait; and that man was carried out while we were ere—in front of us, while the sleet was coming down—carried t on a wretched thing (you could not call it a bed), and he ed there while we were there; and three nights afterwards, ile I was sentry on the front gate at Ballincollig Barracks, we ard a cry, and when the guard was turned out, we found this

---

* *National Reformer*, November 16, 1873. A speech on the Irish estion delivered in New York; reprinted from the *New York Tribune* October 7th.

poor woman there a raving maniac, with one dead babe in one a
and another in the other clinging to the cold nipple of her life
breast. And," asked my father, in righteous indignation, "if
had been brothers to such a woman, sons of such a wom
fathers of such a woman, would not rebellion have seemed
holiest gospel you could hear preached?"

CHAPTER V

ARMY LIFE CONCLUDED.

HEN his father died in 1852 Private Charles Bradlaugh came me on furlough to attend the funeral. He was by this time artily sick of soldiering, and under the circumstances was ecially anxious to get home to help in the support of his family. his, one writer, without the slightest endeavour to be accurate en on the simplest matters, says is nonsense, because his family ly numbered *two*, his mother and his brother!) His great-aunt, izabeth Trimby, promised to buy him out, and he went back to regiment buoyed up by her promise. In September he was in spital, ill with rheumatic fever, and after that he seems to have l more or less rheumatism during the remainder of his stay in land; for in June 1853, in writing to his sister, apologising for ving passed over her birthday without a letter, he says: "I was, fortunately, on my bed from another attack of the rheumatism, ich seized my right knee in a manner anything but pleasant, but s a mere nothing to the dose I had last September, and I am w about again."

The letters I have by me of my father's, written home at this ne, instead of teeming with fiery fury and magniloquent phrases to shooting his officers,* are just a lad's letters; the sentences

---

Whether rightly or wrongly, my father thought he was treated with eptional severity by his Captain during the first part of the time he was he army; and this has been exaggerated into a story of how in his letters his mother during the latter part of his army life he was "*constantly* rming her" that "unless she obtained his discharge he would put a bullet ough this officer." The story, I need hardly say, is quite untrue, and to one who knew my father must seem almost too absurd to need refutation. ing Mr Bradlaugh's illness in 1889 Captain Walker, then General Sir uchamp Walker, called twice to inquire at Circus Road. My father was dull and depressed one day as he lay in bed, and, thinking to cheer him.

for the most part a little formal and empty, with perhaps the interesting item reserved for the postscript; now and again verses addressed to his sister, and winding up almost invar with "write soon." After the father's death Mr Lepar member of the firm in which he had been confidential clerk upwards of twenty-one years, used his influence to get the youngest children, Robert and Harriet, into Orphan Asyl While the matter was yet in abeyance Elizabeth seems to written her brother asking if any of the officers could do anyt to help in the matter, and on March 14th he answers her Ballincollig:—

"I am very sorry to say that you have a great deal more to lea the world yet, my dear Elizabeth, or you would not expect to fi officer of the army a subscriber to an Orphan Asylum. There m a few, but the most part of them spend all the money they ha hunting, racing, boating, horses, dogs, gambling, and drinking, b other follies of a graver kind, and have little to give to the poo less inclination to give it even than their means."

My father's great-aunt, Miss Elizabeth Trimby, died in 1853, at the age of eighty-five. She died without having filled her promise of buying her nephew's discharge; but a little money she left, some £70, came to the Bradlaugh fa they had now the opportunity of themselves carrying ou intention, or, to be exact, her precise written wishes.*

The mother, in her heart, wanted her son home: she n the comfort of his presence, and the help of his labour, to a their scanty women's earnings; but she was a woman slo forgive, and her son had set his parents' commands at defi and gone out into the world alone, rather than bow his neck t yoke his elders wished to put upon him. She talked the m over with her neighbours, and if it was a kindly, easy- neighbour, who said, "Oh, I should have him home," the

---

I mentioned the names of persons who I knew he would like to hea inquired; and when I read the name from the card, and said that G Walker had told the maid to "tell Mr Bradlaugh that his old Captai called," he was delighted beyond measure, and was for the moment th private again, with the private's feelings for his superior officer. Th gratified him almost as much as if it had been one from Mr Gla himself.

* *National Reformer*, Feb. 10, 1884.

wed her real desires to warm her heart a little, and think that haps she would; if, on the other hand, her neighbour dilated n the wickedness of her son, and the enormity of his offences, n she would harden herself against him. Her daughter zabeth wanted him home badly; and whilst her mother was y at Mitcham, attending the funeral, and doing other things onnection with the death of Miss Trimby, Elizabeth wrote to brother, asking what it would cost to buy him out. He was ructed to write on a separate paper, as she was afraid of her her's anger when she saw it, and wished to take the favourable ortunity of a soft moment to tell her. She was left in charge ome, and thinking her mother safe at Mitcham for a week, she timed the answer to come in her absence. One day she had eave the house to take home some work which she had been g. On her return, much to her dismay, her mother met her he door perfectly furious. The letter had come during the s short absence, and her mother had come home unexpectedly! ow dared she write her brother? How dared she ask such a stion?" the mother demanded, and poor Elizabeth was in sad race all that day, and for some time afterwards. This was the ver her brother sent, on June 22nd, from Cahir—

As you wish, I send on this sheet what it would cost to buy me but I would not wish to rob you and mother like that.

For the Discharge	£30	0	0
Compensation for general clothing	0	17	6
Passage money home	1	16	0
	£32	13	6

out £33.

I could come home in regimentals, because clothes could be bought per in London, and I would work like a slave; but do not think, dear sister, I want to take the money from you and mother, though uld do anything to get from the army.

We are under orders to march into the county of Clare to put n the rioters at Six Mile Bridge, in the coming election, and expect fighting there."

he discharge was applied for in August, but I gather that Mr ard, who assisted my grandmother in the little legal matters ng out of Miss Trimby's death, was not very favourable to the

project, and seems to have required some guarantee as to
father's character,* before he would remit the money.

However, it was at length definitely arranged that the au
promise should be kept, and that her money should purchase
discharge according to her intentions. A thoroughly boyish le
gives expression to Private Bradlaugh's sentiments on hearing
good news. It is dated from "Cahir, 6th October 1853:—

"My Dear Mother,—When I opened your letter, before reading
waved it three times round my head, and gave a loud 'hurra' f
pure joy, for then I felt assured that all this was not a mere dr
but something very like reality. The £30 has not yet made its app
ance on the scene. I shall be glad to see it, as I shall not feel se
till I get away. I am, however, rather damped to hear of you
health, but hope for something better. I have made inquiries a
butter, but it is extremely dear, 1s. to 14d. per lb. in this county.

"When the £30 arrives I will write to let you know the day I
be home. Till then, believe me, my dearest mother, your affectio
Son, Charles Bradlaug

"Love to Elizabeth, Robert, and Harriet."

He did not have to wait long for the appearance of the
"on the scene," which speedily resulted in the following "pa
ment certificate:"—

"7th (Princess Royal's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards.

"These are to certify that Charles Bradlaugh, Private, born in
Parish of Hoxton, in or near the Town of London, in the Coun

---

* Amongst some letters my father gave me some long time ago i
which must have satisfied even Mr Lepard. It is as follows:—

"Cahir Barracks, September 23rd,

"Sir,—Having been informed by Private Charles Bradlaugh of th
Dragoon Guards, that you require some testimonials as to character,
to inform you that during the time this man has been in the regi
(since December 1850) his conduct has been extremely good, and I beg
to add that he is always considered to be a clever, well-informed,
steady young man. Should you require any further information, I sh
most happy to give [all] in my power.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servan

"E. T. Dowbiggin,

"J. Lepard, Esq. Lieut. and Adjutant, 7th Dragoon Gu

"*P.S.*—I may observe that during the last eighteen months this ma
been occupying rather a prominent situation in the regiment, being
of orderly room clerk, and has consequently been immediately unde
notice."

iddlesex, was enlisted at Westminster for the 7th Dragoon Guards, n the 17th December 1850, at the age of 17$\frac{5}{12}$ years. That he served the Army for two years and 301 days. That he is discharged in nsequence of his requesting the same, on payment of £30.

"C. F. AINSLIE, Hd. Commanding Officer.

"Dated at Cahir, 12th October 1853.

"Adjutant General's Office, Dublin.

Discharge of Private Charles Bradlaugh confirmed.

"14th October 1853. J. EDEN,* 7th D. G.

"Character: Very Good.

"C. F. AINSLIE, 7th D. Guards."

The merely formal part of the discharge is made out in his own andwriting as orderly room clerk.

These three years of army life were of great value to my father. irst of all physically: for a little time before he enlisted he had en half starved, and his health was being undermined by constant ivation just at a time when his great and growing frame most eded nourishing. In the army he had food, which although it ight be of a kind to be flouted by an epicure, was sufficiently undant, and came at regular intervals. The obnoxious drill nich he had to go through must have helped to broaden his est (at his death he was forty-six-and-a-half inches round the est) and harden his muscles, and so gave him the strength nich served him so well in the later years of his life. He learned fence and to ride, and both accomplishments proved useful in ter days. Fencing was always a favourite exercise with him d, in after days, when alone, he would also often exercise his uscles by going through a sort of sword drill with the old valry sabre, which is hanging on my wall to-day. Riding he at t abhorred, and probably any London East End lad would share sentiments when first set upon a cavalry charger with a hard outh; he was compelled to ride until the blood ran down his s, and before these wounds had time to heal he had to be on rseback again. When he was orderly room clerk, and was not mpelled to ride so often, then he took a liking for it, and then really learned to sit and manage his horse. Often and often ring the last years of his life he longed to be rich enough to keep horse, so that he might ride to the House and wherever his

* This signature is almost illegible.

business might take him within easy distance, and thus get th exercise of which he stood so urgently in need.

It was, too, while with his regiment in Ireland that Mr Bradlaug first became acquainted with James Thomson, an acquaintan- which soon ripened into a friendship which lasted for five-an- twenty years. In the quiet nights, whilst the private was o sentry duty, he and the young schoolmaster would have lon serious talks upon subjects a little unusual, perhaps, amongst th rank and file ; or in the evening, when Thomson's work was don and Private Bradlaugh could get leave, they would go for a ramb together. They each became the confidant of the other's troubl and aspirations, and each was sure of a sympathetic listener.

That his regiment happened to be stationed in Ireland durin the whole time he belonged to it was of immense importance t him. He learned the character and the needs of the Irish peasantr as he could have learned it in no other way. The sights he sa and the things he heard whilst he was in Ireland, as the story cited a few pages back will show, produced in him such a profoun feeling of tenderness and sympathy for the Irish people, that n all the personal enmity which was afterwards shown him by Iris men could destroy or even weaken.

CHAPTER VI.

MARRIAGE.

ARELY three short years away, yet how many changes in that ort time. My father found, father, aunt, and grandmother dead; s little sister and brother—of five and eight years—in Orphan ylums. Even his kind friend Mrs Carlile was dead, and her ildren scattered, gone to the other side of the Atlantic, to be lost ht of by him for many years. Of their fate he learned later that e two daughters were married, while Julian, his one time com-nion, was killed in the American War.

On his return my father's first endeavour was, of course, to seek work, so that he might help to maintain his mother and sisters; t although he sought energetically, and at first had much faith in e charm of his "very good" character, no one seemed to want the l trooper. After a little his mother, unhappily, began to taunt him th the legacy money having been used to buy his discharge; and hough he thought, and always maintained, that the money was rally his, to be used for that purpose, since it was carrying out intentions of his aunt expressed so short a time before her death, nevertheless determined to, and in time did, pay every farthing k again to his mother, through whose hands the money had ne to him. He was offered the post of timekeeper with a builder Fulham, at a salary of 20s. a week; this Mrs Bradlaugh objected as taking him too far away from home.

One day he went, amongst other places, into the office of Mr gers, a solicitor, of 70 Fenchurch Street, to inquire whether he nted a clerk. Mr Rogers had no vacancy for a clerk, but ntioned casually that he wanted a lad for errands and office k. My father asked, "What wages?" "Ten shillings a week," ied Mr Rogers. "Then I'll take it," quickly decided my er, feeling rather in despair as to getting anything better, but vely resolved to get something. Not that he was in reality very

long without work. for his discharge from the army was dated Dublin, October 14th, 1853, and I have a letter written from "7 Fenchurch Street" on January 2nd, 1854, so that he could n have been idle for more than about two months at the mos There is no reference whatever in the letter to the newness of h situation, so that he had probably been with Mr Rogers son weeks prior to the 2nd January 1854. The solicitor soon foun out that his "errand boy" had considerable legal knowledge an what was even more important, a marvellous quickness in appr hension of legal points. At the end of each three months h salary was increased by five shillings, and after nine months he ha intrusted to him the whole of the Common Law department. Ve soon he was able to add a little to his income by acting as secreta to a Building Society at the Hayfield Coffee House, Mile En Road.

As soon as my father found himself in regular employment began to write and speak again; but even as the busy-bodi turned the kind-hearted baker's wife against him a few years befo so now again they tried to ruin his career with Mr Roge Anonymous and malicious letters were sent, but they did not fi in him a weak though good-hearted creature, with a fearf apprehension that the smell usually associated with brimsto would permeate the legal documents; on the contrary, he was shrewd man who knew the value of his clerk, and treated t anonymous letters with contempt, only asking of my father th he should "not let his propaganda become an injury to h business."

Thus it was he took the name of "Iconoclast," under the th veil of which he did all his anti-theological work until he beca candidate for Parliament in 1868; thenceforward he always spo and wrote under his own name, whatever the subject he w dealing with. Any appearance of concealment or secrecy w dreadfully irksome to him, though in 1854 he had very lit choice.

About Christmas 1853 my father made the acquaintance of family named Hooper, all of whom were Radicals and Freethink except Mrs Hooper, who would have preferred to have belong to Church people because they were so much more thought She had great regard for her neighbours' opinion, and for th reason objected to chess and cards on Sunday. Abraham Hoop

her husband, must on such points as these have been a constant thorn in the dear old lady's side: he was an ardent Freethinker and Radical, a teetotaller, and a non-smoker. All his opinions he held aggressively; and no matter where was the place or who was the person, he rarely failed to make an opportunity to state his opinions. He was very honest and upright, a man whose word was literally his bond. He had often heard my father speak in Bonner's Fields, and had named him "the young enthusiast." He himself from his boyhood onward was always in the thick of popular movements; although a sturdy Republican, he was one of the crowd who cheered Queen Caroline; he was present at all the Chartist meetings at London; and he was a great admirer of William Lovett. On more than one occasion he was charged by the police whilst taking part in processions. He once unwittingly became mixed up with a secret society, but he speedily disentangled himself—there was nothing of the secret conspirator about him.

He was what might be called "a stiff customer," over six feet in height, and broad in proportion; and he would call his spade a spade. If you did not like it—well, it was so much the worse for you, if you could not give a plain straightforward reason why it should be called "a garden implement." "Verbosity" was lost upon him; he passed it over unnoticed, and came back to his facts as though you had not spoken. In his early old age he had rather a fine appearance, and I have several times been asked at meetings which he has attended with us, who is that "grand-looking old man." Although in politics and religion he was all on the side of liberty, in his own domestic circle he was a tyrant and despot, exacting the most rigorous and minute obedience to his will.

His passionate affection for my father was a most beautiful thing to see. He had heard him speak, as a lad, many a time in Bonner's Fields, and from 1854 had him always under his eye. The young enthusiast" became "my boy Charles," the pride and the joy of his life; and he loved him with a love which did but grow with his years. My father's friends were his friends, my father's enemies were his enemies; and although "Charles" might forgive a friend who had betrayed him and take him back to friendship again, *he* never did, and was always prepared for the next betrayal—which, alas! too often came. He outlived my

father by only five months: until a few years before his death he had never ailed anything, and did not know what headache o toothache meant; but when his "boy" was gone life had no further interest for him, and he willingly welcomed death.

And it was the eldest daughter of this single-hearted, if some what rigorous man, Susannah Lamb Hooper, whom my fathe loved and wedded. I knew that my mother had kept and cherished most of the letters written her by my father during their courtship, but I never opened the packet until I began thi biography. These letters turn out to be more valuable than I had expected, for they entirely dispose of some few amongst th many fictions which have been more or less current concernin Mr Bradlaugh.

At the first glance one is struck with the quantity of vers amongst the letters. I say struck, because nearly, if not quite, al his critics, friendly and hostile, have asserted that Mr Bradlaug was entirely devoid of poetic feeling or love of verse. With th unfriendly critics this assumed lack seems to indicate somethin very bad: a downright vice would be more tolerable in thei eyes; and even the friendly critics appear to look upon it as flaw in his character. I am, however, bound to confirm th assumption in so far as that, during later years at least, he looke for something more than music in verse; and mere words, howeve beautifully strung together, had little charm for him. H earliest favourites amongst poets seem to have been Ebeneze Elliott, the Corn Law rhymer, and, of course, Shelley. As la as 1870 he was lecturing upon Burns and Byron; later still he rea Whittier with delight; and I have known him listen with gre enjoyment to Marlowe, Spenser, Sydney, and others, althoug curiously enough, for Swinburne he had almost an active distast caring neither to read his verse nor to hear it read. It is som thing to remember that it was my father, and he alone, who thre open his pages to James Thomson ("B. V.") at a time when I was ignored and unrecognised and could nowhere find a publish to recognise the fire and genius of his grand and gloomy verse.

But to return to his own verses: he began early, and h Bonner's Fields speeches in 1849 and 1850 more often than n wound up with a peroration in rhyme; in verse, such as it wa he would sing the praises of Kossuth, Mazzini, Carlile, or whatev hero was the subject of his discourse. His verses to my moth

were written before and after marriage: the last I have is dated 1860. I am not going to quote any of these compositions, for my father died in the happy belief that all save two or three had perished; but there is one that he sent my mother which will, I think, bear quoting, and has an interest for its author's sake. Writing in July 1854, he says: "I trust you will excuse my boldness in forwarding the enclosed, but think you will like its pretty style. I begged it from my only literary acquaintance, a young schoolmaster, so can take no credit to myself"—

"Breathe onward, soft breeze, odour laden,
And gather new sweets on your way,
For a happy and lovely young maiden
Will inhale thy rich perfume this day.
And tell her, oh! breeze softly sighing,
When round her your soft pinions wreathe,
That my love-stricken soul with thee vieing
All its treasures to her would outbreathe.

"Flow onward, ye pure sparkling waters
In sunshine with ripple and spray,
For the fairest of earth's young daughters
Will be imaged within you this day.
And tell her, oh! murmuring river,
When past her your bright billows roll,
That thus, too, her fairest form ever
Is imaged with truth in my soul."

The "young schoolmaster" was, of course, James Thomson; and these verses express the thought which occurs again so delightfully in No. XII. of the "Sunday up the River."*

Another current fiction concerning my father is that he was coarse, rude, and ill-mannered in his young days. Now, to take one thing alone as a text: Can I believe that the love letters now before me that he wrote to my dear mother could have been penned by one of coarse speech and unrefined thought? The tender and respectful courtesy of some of them carries one back to a century or so ago, when a true lover was most choice in the expressions he used to his mistress. No! No one with a trace of coarseness in his nature could have written these letters.

* The City of Dreadful Night, and other Poems. By James Thomson ("B.V.").

Another and equally unfounded calumny, which has been mos industriously circulated, concerns my father's own pecuniar position and his alleged neglect of his mother. I am able to quot passages from this correspondence which make very clear stat ments on these points; and the silent testimony of these letter written in confidence to his future wife, is quite incontrovertibl In a letter written on the 17th November 1854, he says:—

"My present income at the office is £65, and at the Building Societ £35, making about £100 a year, but I have not yet enjoyed this lon enough to feel the full benefit of it. I am confident, if nothing fres arises, of an increase at Christmas, but am also trying for a situatio which if I can get would bring me in £150 per annum and upward Your father did not tell me when I saw him that I was extravagan but he said that he thought I was not 'a very saving character,' so th you see, according to good authority, we are somewhat alike. . . . do not blame you for expecting to hear from me, but I was, as tl Americans say, in a fix. I did not like to write, lest your fath might think I was virtually taking advantage of a consent not y given.

"You will, of course, understand from my not being a very caref young man why I am not in a position of healthy pockets, pur plethora, plenum in the money-box, so necessary to one who wish to entangle himself in the almost impenetrable mysteries of 'hous keeping.'

"I don't know whether you were ever sufficiently charmed with tl subject to make any calculations on the £ s. d. questions of upholster etc. I have, and after knocking my head violently against gigant 'four posters,' and tumbling over 'neat fender and fire-irons,' I ha been most profoundly impressed with respect and admiration for eve one who could coolly talk upon so awful a subject."

From the foregoing letter it would appear that Mr Hoop would not give a definite consent to the marriage; and a litt later my father writes that he had again asked for the patern approval, and draws a picture of "C. B." kneeling to the "krew father." The consent asked for was apparently given this tim and plans and preparations for the marriage were made. On 20 March 1855 my father writes:—

"I also thought that it seemed a rather roundabout way of arrivi at a good end, that I should take upon myself the bother of lodgers one house, while mother at home intended to let the two upsta

rooms to some one else. I also thought that supposing anything were o happen either to separate me from the Building Society or to stop its rogress, I might be much embarrassed in a pecuniary point of view vith the burden of two rents attached to me. It therefore struck me, nd I suggested to mother and Lizzie, whether it would not be possible, nd not only possible but preferable, that we should all live in the ame house as separate and distinct as though we were strangers in ne sense, and yet not so in another. Mother and Lizzie both fully greed with me, but it is a question, my dearest Susan, which entirely ests with you, and you alone must decide the question. I have agreed o allow mother 10s. per week, and if we lived elsewhere, mother out f it would have to pay rent, whilst ours would be in no way reduced. Again, if you felt dull there would be company for you, and I might eel some degree of hesitation in leaving you to find companionship n persons utterly strangers to both of us. There are doubtless evils onnected with my proposal, but I think they are preventible ones. Mother might wish to interfere with your mode of arrangements. This she has promised in no way whatever to do. I leave the matter o yourself—on the ground of economy much might be said—at any ate my own idea is that we could not hurt by trying the experiment or a time; but do not let my ideas influence you in your decision: I vill be governed by you: believe me, I only wish and endeavour to orm a plan by which we may live happy and comfortably."

In April we have the first recorded lawsuit in which Mr Bradlaugh took part as one of the principals, though earlier than his, soon after quitting the army, he had shown much legal acumen and practical wisdom in a case that I cannot do better than quote here in his own words:—

"While I was away," he says, "a number of poor men had subscribed their funds together, and had erected a Working Man's Hall, in Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road. Not having any legal advice, it turned out that they had been entrapped into erecting their building on freehold ground without any lease or conveyance from the freeholder, who asserted his legal right to the building. The men consulted me, and finding that under the Statute of Frauds they had no remedy, I recommended them to offer a penalty rent of £20 a year. This being refused, I constituted myself into a law court; and without any riot or breach of the peace, I with the assistance of a hundred stout men took every brick of the building bodily away, and divided the materials, so far as was possible, amongst the proper owners. I think I can see now the disappointed rascal of a freeholder when he only had his bare soil left once

more. He did not escape unpunished; for, to encourage the oth to contribute, he had invested some few pounds in the buildi He had been too clever: he had relied on the letter of the law, a I beat him with a version of common-sense justice."

To return to my father's first suit in law. He brought an action false imprisonment against a solicitor named Wyatt. It appea that a person named Clements had assigned a wharf and cert book debts and books to Messrs. Carr, Lamb & Co., and Rogers, their solicitor, sent Mr Bradlaugh, then his clerk, to Wyatt's office, Gray's Inn, to fetch away the books. Mr Wy refused to give them up: Mr Bradlaugh seized them and carr them (an immense pile) to a cab he had waiting. Mr Wy appeared on the scene with a clerk, and endeavoured to reg possession of the books. After much resistance, in which my fath coat was torn and hands cut, Mr Wyatt, unable to get the boo called a policeman, and gave his adversary into custody on a cha of "stealing the books;" this he withdrew for another—"creat a disturbance and carrying off books." My father was locked (whether for minutes or hours I know not) with a boy who h been apprehended whilst picking pockets. When he was brou before the magistrate he was discharged, because no one appea to prosecute. He wrote a number of letters to Mr Wyatt dema ing an apology, but received no answer, and at length brought action against him for false imprisonment. The case came before Mr Justice Crompton, and much to his delight, he wo verdict, with £30 damages.

The foregoing is, I think, the only case in Mr Bradlaugh's ca in which he kept damages awarded him for his own personal u In every other case the damages were given to some charity— later years, always to the Masonic Boys' School. This ti however the damages awarded him by the jury were used i purely personal manner, for the money enabled him to hasten marriage, and on June 5th, 1855, he and my mother were mar at St. Philip's Church, in the Parish of Stepney, he barely 22 ye of age, and she two years his senior.

They went to live at Warner Place, as was suggested in a le I have quoted; and my mother, who had been in very poor hea for some time previous to her marriage, seems to have gone w her sister-in-law to Reigate for a few days at the end of following July. How very straitened their circumstances w

he following extract from a letter of my father's to his wife will how :—

"Carr and Lamb have not settled with me, and I am much pinched or cash, in fact, so much so that, as mother seems to wish to come to Reigate, I have thought of letting her come on Sunday, and staying at ome myself, as I cannot manage both. If you feel well enough, I would like you to come home about next Thursday or Friday, as I egin to feel rather topsy-turvy . . . . If I do not come, I will send you noney to clear you through the week. Do not think me in the least legree unkind if I stay away, because I assure you it is a great source f discomfort to me ; but the fact is, if you want to spend thirty shillings, nd have only twenty, there arises a most unaccountable difficulty in etting your purse and programme to agree. Had Carr and L., as I nticipated, closed accounts with me on Monday, all would have gone on moothly, but as it is I am cramped. I have also been disappointed in he receipt of two or three other small sums which, coupled with an ncreased expenditure, all help to draw me up short."

The newly-married couple did not stop very long at Warner Place. Mrs Bradlaugh senior and her daughter-in-law did not get on comfortably together, and so husband and wife removed to West Street, Bethnal Green, where their first child, my sister Alice, was born on April 30, 1856. At the outset my parents were devotedly attached to one another, an attachment which was not in the least degree diminished on my mother's part until the hour of her death ; and had they remained pinched by the same close grip of poverty as at first their union might have remained unbroken ; who can say? My father was essentially a "home" man, and when not called away on business preferred his own fireside to that of any other man. People have taken it upon themselves to describe my mother's personal appearance, some by one adjective and some by another ; but to my eyes, at least, she was comely to look upon. She was a brunette, with hair which was black and silky, and the finest I ever saw ; she was nearly as tall as my father, and carried herself well, although in her later years she was much too stout. She was good-natured to a fault, generous to lavishness, and had an open ear and an open pocket for every tale of sorrow or distress. During my recollection our home was never without one or more needy visitors : my father's brother and youngest sister, her own brother and sister, Mr James Thomson, and others too numerous to mention, all partook of the open-hearted hospitality which was lavished upon them. She shone at

her best in entertaining my father's political friends, and
good-natured amiability made her a general favourite. She
passionately attached to her children, and was rewarded by
children's devotion, which endured through fair weather and f
as, indeed, was only her just due, for in all points save one
was the best of mothers.

And it was this one point which, overbalancing all the
ruined our home, lost her my father's love and her friends' resp
and was the cause of her own sufferings, unhappiness, and e
death. As soon as fortune and success began to shine eve
feebly on my father's labours, there did not lack the u
flatterers to his wife, and panderers to her unhappy weakness.
a terribly short time, by the aid of thoughtless, good-nat
evil-doers and intentional malice, this weakness developed
absolute and confirmed intemperance, which it seemed as th
nothing could check. With intemperance came the long trai
grievous consequences; easy good nature became extravagant f
and was soon followed by the alienation of real friends a
ruined home. My father was gentleness and forbearance i
but his life was bitterly poisoned; he had his wife tre
medically, and sent to a hydropathic establishment, but all t
purpose. When our home was finally broken up in 1870, an
closest retrenchment was necessary, my father decided that it
utterly impossible to do that with dignity as long as my mo
remained in London; so she and we two girls—my brother w
school—went to board with my grandfather at Midhurst, Su
It was intended as a merely temporary arrangement, and h
proved beneficial to my mother we should, when better times c
have had a reunited home; but, alas! it was not to be. At
my father came fairly frequently to Midhurst, but there wa
improvement, and so his visits became fewer and fewer;
brought him no pleasure, but merely renewed the acuteness o
suffering. At length he, always thoughtful for those about
and recognising the terrible strain upon us his daughters in th
we were then leading, arranged for us each to spend a m
alternately with him at his London lodgings, but not continuo
as he was anxious not to separate us. Sometimes it was cont
for us both to be in London together, and these were indeed
shiny days. We wrote letters for him, and did what we could
he made us happy by persuading us that we were his secret

d really useful to him; we tried to be, but I fear our desires and loving acceptance of our work went far beyond its real merits. ith time my mother became a confirmed invalid, and in May 77 she died very unexpectedly from heart disease engendered alcoholism.

Malevolent people have made a jest of all this, but the tragedy s ours; others even more malevolent have endeavoured to make father in some way blameworthy in the matter—they might t as well blame me! Any one who knows the story in all its ails, with its years of silent martyrdom for him, will know that father's behaviour was that of one man in a thousand. Some o have said that my mother was in an asylum. Perhaps the lowing quotation from a letter written by her from Midhurst, few days before her death, to us who were in London getting father's things straight in his new lodgings, will be the best wer, and will also show a little the kind of woman she was: —

'My chest is so bad. I really feel ill altogether; if either of you re with me, you could not do me any good. I shall be glad of a letter know how Hypatia gets on.

'Do not neglect writing me, my darlings, for my heart is very sad. th great love to dear Papa, and also to your own dear selves.—Always ieve me, your faithful mother, S. L. BRADLAUGH."

I have in this chapter said all I intend to say as to the relations ween my father and my mother. I shall perhaps be pardoned n my capacity as daughter, if not in that of biographer—for ving the matter here, and not going into it more fully. It is a nful subject for one who loved her parents equally, and would n have been equally proud of both. Honestly speaking, I think ould never have had the courage to touch upon it at all had I felt that my duty to my father absolutely required it. He wed himself to be maligned and slandered publicly and vately on the subject of his alleged separation from his wife, but never once took up the pen to defend himself. Hence it omes my unhappy duty to give the world for the first time e real idea of the truth.

CHAPTER VII.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS, 1855.

In the summer of 1855, Mr Bradlaugh for the first time took in a great Hyde Park meeting. He went, like so many ot merely as a spectator, having no idea that the part he woul called upon to play would lead him into a position of promin In order to get a little into the spirit of that Hyde Park mee I must recall a few of the events which led up to it.

A Bill had been introduced into the House of Commons by Robert Grosvenor which was called the New Sunday Bill o Sunday Trading Bill, and had for its object the prevention whole of that small trading by poor vendors, with which w familiar in certain parts of the metropolis to-day. Who ha seen or heard of the Sunday marketing in Petticoat Lane, Le Lane, Golden Lane, Whitecross Street, and many such an place? This small trading is very useful, and in many absolutely necessary to the very poor, who, being at work al week, would not otherwise have time for the purchase o Sunday dinner—the one real dinner of the week—shoes, or other articles of clothing as decency compels them to have when their slender purses almost forbid the purchase. Lord R Grosvenor's Bill fell amongst these like a bombshell, causin wildest excitement and indignation.*

* The following handbill, which was circulated after the second reading Sunday Trading Bill, and put in evidence at the Royal Commission quently held, will give a good idea as to the extent of the proposed me

"Tyrannical attack upon the Liberty of the people. Proposed prob of Sunday trading. The New Bill brought in by Lord Robert Gro Lord Ebrington, and Mr M. Chambers proposes to prevent trading on S within the Metropolitan Police District and city of London, and the l thereof. It enacts 'that all persons selling, offering, or exposing for causing to be sold or exposed for sale (on Sundays) any goods, chattels, or things whatsoever, shall, on summary conviction thereof, be fined On a second conviction, this fine may be increased to 40s.; and the fi

Then it was that the excitement of the people needed to find ne expression in action, and J. B. Leno, the working man poet, others, turned the popular feeling to account by directing it the form of an unmistakable protest against this class of slation. Amongst the handbills put in circulation was the owing, calling a meeting for June 24th :—

New Sunday Bill to put down newspapers, shaving, smoking, eating drinking of all kinds of food, or recreation for body or mind at ent enjoyed by poor people. An open-air meeting of the artizans, hanics, and lower orders of the metropolis will be held in Hyde on Sunday afternoon next, to see how religiously the aristocracy rve the Sabbath, and how careful they are not to work their servants heir cattle on that day (*vide* Lord Robert Grosvenor's speech). The ting is summoned for three o'clockon the right bank of the Serpentine, ing towards Kensington Gardens. Come and bring your wives and lies with you, that they may benefit by the example set them by r betters.—*A Ratepayer of Walworth.*"

he outcome of all this was that large numbers of people found r way into Hyde Park on Sunday, June 24th. They came

---

mulative, and every separate act of selling will be a separate offence. act will not apply to the sale of medicines or drugs, nor to the selling or g of milk or cream before 9 a.m. or after 1 p.m., nor to the selling or ng of any newspaper or periodical before 10 a.m., nor to the sale of fruit, ed victuals, or any unfermented beverage before 10 a.m. and after 1 p.m., to the sale of meat, poultry, fish, or game, before 9 a.m., from the 31st ay to the 1st of October in each year, nor to the exercise of the ordinary ess of a licensed victualler or innkeeper. Butchers and others delivering , fish, or game, after 9 a.m. on Sundays, will be liable to the penalties e mentioned. Nor will that useful class of the community, the barbers hairdressers, be exempted, if they presume to 'do business' after ten k on Sunday mornings, in which case they may be fined 5s., and 20s. for ond offence. It appears, however, that the payment of one penalty will ct the offending barber from any further fine on the same day. Clause 6 servants from the operation of the Act, and visits their disobedience on masters or mistresses. The police are required to enforce the provisions e Act. Penalties and costs may be levied by distress, and imprisonment be inflicted in default of payment for 14 days in the common gaol or of correction. The penalties will be appropriated to the expenses of the e force. No informations are to be quashed for informality, or to be ved by *certiorari* into the Court of Queen's Bench. The Act (is) to nence (if passed) on the 1st day of November, or All Saints' Day, 1855. re tyrannical measure was never attempted to be forced upon the people is country, and if this 'Saints' Bill' is allowed to pass, a much more gent Act will doubtless follow."

with the intention of holding a meeting of protest. A space
set aside for the meeting, and a Mr James Bligh called upo
preside. He began by addressing the people in very temp
language, but was soon interrupted by an Inspector of Police,
"politely told him he was authorised by the Commission
the Police to prevent any meeting being held in the P
inasmuch as the Park was not public property, it would be ille
The Inspector said that his orders were imperative, and if
speaker continued speaking he would be obliged to take him
custody. Sir Richard Mayne was present with a Superinten
of Police, and although the meeting was broken up, neverth
many thousands remained in the Park. These lounged along
carriage ways and greeted the carriages with groans and hoo
or chaffing and good-humoured sarcasm, each according to
feelings. The aristocracy and wealthy commoners, who
taking their Sunday afternoon airing at their ease in the
did not at all approve of the attendance and attention of
multitude. The ladies and gentlemen reclining in their carr
were asked why they allowed their servants to work on Sunda
were told to "go to Church," an order which some met by sha
their Church Services in the faces of the throng, or by sn
whilst others, such as Lord and Lady Wilton, Lady Granville
the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, were so frightened that
got out of their carriages at the demand of the crowd and tru
it on foot.

This little taste of the delights of showing the wealthy
power and of giving them a little bit of a fright only inflamed
people the more. During the week following the 24th the ex
ment continued to increase, and more handbills and placards
distributed. A very witty placard issued by the "Leave us
Club," and some amusing lines, are quoted in Mr Heading
Biography; while another which met with great success
in the following terms:—

"GO TO CHURCH!"

"Lord Robert Grosvenor wishes to drive us all to church! Let
to church with Lord Grosvenor next Sunday morning! We can atte
his Lordship at Park Lane at half-past ten: 'go to church' with
then go home to dinner, and be back in time to see 'our friend

rde Park. Come in your best clothes, as his lordship is very rticular."

In the House, Lord Grosvenor fanned the flames of the popular citement outside by an express refusal to withdraw the Bill, and stating his fixed determination to press the measure. The signs the increasing agitation amongst the people were so marked that Richard Mayne, Commissioner of Police, became alarmed, ecially as the police superintendents of various districts reported him that large numbers of people were likely to attend the Park the Sunday; and on June 29th he communicated with Sir orge Grey, then Home Secretary, from whom, as he stated later to the Commission, he received instructions to draft a document bidding the meeting.

This notice was printed in one or two newspapers on the rning of Saturday the 30th, but not issued in the form a handbill until the afternoon. It was then also posted oughout the metropolis, and on Sunday morning at the Park es.

In common with the rest of the London public, Mr Bradlaugh d this police notice, and directly he read it he felt convinced t the Commissioner of Police had no power to prevent a eting in the Park. He therefore, after due consideration, olved not to submit to this order, but to take part in the eral concourse—one can hardly call it a meeting, since any mpt to form in a mass and listen to speeches had been vented on the previous Sunday—in the Park, and if necessary resist in his own person any active interference on the part he police.

The 1st of July arrived, and people from every district of ndon and all round about flocked to the Park, crowding parti- arly towards the north side of the Serpentine. Although wing every disposition to be in the main quiet and orderly, temper of the crowd was much less good-humoured than on previous Sunday; the police placards had acted as a very cessful irritant, and this feeling of irritation was kept up and mented by the sight of the wealthy ones parading up and n in their carriages. As on the former Sunday, they were ted with groans and hooting, and so much vigour was thrown the groans that in two or three cases the high-spirited horses

took fright, and serious accidents appeared probable. At th point the police charged the people, and naturally enough riotin (so-called) was the result. Many persons were hurt, and seven were taken prisoners. The police accommodation at the Mar borough Street Police Station proved totally inadequate for large a number of prisoners, and the condition of the cells w compared with that of the Black Hole in Calcutta. My fath was in the Park with my grandfather, Mr A. Hooper, and wh he did there may be learned a little later on from his ow words.

This demonstration in Hyde Park produced such an impressi that on the following day, the 2nd of July, Lord Robert Grosvenc in answer to a question put to him in the House of Commor said he was in "rather an awkward predicament," a stateme which we can readily believe. His Bill, the Honourable Memb insisted, was in reality intended to increase the amount of holid possible to "the overtaxed thousands of the metropolis. But," went on, "considering this is one of those measures which a peculiarly liable to misrepresentation and ridicule; consideri also the late period of the session, and the formidable oppo tion I am threatened with, I think it would not be right keep up the irritation that at the present moment exists the bare chance of passing this measure during the prese session."

This abandonment of his Sunday Bill in a fright by "Sain Grosvenor, as he was nicknamed, was a tremendous triumph all those whom it affected, a triumph happily not marred by a punishment being inflicted on the men arrested on various char connected with the demonstration, for when these were brou into court on the Monday they were all discharged. At John Street Institution a meeting was held to protest against action of the police, to express sympathy with the injured, and collect subscriptions on their behalf.*

* Probably the re-formation of the National Sunday League on its pre basis in the autumn of 1855 was in great degree owing to the attemp Sunday legislation of the summer; and it will perhaps be news to mos the Sunday Leaguers of to-day that in the March of 1856 Mr Bradlaugh actively engaged in trying to form a branch of the League in the East E of which he was the Secretary *pro. tem.*, and which was to hold its meet in the Hayfield Coffee House, Mile End Road.

A Royal Commission was appointed "to inquire into the alleged sturbances of the public peace in Hyde Park, Sunday, July 1st, 355; and the conduct of the metropolitan police in connection ith the same." This Commission sat continuously day by day om Tuesday, July 17th, to Thursday, August 2nd. The sittings ere held in the Court of Exchequer, and the Commission heard ghty-six witnesses on the part of the complainants, and ninety-ree for the police. Amongst the eighty-six witnesses was my ther, who was examined on the 20th July. I quote the ques-ons, with their often extremely characteristic answers, from the arliamentary Blue Book.*

"Mr C. BRADLAUGH examined by Mr Mitchell :—

"Where do you reside?—At No. 13 Warner Street South, Hackney oad.

"You are a solicitor's clerk?—I am.

"Were you in Hyde Park on the 1st of July?—I was.

"At what time?—From about half-past three to half-past six.

"Where did you walk during that time? I walked completely over e park, round by the carriage drive, and all round during that time.

"Did you see a man in a cab with several policemen?—Yes. I saw man being driven along in a cab with three policemen in the cab, a an with no shirt on; he was without his shirt, he was trying to look t, and I saw a policeman strike him over the temple with his uncheon.

"There were three policemen in the cab?—Yes.

"Mr Stuart Wortley: A man without a shirt?—Yes.

"Mr Mitchell: Did you see anybody attacked?—Yes, I saw a rush ade out on to the greensward. I went forward, and I saw four or five licemen striking a short man: his hat was knocked with a truncheon, d he held up his hands and said, 'For God's sake, do not hit me—e me!'

'Did they continue to hit him?—Yes; I ran forward, and put one ncheon back with my gloved hand, and I said, 'The next man that ikes I will knock him down!'

'What did they do then?—Then they left off striking him, and they t him between two policemen, and I suppose he was taken away in stody.

'They found that you were rather a strongish man?—They would

'Were you attacked by the police?—I was standing on the grass

* Vol. XXIII. 1856, pp. 146, 147.

just after that, and they made another sortie out from the roadway, and ordered the people to move on, and they moved as fast as they could. One of them came up to me, and began to push me with his truncheon upon which I said to him: 'Do not do that, friend; you have no right to do it, and I am stronger than you are.' He then beckoned to two others, who came up, and I took hold of two of the truncheons, one in each hand, and I said to the centre one: 'If you attempt to touch me I will take one of those truncheons, and knock you down with it.' He took the two truncheons, and I wrested them, and I showed them that I could do it.

"Did they then leave you alone?—Yes; the people that came behind me picked me up and carried me up about 100 yards back, cheering me.

"Mr Stuart Wortley.—Did they take you off your legs?—Yes, and I thought it was the police behind for a moment.

"Mr Mitchell.—You were in the Park for three hours?—Yes.

"How were the people behaving?—I never saw a large assemblage of people behaving so well.

"You were with your father-in-law, were you not?—Yes, I was.

"What time in the day was this particular occurrence?—About half-an-hour before I left.

"Mr Henderson.—The people gathered round you?—Yes. I did not want to be a self-constituted leader, and immediately I could I got away from the press and came away. I left about half-past six, a few minutes after or a few minutes before.

"Mr Stuart Wortley.—Had the excitement in the Park increased a good deal at that time?—Yes; I felt excited by seeing men, unable to defend themselves, knocked about.

"Mr Mitchell.—Did you see any other rush of the police at the people?—I saw several rushes. I could not understand the reason for them at all, except on one occasion; I saw one mounted superintendent stretch out his arm, and I saw a rush immediately in the direction that his arm went.

"What sort of a horse had he?—I could not see; I was on the swarm I only noticed a mounted man.

"You would not know him if you saw him again?—Yes; I think so: I should certainly know him if I saw him mounted.

"Can you say whether he had whiskers or not?—Yes; I think he had, but that is more an impression than anything else.

"Did you see them strike any woman?—I saw in the rush, in one of them, a man and two women thrown down, and I saw the police ride over them. They did not strike them, but they ran right over them. I made a remark to my father-in-law: 'It is lucky they are no sisters of mine, or else they would stop to pick them up.'

"You did not go into the Park to resist the police?—Decidedly not.

I went in consequence of seeing the notice of Sir Richard Mayne forbidding it, and to see what took place there.

"Out of curiosity?—Not exactly. I had heard it said that they were rabble, and I did not believe it, and I went to see for myself.

"Your indignation was not excited till you got there?—Not till some time after I had been there. At first I should have come away. The police were doing nothing, and at first everything seemed to be very quiet. There was no kind of meeting, except that there had been a large concourse of people. I should have come away but for those rushes of the police amongst the people.

"They were not a disorderly crowd?—No.

"Cross-examined by Mr Ellis:—

"You spoke of Sir Richard Mayne's proclamation as forbidding this meeting. Did you read it?—Yes.

"Does it forbid it?—The tenor of it seemed to me to be forbidding the assemblage, and I had not heard then, and have not heard now, that Sir Richard Mayne has any power to forbid my going into the Park; therefore I went.

"I think that the language of this proclamation is, that all well-disposed persons are requested to abstain. You do not call that forbidding?—When those police notices are put up I remember one place where I was requested to abstain from going to, some few years ago; and when I went there I found that the request to abstain was enforced in a precisely similar way, by striking the people with truncheons who went there. That was at Bonner's Fields.

Were any persons struck with truncheons there?—Yes.

"Surely the police were armed with cutlasses?—I think I remember two being drawn as well; but I know some of them were struck with truncheons. I was struck with a truncheon myself, so that I am perfectly capable of remembering it.

"You were at Bonner's Fields?—I was.

"Mr Stuart Wortley.—Is there anything else that you wish to add?—Nothing.

"The witness withdrew."

In his "Autobiography"* Mr Bradlaugh says: "I was very proud that day at Westminster, when, at the conclusion of my testimony, the Commissioner publicly thanked me, and the people who crowded the Court of the Exchequer cheered me. . . .

---

* The Autobiography of Charles Bradlaugh. A page from his life, written in 1873 for the *National Reformer*.

This was a first step in a course in which I have never flinched or wavered."

Before dismissing this Sunday Trading question altogether, I may as well notice here that in the succeeding year my father made a short humorous compilation of some of the more striking "English Sunday laws" for the *Reasoner*. I am ignorant how many of these are still in force, but I repeat part of the article here: as a trifle from my father's pen, it will be welcome to some, and in others it may, perhaps, provoke inquiry as to how many of these restrictions are binding (in law) upon us to-day.

"Travelling in a stage or mail coach on a Sunday is lawful, and the driver is lawfully employed. Contracts to carry passengers in a stage coach on a Sunday are therefore binding, but the driver of a van travelling to and from distant towns, such as London and York, is unlawfully employed, and may be prosecuted and fined 20s. for each offence; and presuming that the laws of God and England are in unison, the driver of the van will be damned for Sabbath breaking, and the driver of the coach will go to heaven for the same offence.

"Mackerel may be sold on Sunday either before or after Divine service.

"There is no offence against the common law of England in trading or working on a Sunday; therefore the statutes must be strictly construed. If a butcher should shave on a Sunday, he would commit no offence, because it would not be following his ordinary calling.

"Persons exercising their calling on a Sunday are only subject to one penalty, for the whole is but one offence, or one act of exercising, although continued the whole day. A baker, a pastrycook, or confectioner, is liable to be prosecuted if selling bread or pastry before nine or half-past one o'clock on the Sunday.

"If the Archbishop of Canterbury's cook, groom, footman, butler, and all other his men servants and maid servants do not each of them attend church every Sunday, they may be prosecuted and fined.

"If the Archbishop of Canterbury's coachman drive his master to church on Sunday, if his footmen stand behind his carriage, these being their ordinary callings and not works of charity or necessity, they may be prosecuted and fined 5s. each.

"Tobacconists may be prosecuted for selling tobacco and cigars on Sunday.

"Railway officials may be punished for working on a Sunday; certainly on excursion trains.

"The stokers and men employed on the steamboats plying to Gravesend etc., are also liable to prosecution, although a few watermen enjoy the privilege of Sabbath-breaking by Act of Parliament.

"Civil contracts made on a Sunday are void with some few exceptions viz. a soldier may be enlisted on a Sunday. A labourer may be hired on Sunday. A guarantee may be given for the faithful services of a person about to be employed. A bill of exchange may be drawn on a Sunday.

"Civil process must not be served on a Sunday, but an ecclesiastical

citation may; therefore the Church reserves to itself the right of Sabbath breaking on all occasions.

"A cookshop may be open on a Sunday for the sale of victuals.

"Every person who should go to Hyde Park, or any of the other parks, to hear the band play, if out of his own parish, is liable to be fined 3s. 4d.

"If two or three go from out of their smoky city residences to the sea to fish, or to the green fields to play cricket, they may each be fined 3s. 4d. if out of the parish in which they reside."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORSINI ATTEMPT.

THE first allusion which I can find to any lecture delivered b my father after his return from Ireland appears in the *Reasoner*, an is the briefest possible notice, in which no comment is made, eithe upon the speaker or upon his name, although I find the *nom d guerre* of "Iconoclast" and the subject (Sunday Trading and Sunda Praying) given. We may, therefore, conclude that by this time he had become a tolerably familiar figure on the London Fre thought platform. The next reference I come across relates to h first lecture, given on 24th August 1855, on behalf of Mr B. Jones, the aged Freethinker who sheltered him on his first leavi home, and for whose benefit he afterwards lectured every ye during the remainder of the kindly old veteran's life.

In the latter part of 1856 my father's lectures are referred in the reports of meetings with tolerable regularity, and I gath that even at that time he was lecturing four or five times a mont He lectured at a little hall in Philpot Street, Commercial Roa Finsbury Hall, Bunhill Row; at a hall in St George's Road, ne the "Elephant and Castle," afterwards given up by the Fr thinkers who were accustomed to hire it on Sundays, because th did not approve of the uses to which it was put during the wee at the Hoxton Secular Class Rooms, 101 High Street; and t John Street Institution, Fitzroy Square.

Amongst his many and varied occupations he yet contrived make time for study, for in the same year he was lecturing Strauss' "Life of Jesus," and Mahomet and the Koran, in additi to the more general questions of the Existence of God, Materi ism, etc. And here I may cite a little instance showing that father's power of repartee was a very early development. happened to be lecturing upon "The God of the Bible," and

* July 1855.

the discussion which ensued "a Christian gentleman, Mr Dunn, ... informed his auditory that it was only by God's mercy they existed at all, as all men had been tried and condemned before their birth, and were now prisoners at large." My father in his reply promptly took "objection to this phrase, as implying that society was nothing more than a collection of 'divine ticket-of-leave men.'"

In 1856, too, Mr Bradlaugh once more ventured into print. His first essay in the publishing way, it may be remembered, was the little pamphlet on the "Christian's Creed," which he dedicated to the Rev. Mr Packer. This time he issued, in conjunction with John Watts and "Anthony Collins," a little publication called "Half-hours with Freethinkers," which came out in fortnightly numbers, and opened on October 1st with a paper on Descartes from the pen of "Iconoclast." Two series were ultimately issued, each of twenty-four numbers, but some time elapsed between the two; in fact, the second did not come out until 1864, and was edited by my father and Mr John Watts. These stories "of the lives and doctrines of those who have stood foremost in the ranks of Freethought in all countries and in all ages" met with a hearty welcome, and are in demand even to this day; several were at the time reprinted in America by the *Boston Investigator*.

The new year of 1857 opened with a promise of growing activity by an address from "Iconoclast" to a party of Secular friends who had assembled in the hall at Philpot Street, to watch the New Year in, and by a course of ten (or twelve) lectures in criticism of the Bible, which he commenced on the following day. On the 12th of February, also, was held his first discussion, or at least the first I can find recorded, if we except the youthful encounters of Warner Place. The discussion between "Mr Douglas and Iconoclast" took place at the little Philpot Street Hall; but who Mr Douglas was I know not, for the report is limited to a mention of an allusion by the Christian advocate to Atheists as "monsters, brutes, and fools," which was—as we may well believe—"severely commented on by 'Iconoclast.'"

Another and more important work, however, was begun in the early spring of 1857. This was "The Bible: what it is: Being an examination thereof from Genesis to Revelation." This work, advertised by my father as "intended to relieve the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from the labour of retranslating the

Bible, by proving that it is not worth the trouble and expense was arranged should be issued in fortnightly numbers by Holy & Co., whose "Fleet Street House," situate at 147 Fleet Street, to a considerable extent maintained by the Freethought party. A the third number, Mr G. J. Holyoake declined to publish, on ground that Mr Bradlaugh would probably go too far in his n of criticism, and that by publishing the book he would be ident with it. This seemed an inadequate reason, since Mr Holy published Spiritualistic works, a "Criminal History of the Cler and other books, with which he was most certainly not identi Later Mr Holyoake based his refusal to publish on the gro that a short passage in the third number referring to the sugges that the third chapter of Genesis was intended as an allego representation of the union of the sexes, was obscene. Bradlaugh was both surprised and indignant, as well he might and wrote a letter to the *Investigator*,* explaining his pos fully. He was obliged henceforward to publish his work him Mr Edward Truelove, who then had a bookseller's business at Strand, generously rendering every assistance in his power.

By this time also he had become a regular contributor to *Investigator*, and his first articles were upon the "Lives of I Heroes"—Abraham, Moses, David, and Cain, each followin turn.

On the 22nd of February 1858 Mr Truelove was arr by Government warrant for the publication of a pamphlet wr by Mr W. E. Adams, "Is Tyrannicide Justifiable?" in w was discussed the attempt made by Orsini upon the life of French Emperor.

Referring to this, my father wrote some notable word his Autobiography of 1873. "I became," said he, "Hon Secretary to the Defence, and was at the same time assoc with the conduct of the defence of Simon Bernard, who arrested at the instigation of the French Government for al complicity in the Orsini tragedy. It was at this period I g the friendship of poor Bernard, which, without diminuti retained until he died; and also the valued friendship of Th Allsop, which I still preserve. My associations were th forward such as to encourage in me a strong and bitter f

* The *Investigator*. A Journal of Secularism, edited by Robert Coo

against the late Emperor Napoleon. Whilst he was in power I hated him, and never lost an opportunity of working against him until the *déchéance* came. I am not sure now that I always judged him fairly; but nothing, I think, could have tempted me either to write or speak of him with friendliness or kindliness during his life. *Le sang de mes amis etait sur son âme.* Now that the tomb covers his remains, my hatred has ceased; but no other feeling has arisen in its place. Should any of his family seek to resume the Imperial purple, I should remain true to my political declarations of sixteen years since, and should exert myself to the uttermost to prevent France falling under another Empire. I write this with much sadness, as the years 1870 to 1873 have dispelled some of my illusions, held firmly during the fifteen years which preceded. I had believed in such men as Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Victor Hugo, as possible statesmen for France. I was mistaken. They were writers, talkers, and poets; good men to ride on the stream, or to drown in honest protest, but lacking force to swim against, or turn back, the tide by the might of their will. I had believed too in a Republican France, which is yet only in the womb of time, to be born after many pangs and sore travailing."

When Mr Bradlaugh acted as Secretary for the Defence, his duties were performed in no merely formal way, but with the utmost energy and enthusiasm. In order to give more time to this work, he suspended the publication of his Commentary on the Bible, and in issuing the "Appeal" for the Defence fund wrote in earnest entreaty for his staunch and fearless friend, saying truly enough, "It would be a stain on us for years if we left poor Truelove to fight the battle of the press alone."

But my father's sympathies were all his life long on the side of the weak and oppressed, and in this particular instance he came in personal contact with the friends and associates of Orsini, if not with Orsini himself (which, indeed, I am under the impression was the case), so that the whole tone of his surroundings was anti-Napoleonic. Felice Orsini must have been personally known to many of the advanced thinkers in England, for I notice that in the winter of 1856 he was lecturing at Woolwich (and probably elsewhere) on "Austrian and Papal Tyranny in Italy." Those who knew him, even those who could not approve his deed, yet honoured and revered him as a hero and a martyr

My father spoke of him as "the noble, the brave, the true hearted Orsini." In 1859, writing of him: "One year since an his blood was scarce dry! Bernard was a prisoner; Allsop fugitive. Now Orsini lives: the spirit of his greatness passe into a hundred others, and the dead hero lives. Priests in thei masses say, 'Pray for the memory of the dead;' we say, 'Wor for the memory of the dead!' Orsini needs a monument o'er hi grave. He is buried in the hearts of the freemen of Europe, an his monument should be indestructible Republicanism throughou France, Italy, Hungary, and Poland." Alas! for my father' dreams of a Republic for those striving and oppressed nation Poland still lies at the feet of Russia, Hungary is held in the iro grasp of Imperial Austria, and but a year or so ago Republica France and Monarchical Italy were ready to fly at one another throats.

The result of the prosecution of Mr Truelove, which is tol more fully at the end of this chapter by an abler pen than min was the abandonment by the Government of all proceedings o certain conditions; and although Mr Truelove, as well as h friends, would have preferred a trial and acquittal to a withdraw on the conditions accepted by his counsel, nevertheless it was a undoubted triumph for the principle of the liberty of the pre and free discussion. When at length the struggle ended it wa proposed to raise a sum of money to compensate Mr Truelov for the loss he must have sustained in his business, but th Mr Truelove, with true public spirit, chivalrously refused.

Dr Bernard, in the conduct of whose defence Mr Bradlaug was also associated, seems to have been personally a mo lovable man. I do not think that I myself recollect him, b he was so often spoken of in our family, and always with affe tion and regret, and his photograph so proudly kept, that I seems a familiar figure in my early memories; there was tradition, of which as a child I was immensely proud (as thoug I had played a conscious and important part in the matter!) th the evening on which I was born, the 31st of March, my fath was delivering an oration upon Orsini in some Hall in London; the conclusion he was followed home by the police, and, bei aware of the fact, he led his pursuers a pretty chase. The not of this address were afterwards written out on thin paper an ironed, by an expert laundress attached to my father and moth

into the folds of Dr Bernard's shirt and conveyed to him in prison. In a notice which he wrote of a meeting of the Political Reform League in the October of the same year, Mr Bradlaugh alludes to the presence of "Simon Bernard, who with his frank and good-humoured bearing seems quite unlike a conspirator." He not infrequently took the chair at Dr Bernard's meetings at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, and elsewhere, returning home on one occasion with sundry rents in his coat, the result of Catholic objections to Dr Bernard's strictures on the Pope, aided by the rancour of persons friendly to Louis Napoleon.

Mr Headingley* says that when Dr Bernard was tried, great anxiety was felt as to the verdict; and when it was known that one of the jurymen was a friend, he was sent into the jury box with his pocket full of sandwiches, so that he should not yield for want of food. But this proved a needless precaution, for the jury returned with a verdict of *Not guilty* after a consultation of less than an hour-and-a-half. Amongst other exciting incidents of the time, which he learned from my father's own lips, Mr Headingley relates that—

"Before the trial, and while Bernard lay in prison awaiting his fate, considerable fear was entertained lest he should be surreptitiously given up to the French authorities. A watch was therefore instituted over the prison; communications, in spite of all regulations to the contrary, were established with the prisoner; and the Defence Committee kept informed as to everything that happened within the walls. Had Bernard been removed, there were friends ever close at hand, both night and day, ready to give the alarm. A riot would very probably have ensued, and an attempt made to rescue Bernard in the confusion."

He goes on to say that "the organization of all these precautionary measures involved a great deal of labour, and required much tact. The presence of French police spies was supplemented by the interference of English spies; and against these it was necessary for Bernard's friends to be on the alert. On one occasion some mounted police followed Bradlaugh to his home in Cassland Road, Hackney. At another time he entered a restaurant near Leicester Square with Dr Bernard and Mr Sparkhall, an old and trusty friend, who subsequently joined and helped to organize the English legion that fought so well for Garibaldi. While they were discussing a French spy came in, and sitting down in the next compartment, soon pretended to be asleep. Bradlaugh, recognising the individual, leaned over the compartment, took a long spill, as if to light a cigar, and held the burning paper under the spy's nose.

* Biography of Charles Bradlaugh.

As the man was only pretending to be asleep, this treatment did not fai to awake him most promptly. Further, this manner of dealing with him left no room for doubt as to his having been recognised, and h therefore simply rose and quietly left the restaurant, without ever protesting against the burn inflicted on his most prominent feature. So numerous were the foreign spies in London at that time, that popular irritation was excited, and once Bernard himself was mistaken by a mob in the Park, and attacked as a French spy. His friends had great difficulty in shielding him and in persuading his aggressors that they were mistaken."

Thomas Allsop,* mentioned by Mr Bradlaugh in the same sentence with Bernard, was also present at the Reform League meeting, and he is described by my father as "a straightforward old gentleman, carrying his years well, and apparently untroubled by the late harassing events; his head gives you an idea of power and dogged determination—it is worth more than £200." These last words refer, I believe, to a reward of £200 which was offered for the apprehension of Mr Allsop in connection with the Orsini matter. Apart from the striking personality it represents, the name of Thomas Allsop will always bear a peculiar interest to admirers of Charles Bradlaugh, for it was he who bestowed upon the, even then, "strong man and strenuous fighter" the motto "Thorough," which his after life so amply justified, and of which he was so proud, saying, "When my work is over, and the stone covers the spot wherein I lie, may I be entitled to have the word 'Thorough' carven upon its face."

It was during these years of political excitement that my father became acquainted with Mazzini, Crispi, de Boni, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and W. J. Linton.

The author of the "Tyrannicide" pamphlet has been so good as to write for me his "Recollections of Charles Bradlaugh;" and as the references to this period are very interesting, I cannot do better than incorporate them here just as he sent them to me :—

"It was in 1858," Mr W. E. Adams tells us, "that I first made the personal acquaintance of Charles Bradlaugh. Mr Bradlaugh was at that time known only as 'Iconoclast,' the general publ

* Mr Allsop will be known to the English public as the author of the "Recollections of Samuel Taylor Coleridge." He died a few years before my father, and he lies near his friend at Brookwood.

having, I think, a very indistinct idea what his real name was. I had heard him as 'Iconoclast' at the old John Street Institution, where many another dead and gone controversialist had won plaudits from the listening crowd: Dr Mill, Henry Tyrrell, Samuel Kydd, Robert Cooper. There, too, the veteran Thomas Cooper had recited 'Paradise Lost,' or told the eloquent story of the cause of the Commonwealth. Iconoclast, then a tall, slender, yet powerful young man, with a face stern enough for an adjutant, and a carriage equal to that of an Elizabethan hero, was beginning to claim admission to the ranks of the leaders of advanced thought.

"The year 1858 was the year of Felice Orsini's attempt on the life of Louis Napoleon. I was at that time, and had been for some years previously, a member of a Republican association, which was formed to propagate the principles of Mazzini. When the press, from one end of the country to the other, joined in a chorus of condemnation of Orsini, I put down on paper some of the arguments and considerations which I thought told on Orsini's side. The essay thus produced was read at a meeting of one of our branches, the members attending which earnestly urged me to get the piece printed. It occurred to me also that the publication might be of service, if only to show that there were two sides to the question 'Tyrannicide.' So I went to Mr G. J. Holyoake, then carrying on business as a publisher of advanced literature in Fleet Street. Mr Holyoake not being on the premises, his brother Austin asked me to leave my manuscript and call again. When I called again Mr Holyoake returned me the paper, giving among other reasons for declining to publish it that he was already in negotiation with Mazzini for a pamphlet on the same subject. 'Very well,' said I, 'all I want is that something should be said on Orsini's side. If Mazzini does this, I shall be quite content to throw my production into the fire.' A few days later, not hearing anything of the Mazzini pamphlet, I left the manuscript with Mr Edward Truelove, with whom I have ever since maintained a close and unbroken friendship. Mr Truelove seemed pleased with the paper, offered to publish it, and proposed to get it printed. The essay, as I had written it, was entitled 'Tyrannicide, a Justification.' Mr Truelove, however, suggested that it should be called 'Tyrannicide: is it Justifiable?' Then there was no name to the production, which, I need not say, bore many marks of the immaturity of the author. Mr Truelove said it would be as well

to adopt a *nom de plume*. But if any name was to appear to the pamphlet, I said I was disposed to think that it should be my own. And so it came to pass that the pamphlet appeared with the title—'Tyrannicide: is it Justifiable? by W. E. Adams. Published by Edward Truelove, 240 Strand, London.' Two or three days after the announcement of the publication, when only a few hundred copies had been sold, Mr Truelove was arrested, brought before the Bow Street magistrate, and held to bail for publishing a seditious libel on Louis Napoleon. As a matter of course, nobody knew the author. It was suspected indeed that the name attached to the pamphlet was a fiction, and that the essay was the production of a French exile.

"The arrest of Mr Truelove was regarded as an attack upon the liberty of the press—an attempt to restrict the right of public discussion. So regarding it, a number of gentlemen, prominently identified with advanced opinions, formed what was called a 'Truelove Defence Fund.' Mr Bradlaugh, who was among the first to volunteer assistance, was appointed secretary of the committee; the late James Watson accepted the office of treasurer, and contributions and other help were received from John Stuart Mill, W. Cunningham, M.P., Dr Epps, Arthur Trevelyan, Professor F. W. Newman, W. J. Fox, M.P., Jos. Cowen, junr., Abel Heywood, P. A. Taylor, Harriet Martineau, etc. Six months after Mr Truelove had been arrested, the whole affair came to a most 'lame and impotent' conclusion. It was at the instance of Sir Richard Bethel, Attorney-General under Lord Palmerston, and probably at the instigation of the Government of Louis Napoleon whom the pamphlet was alleged to have libelled, that the prosecution was commenced. The case was withdrawn by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Attorney-General under the Government of Lord Derby, on the understanding that Mr Truelove would sell no more of the pamphlets. Down to the evening preceding the day fixed for the trial, Mr Truelove, though he had doubts as to the result, fully expected that the matter would be fought out. On that evening however, when it was too late to instruct other counsel, Mr Truelove was informed that the counsel already retained for the defence announced that the affair would have to be compromised. So it came to pass that Chief Justice Campbell, six months after the prosecution had been instituted, dismissed Mr Truelove with many words of caution. It need not be said that Mr Bradlaugh was a

much disgusted with this termination of the case as Mr Truelove himself. The secret of the collapse, I think, was this:—Edwin James, who was retained for the defence, and who had political ambitions which were never fully realised on account of misdeeds which compelled him to retire from public life and from his own country, practically sold his client in order that the Government might be relieved from a distasteful and unpleasant position."

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY LECTURES AND DEBATES.

I do not know at what date or at what place my father delivere his first provincial lectures, but the earliest of which I can fin any record occurred in January 1858, when on the 10th of tha month he delivered two lectures at Manchester, a town in whic as we shall see later on, he was not altogether unknown, althoug in a totally different capacity. In reading the little there i to read about these early lecturing days I have been impresse with the fact that while in London his lectures were favourabl received, and he was evidently gaining goodwill as he went fro one hall to another, in the country he seems to have touche the hearts and the feelings of his audiences for or against hi wherever he went. At these first Manchester lectures the r porter writes: "His manly, earnest, and fearless style of advoca were much admired, and evidently produced a deep impre sion. Everybody who heard him wished to hear him again. In the April following he lectured in Sheffield, and from that tim forward his visits to the provinces were very frequent. Sheffie almost adopted him, and he went there again and again; in 185 and 1859 he went also to Newcastle, Sunderland, Bradfor Northampton, Doncaster, Accrington, Blackburn, Halifax, Bolto and other towns, leaving a trail of excitement in his wake wh ever he went. The descriptions of his personal appearance a the comments on his lectures at this time are more or less amusi The first I will note here shall be one from his own pen, writt to Mr Alfred Jackson in 1858, on the occasion of his earliest vi to Sheffield. He says: "You ask me to tell you how you m know me. I am 6 ft. 1 in. in height, about twenty-five ye of age, dress in dark clothing, am of fair complexion, with only t ghost of a prospective whisker."

In a brief account of his Sheffield lectures that year my fath

says that when he reached the Temperance Hall a copy of the *Sheffield Independent* was put into his hands, in which the Rev. Brewin Grant announced his intention to take no notice of him. But Mr Grant proved to be of a rather fickle temper, for on the morning following this first lecture "a small bill was printed and industriously circulated, entitled 'Iconoclast clasted,' being a challenge to myself from this very Brewin Grant who had previously determined not to notice me." On the first night Mr Bradlaugh had "a perfect crowd of opponents;" on the second he found that fresh troops had been levied against him. These "were led to the fray by the Rev. Eustace Giles (a stout Dissenting minister with a huge black bag). After the lecture this gentleman rose to reply, and commenced by extracting from his bag three huge volumes of Van der Hooght's Hebrew Bible, which he declared was the original Word of God, and which he requested me to read aloud to the audience. I complied by reading and translating a verse, to each word of which Mr Giles and his coadjutors nodded approval."

Going to Newcastle in September, my father found that the description of his personal appearance had so preceded him that the gentleman who met him, Mr Mills, came "straight to me on the platform as though we were old acquaintances instead of meeting for the first time." In Newcastle he lectured twice in the Nelson Street Lecture Hall (which has quite recently, I believe, been turned into a market), and was fairly, if briefly, reported by the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*. While in the town he took the opportunity of listening to a lecture delivered by "J. Cowen, jun.," as Mr Joseph Cowen was then styled.

From Newcastle he went to Sunderland, where a person who came from the Rev. Mr Rees, a clergyman of that place, brought him a parody of the Church service entitled "The Secularist's Catechism," which was intended as some far-reaching and scathing sarcasm on the Secularist's "creed," but which is really as pretty a piece of blasphemy as ever issued from the pen of a Christian minister. Mr Bradlaugh tells how the person who brought it "gave it to me in a fearful manner, keeping as far away from me as possible, and evidently regarding me as a dangerous animal; he backed towards the room door after putting the paper in my hand, and seemed relieved in mind that I had not in some manner personally assaulted him."

On his next visit to Sheffield, where he was announced to

deliver three lectures on three successive evenings, the walls we covered with bills advising the people to keep away, and the clerg in church and chapel publicly warned their congregations again attending the lectures. In spite of all these precautions (or was because of them?) the lectures were a decided success, the audienc increasing with each evening, until on the last evening "the lar Temperance Hall was full in every part, the applause w unanimous, and not one opponent appeared." The visit of "Icon clast" to Bradford produced a great flutter in the clerical society that town; and after he left we hear that "almost every missiona and clerical speaker opened fire upon him," and one sensiti gentleman wrote to the *Bradford Observer* expressing his grief th the Teetotal Hall should be "prostituted" by being let to the Fr thought lecturer.

In his *Autobiography* my father himself puts the date of h first lecturing visit to Northampton as the year 1857, and th year is again given in the little book issued as a *souvenir* of t unveiling of the statue of their late member by the Northampt Radical Association in June 1894; but I am inclined to think th this is a mistake, that my father's memory misled him a little, a that he put the date a few months too early. In any case, althou I have made diligent inquiry, the first lectures of which I can fi any note took place on Sunday and Monday, January 30th a 31st, 1859, in the large room of the Woolpack Inn, Kingswell Stre On the Monday evening the chair was taken by the late Mr Jose Gurney, J.P., who, in company with his old friend Mr Shipm had already heard Mr Bradlaugh lecture at the John Street Insti tion in London, and had been much impressed by the abil and earnest eloquence of the young speaker. The people crowd the street outside the Woolpack Inn for some time before t doors of the lecture-room were open, and the room was packed a few moments. I wonder how many times after that did Gurney preside at densely packed meetings for Mr Bradlaug Mr Gurney himself subsequently attained all the munici honours Northampton could bestow upon her deserving townsm nominated Charles Bradlaugh seven out of eight times that he c tested the borough, and only did not nominate him on the eigh occasion because his position as chief magistrate prevented him.

In the following March it was arranged that my father sho lecture in the Guildhall, at Doncaster. Doncaster, with

eputation as a race town, was also in those days the abode of the unco' guid." Some of the inhabitants appear to have been much ut out at the proposed lecture, and certain "Friends of Religion," s they called themselves, issued a "Caution to the public, specially the religious portion," in which they, the "People of Doncaster," are entreated to give "Iconoclast the extacy (*sic*) of azing on the unpeopled interior of the Guildhall." The "Friends of Religion" prefaced their entreaty by announcing that "the juvenile estroyer of images" had been engaged as a "grand speculation!" resumably this "Caution" resulted in a famous advertisement, for he *Doncaster Herald* says that the Guildhall was "crowded to xcess," and in writing his account of the lecture, which he says as a "frantic panegyric in honour of hell and a blasphemous enunciation of heaven," the reporter to this journal seems to have orked himself up into a fine frenzy. One can almost see him ith his tossed-back hair, his rolling eyes and gnashing teeth, as he urled these dynamitic words at the readers of the *Herald*:—

"There boldly, defiantly, recklessly—with the air of the dreadnought avo or the Alpine bandit—stood the creator's work [elsewhere styled layformed ingrate'] toiling, sweating, labouring strenuously, to heap ander upon his creator, and to convert into odious lies the book by hich that creator has made himself known to the world! . . . Need e go further to express our more than disgust—our horror—at the fact a young and accomplished man standing forth in crowded halls, and, hile the beauteous moon marches aloft in the vast and indefinable rmament, and the myriad of silvery stars shoot their refulgent rays on the desecrated lecture-room, actually telling the people that no od lives! no Supreme hand fretted the brave o'erhanging firmament th golden fire—no Jehovah made the wide carpet of fair nature spangled with laughing flowers—no God made roaring seas and mighty vers—no God revealed the Bible—no God made man!"

One really needs to draw breath after all that: the lecture-om lighted by star rays, the firmament fretted with golden fire, e laughing flowers and roaring seas, must surely have carried nviction. The *Doncaster Chronicle*, if more prosaic, is not the s hostile. Its report thus describes the lecturer:—

"He is a tall, beardless, whiskerless young man, with a pale face, and rather a harmless and prepossessing appearance"—[compare the *rald's* 'Alpine bandit!']—"certainly not the fierce individual we d previously imagined him to be from the elements of destruction

indicated in his name—'the image breaker!' He is a person possess
great fluency of speech, of ready wit, and the declamatory style of
oratory is well calculated to excite and carry away a popular audien

And the *Chronicle*, in a vain endeavour to outvie its colleague
choice epithets, winds up by styling the arguments of Atheists
"the miserable sophistry of these 'filthy dreamers,'" the delic
wording of which phrase would be hard for even a "coarse" Athe
to match, and urges that "for the sake of the youth of our tov
the municipal authorities will not again lend the Guildhall
such an object." In Sheffield Mr Bradlaugh was rapidly growing
popularity; lecturing there again immediately after his Doncas
lecture, he had an audience of 2000 persons to hear his addr
on "Has Man a Soul?"

Later in the year he was again in Doncaster, and this time t
"Friends of Religion" had succeeded so far in their endeavo
that the Granby Music Hall was refused, and it was rumoured th
the lectures would not be permitted. A temporary platform w
however erected under the roof of the Corn Market, and, in li
of the electric light of to-day, the lecturer was made dimly visi
to his audience by means of a lamp raised upon a pole. T
audience was said to number about 4000, "the hollow and par
arched roof of the Corn Market served as a sounding board, a
the tones of Iconoclast, whilst speaking, were distinctly hea
through the surrounding streets. Although the town was in
state of considerable excitement, the meeting was on the wh
very orderly." It was a beautiful evening; and when the lect
was over several hundred persons escorted "Iconoclast in a s
of triumphant procession" to his lodgings. As this was not exac
in accordance with the anticipations of the "Friends of Religio
my father was informed by the Mayor that several magistrates h
protested against the use of the Corporate property (the Corn M
ket), which they had occupied without the express permission of
Corporation, and in consequence the lectures must be given elsewhe
Accordingly, a large open yard near the market was obtained
that night; and although no fresh announcement was made,
news rapidly spread throughout the town. At half-past seven
Bradlaugh began to speak from a waggon. The subject was t
of the "History and Teaching of Jesus Christ," and the audien
which increased every moment until it spread into the grou
of the adjoining Corn Market, ultimately numbering between 7

nd 8000 persons, was very quiet and attentive. Missiles were hrown from a neighbouring house, and fireworks also were thrown nto the midst of the assemblage; they were soon put out, but "one racker was kept by the lecturer and placed among other Christian vidences." On returning from the meeting to his lodgings, "a arge stone was thrown, which partially stunned Iconoclast, and ut his head slightly."

In April he should have lectured at Accrington, but the proprietor of the hall was a publican, and the clergy and magistrates f the town had so worked upon his fears by threatening to refuse is license at the next Sessions that he drew back from his agreement. No other room was to be obtained; and as numbers of people had come from long distances to hear my father, he got eave to address them from a showman's waggon; but when the howman—notorious for his intemperance all over the district—found that Iconoclast approached spiritual subjects less freely han himself," he, too, retracted his permission. Not to waste his ime altogether, however, Mr Bradlaugh attended a meeting of the Accrington Mutual Improvement Society, at which, as it happened, he subject of the essay for the evening was "Jesus Christ." At Bolton the Concert Hall was engaged for his lectures on the 20th nd 21st September; but when Mr Bradlaugh came from London to eliver the lectures, he found the walls placarded with the announcement that the lectures would not be permitted to take place. He rought an action against the Bolton Concert Hall Company for £7 amages for breach of contract, the £7 representing the expense o which he had been put. The jury, however, after being absent considerable time, gave a verdict for the defendants. Needless o say that the closing of the Concert Hall did not prevent Mr Bradlaugh from lecturing in Bolton. Shortly afterwards the Unitarian Chapel, Moore Lane, was obtained, and he delivered hree lectures on successive evenings, instead of two, as formerly nounced.

At Halifax, in this year, his lectures produced the usual xcitement. The town missionary rushed into verse upon the ubject of "Iconoclast and the Devil," and issued his polite reflecons in the form of a handbill. The lectures also resulted in a t debate between "Iconoclast" and the Rev. Mr. Matthias, hich I shall notice later on. The story goes that at one of my ther's lectures Mr Matthias was present, and wished to offer

some opposition at the conclusion. His friends sought to dissu
him, and even to hold him in his seat, but the reverend gentlen
was so much in earnest, and was so excited, that he shook off
restraining hands, crying, "Unhand me, gentlemen. By heav
I'll make a ghost of him that lets me."

In Glasgow, that autumn, Mr Bradlaugh was threatened w
prosecution for blasphemy, with the result that his lectures at
Eclectic Institute were better attended than they had been bef
A little later the Procurator Fiscal informed him that the prose
tion was in his hands, and that "in the course of law" he would h
to answer for his offence in Glasgow "against the Holy Christ
religion." I cannot find that the matter was carried beyond t
however, so I suppose the Glasgow pietists contented themsel
with empty threats.

Although thus actively engaged in the provinces during 1
and 1859, my father by no means neglected work in London.
lectured at various halls on theological and political subjects,
took part in more general public work. In the spring of 1858
was elected President of the London Secular Society in the p
of Mr G. J. Holyoake, and those who know anything of
unremitting labours as President of the National Secular Soc
will comprehend that he was no mere figure-head, or Presiden
name only. Amongst other things, he immediately set about issu
a series of tracts for distribution, of which he himself wrote the f

On May 16th Mr Bradlaugh spoke at the John Street Institu
at the celebration of Robert Owen's 88th and last birthday, a
little thing happened then which he was always proud to re
It was Mr Robert Cooper's custom to read Mr Owen's paper
the public for him; but on this particular evening he was him
in ill-health, and had already exhausted his strength in addres
the meeting. Mr Owen had prepared a discourse on the "Origi
Evil," which Mr Cooper commenced to read as usual; but he b
unable to continue, it fell to my father's lot to take up the read
This was the last paper of Mr Owen's read in public, and al
the last public appearance of the aged reformer, who died on
17th of the following November.

In the provinces there was often considerable difficulty in
matter of hiring halls or in keeping the proprietor to his con
after the hall had been hired, but in London there was either

ntolerance o: more indifference, and the trouble arose less requently. On one occasion, however, in March 1859, when Mr Bradlaugh was to have lectured in the Saint Martin's Hall on "Louis Napoleon," he recalls in his *Autobiography* that "the Government — on a remonstrance by Count Walewski as to anguage used at a previous meeting, at which I had presided for Dr Bernard—interfered; the hall was garrisoned by police, and he lecture prevented. Mr Hullah, the then proprietor, being ndemnified by the authorities, paid damages for his breach of ontract, to avoid a suit which I at once commenced against him."

In the winter of 1858 my father became editor of the *Investigator*, riginally edited by Robert Cooper, and he was full of enthusiasm nd belief in his ability to make the little paper a success. It ad at that time a circulation of 1250, and he estimated that needed twice that number to enable it to pay its printing and ublishing expenses.

He commenced his conduct of the paper by a statement of his olicy, and by a trenchant letter to Louis Napoleon. From the ormer I take the opening and concluding words as giving his first ditorial utterance :*—

"We are investigators, and our policy is to ascertain facts and resent them to our readers in clear and distinct language. If we nd a mind bound round with Creeds and Bibles, we will select a harp knife to cut the bonds; if we find men prostrating themelves, without inquiry, before idols, our policy is iconoclastic—we ill destroy those idols. If we find a rock in our path, we will reak it; but we will not quarrel with our brother who deems his roper work to be that of polishing the fragments. We believe all he religions of the world are founded on error, in the ignorance of atural causes and material conditions, and we deem it our duty endeavour to expose their falsity. Our policy is therefore ggressive. We are, at present, of opinion that there is much to o in the mere clod-crushing sphere, in uprooting upas trees, ewing down creed-erected barriers between man and man, and nerally in negating the influence of the priest. Our policy is of humble character; we a e content to be axebearers and pioneers, tting down this obstacle and clearing away that. We respect the

* *Investigator*, November 1st, 1858, p. 124.

sower who delights in the positive work of scattering seed on t
ground, but we fear that the weeds destroy much of the fruit
his labours. . . .

"There is no middle ground between Theism and Atheis
The genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures are questio
relevant to Secularism. It is as necessary for the Secularist
destroy Bible influence as for the farmer to endeavour to eradic
the chickweed from his clover field. We appeal to those w
think our work fairly done to aid us in our labours; to those w
will not work with us we simply say, do not hinder us.

"Our only wish and purpose is to make man happy, and t
because in so doing we increase our own happiness. The secret
true happiness and wisdom lies in the consciousness that you
working to the fullest of your ability to make your fellows hap
and wise. Man can never be happy until he is free; free in bo
and in mind; free in thought and in utterance; free from crov
and creeds, from priest, from king; free from the cramp
customs created by the influences surrounding him, and wh
have taught him to bow to a lord and frown upon a begg
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! That true liberty, which infrin
not the freedom of my brother; that equality which recogni
no noblemen but the men of noble thoughts and noble dee
that fraternity which links the weak arm-in-arm with the stro
and, teaching humankind that union is strength, compels them
fraternise, and links them together in that true brotherhood
which we strive."

The second number of the *Investigator* under his editorshi
interesting to-day, as containing his earliest printed views u
"Oath-taking;" the third is also notable for its paper on "Emerso
the first article from the pen of "B. V." (James Thomson); and
the fourth Mr W. E. Adams commenced his contributions. I
evident that my father spared no effort to make the paper "
doubtedly useful," as he put it; but in spite of all his energy
his able contributors the *Investigator* did not pay its way.
April, too, he fell ill from a very severe attack of rheumatic fe
and was laid up for many weeks; so that at length, "being una
to sustain any longer the severe pecuniary burden cast upon h
and not wishing to fill his pages with appeals for charita
assistance," the journal was, with much regret, discontinued
August 1859. In the final number he pens a few "last wor

which are worth the reading, and in which he says that his reason for the discontinuance is very simple—"I am poor"—and in a rarely despondent mood he bids his readers "farewell," as he may perchance never address them again.

Delivering Freethought lectures and editing a Freethought journal undoubtedly absorbed much of Mr Bradlaugh's time, but these occupations engrossing as they were did not make him unmindful of his duties as a good citizen, and he was always taking some part or other in the political movements going on around him. At a meeting held in the Cowper Street School-room in November 1858, to advocate the principles of the Political Reform League, at which the League was represented by Mr Passmore Edwards and Mr Swan, and the Chartists by Ernest Jones, Mr Bradlaugh is reported as seconding a resolution in an "earnest, lucid, and eloquent manner," and as having "enforced the duty of every man to preserve the public rights, by unitedly demanding and steadfastly, peaceably, and determinedly persevering to obtain that position of equality in the State to which they were as men entitled;" now, as always hereafter, urging the *peaceful* demand of constitutional rights: a point I am anxious to lay stress upon, as this is the time when some of my father's later critics assert that he was rude, coarse, and, above all, violent.

The chairman of the meeting, who was also the churchwarden of Shoreditch, and a man apparently much respected, at the close quaintly said "he had not met that young man (Mr Bradlaugh) before that night, but he was most highly pleased to find in him such an able advocate of principle; he hoped he would be as good and faithful an advocate when he became old."

On the first Sunday in March 1859, the working men of London held a great meeting in Hyde Park to protest against the Government Reform Bill. They were very much in earnest, and although the time for the speaking was fixed for three o'clock in the afternoon, long before that hour the Park was thronged with people. About half-past two a man was hoisted on the shoulders of two others, and was greatly cheered by the crowd, who thought this was the opening of the proceedings. When, however, the person so elevated proclaimed to his listening auditors that "those who dared to take part in a political meeting on the Sabbath would be grossly offending the Almighty," the cheering was changed to

uproar and confusion, which only the advent of the real chairma sufficed to calm. The *Times* says that after the meeting had bee duly opened, "Mr Bradlaugh, a young man well known i democratic circles, came forward and addressed the meeting. The report which follows is probably the first vouchsafed t Charles Bradlaugh by the great daily; and, judging from th number of "Cheers" and "Hear, hears," and even "Loud cheers that the reporter managed to include in his score of lines o report, it was much more generous to him in '59 than at any late period. This meeting, like so many of its kind, and like the grea majority of those with which my father was concerned, wa remarkable for its orderliness; there was no police interferenc at any of the groups (several meetings were held simultaneously) and there was hardly a constable visible. On the Friday follow ing, the 11th, a meeting was held at the Guildhall "to conside the measure of Parliamentary Reform introduced by the Ministry. The chair was taken by the Lord Mayor, and the speakers include Baron Rothschild, one of the three members for the City, Samue Morley, P. A. Taylor, and Serjeant Parry. Ernest Jones, wh rose to move an amendment, was refused a hearing—under misapprehension, it is said. When Baron Rothschild began t speak he was considerably interrupted. "Loud calls," said th *Times* on the following day (when it was a trifle less polite tha on the previous Monday), "were also raised for 'Bradlaugh'— youthful orator who seemed a great favourite with the noisi Democrats." The poor Lord Mayor vainly tried to restore orde but louder grew the tumult and "more deafening" the calls f "Bradlaugh." Baron Rothschild was at length obliged to lim his speech to "I beg to second the motion;" and even these fe words were only audible to those within two or three yards of hi When the meeting was drawing to a close, and the usual vote thanks to the chair had been proposed—

"The Lord Mayor acknowledged the compliment, at the same tim expressing his deep regret that persons should have come to the ha bent on creating a disturbance. At this juncture a young man, wi fair hair and thin but intelligent features, was seen gesticulati vehemently at the extreme end of the platform, to which he h worked his way unobserved amid the general confusion. His name, appeared, is Bradlaugh, and his object evidently was to gratify h admirers by delivering an harangue. His words were, howev

drowned by the conflicting clamour from the body of the hall. The Lord Mayor seemed to beckon him to the rostrum, as though his claim to speak were to be allowed; but a minute or two of indescribable confusion intervening, his Lordship came forward and then declared the meeting to be dissolved. This announcement had hardly been made when Mr Bradlaugh reached the part of the platform for which he had been struggling. His triumph was, however, very short lived. In an instant the Lord Mayor, though having one of his arms in a sling, was upon the refractory Chartist leader, and collared him with the energy and resolution of a Sir William Walworth. Two of the city officers promptly seconding his Lordship's assertion of his authority, Mr Bradlaugh was dragged forcibly to the back of the platform, and fell in the scuffle. All this was but the work of a moment, yet the uproar which it provoked continued after every occupant of the platform had retired. The undaunted orator found his way to the body of the hall unhurt, where he addressed such portions of the crowd as had not dispersed in frantic and excited eloquence. A considerable time elapsed before the building was cleared, during which Anarchy and Bradlaugh had undisputed possession of the scene."

How much of fact and how much of fiction there is in this lively account the *Times* only knoweth. The idea that a "Sir William Walworth" with one arm in a sling could "collar" a man of my father's herculean strength is sufficiently ridiculous. I myself saw him as late as 1877 at a stormy meeting take two unruly medical students in one hand and one in the other, and force them down the hall to the door, where he cast them out. His resistance to his fourteen assailants on August 3rd, 1881, is historic. It is hardly probable that a man who could do these things when he had passed the fulness of his strength would, when in the height of his vigour, have tamely submitted to be "collared" by a one-armed man and then dragged back and thrown to the ground by two "city officers;" and all "the work of a moment!"

Gatherings opposing the Government Reform Bill were held in different parts of London and the country; and Mr Joseph Cowen, himself President of the Northern Reform Union, writing to a friend in reference to them, on the 16th March, says incidentally: "Bradlaugh is a clever young fellow—full of vigour and daring—and is altogether a likely man to go ahead if he has any backing."

Considering the limited time at his disposal, there is really a

tremendous record of public work for these two years, 1858 and 1859; for in addition to that which I have already mentioned, my father held several debates, some of them continuing for three or four nights in succession. He had his first formal encounter in June 1858. Prior to this, he had gained a little practice in discussing with the numerous opponents who used to rise after his lectures; then there was the more extended, but apparently informal, debate with Mr Douglas, to which I referred some time ago; and also, in the early part of 1858, Mr Bradlaugh seems to have arranged to speak at considerable length in opposition to the lectures given by Thomas Cooper in the Hall of Science, City Road; but the brief notices of these which appeared do not enable one to form any opinion, beyond remarking a decided irritability on the part of Mr Cooper, who permitted himself to use distinctly unparliamentary language. The first formally arranged debate in which he took part was a four nights' discussion with the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., then a dissenting minister at Sheffield, and was held in that town on the 7th, 8th, 14th, and 15th June. In 1873 my father, writing of this occasion, said: "Mr Grant was then a man of some ability, and, if he could have forgotten his aptitudes as a circus jester, would have been a redoubtable antagonist." The audiences were very large; the numbers of persons present on the different nights ranged from eleven to sixteen hundred; and, considering the heat of the weather and the still greater heat of the discussion, my father's testimony is that they "behaved bravely." Writing shortly afterwards, he says: "The chairmen (both chosen by Mr Grant) behaved most courteously to me, and, in fact, the only disputed point of order was decided in my favour." He seems to have been particularly impressed by Alderman H. Hoole the Chairman for the first two nights, who by an act of kindly courtesy quite outside the debate, showed that the gibes and sneers in which Mr Grant so freely indulged had little weight even with his own friends.

A friend in Sheffield has lent me the report of the discussion printed at the time by Mr Leader of the *Sheffield Independent* and which both disputants agreed was a very fair representation of what was said. According to the arranged terms, Mr Bradlaugh led the first night, and the Rev. Brewin Grant on each succeeding evening. The proposition to be affirmed by "Iconoclast" on the first evening was: "The God of the Bible, revengeful, inconstant

unmerciful, and unjust. His attributes proven to be contradicted by the book which is professed to reveal them." His opening speech was made in clear, concise language, was directly to the point, and was listened to with the utmost attention. He drew the picture of the Deity who, reviewing his creation, pronounced everything that he had made "very good" (Gen. i. 31); "yet in a short period the same Deity looks round and declares that man is so bad that he repented that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart [Gen. vi. 6]; and in consequence God, to relieve himself from this source of grief, determined to destroy every living thing, and he did destroy them by deluge, for it repented him that he had made them, because man was so very wicked." He dwelt upon this at some length; then passed on to the selection of Noah and his family, "part of the old stock of mankind having personal acquaintance with all pre-existing evil," to re-people the earth; and concluded his first half-hour by asking where was the love, where the justice towards the Amalek, against whom "the Lord hath sworn" to have war "from generation to generation"? It was now the turn of the Rev. Brewin Grant to reply to this terrible indictment against the Deity whose professed servant he was; and it is interesting to mark the manner in which he set about his task. He commenced by unburdening himself of a few minor personalities against my father, and when a few of these petty sneers—the only possible object of which could be to provoke ill feeling—were off his mind, he indulged his overwhelming passion for raising a laugh. For this he made an opportunity in dealing with the causes which led to "the Flood," asking whether "Iconoclast imagines that, because God knew of these sins before they were committed, he should have drowned men before they were created." This, of course, provoked the desired merriment, and, temporarily satisfied, Mr Grant proceeded to his argument with acuteness and ability. Unfortunately, his peculiar temperament would not allow him to keep this up for very long; and while still in his first half-hour speech he drew a comparison of God's repentance with that of a merchant who repents him of engaging a certain clerk, and made the merchant say, "Wherein can you find fault? Am I a Secularist that I should lie, or an infidel committee-man that I should violate a ratified agreement?" "Iconoclast" is once more taunted with blindness and ignorance; and "infidels" with amusing "auditors in holes of

progress;" and so the reverend (never was a title more meaningless) gentleman's speech came to a conclusion. It would have been small wonder if a young, hotly enthusiastic man as my father then was, had been roused to angry retaliation, and so turned aside from the real points in dispute; but he did not so soon lose the coolness with which he had started. He made a few short answers to the personalities, and proceeded at once to deal with the arguments urged by Mr Grant; and, these disposed of, continued to build up his own position. The greater part of Brewin Grant's next speech was argumentative, but not all; he made an opportunity to tell his antagonist that his strength lay "not in his logic, but in his lungs;" that one of his objections was "too foolish," but he (Grant) "condescended to notice it;" and further, that "no class of men with which I am acquainted has had all honesty so thoroughly eaten out by trickery and falsehood as the infidel class." The next quarter of an hour fell to my father, who hardly noticed Mr Grant's gibes; but when the latter made his speech, the final one of the evening, he still interlarded it with innuendoes against the "infidel." The propositions affirmed by Mr Grant on the succeeding nights were shortly as follows: The Creation story consistent with itself and with science; the Deluge story consistent with itself and physically possible; and finally, "Iconoclast" as a commentator on the Bible, "deficient in learning, logic, and fairness." But the story of the first night was merely repeated on the later evenings; as feeling grew a little warmer, or there was something more than usually offensive in Mr Grant's personalities, Mr Bradlaugh was once or twice evidently roused to anger; but after reading the debate I only wonder that he had the patience to carry it through to the end.

I have dwelt upon this debate much longer, as I am well aware than it really deserves; but I have done so for two reasons: (1) That being the first set debate, formally arranged and fairly reported, it should have a special interest, inasmuch as we should expect it to show to a certain extent the measure of Mr Bradlaugh's debating powers at the age of twenty-six; and (2) because the idea has been so diligently spread abroad, and possibly received with credence by those who were not personally acquainted with either disputant, that Mr Bradlaugh found in the Rev. Brewin Grant a powerful opponent. By my father's testimony, Mr Grant was a man of ability; by his own—as shown by quotations I have

here given—he was an unscrupulous slanderer. He had a power, it is true, and that power consisted in his willingness to weary and disgust his antagonist and his audience (friends as well as foes) by low jests and scandalous personalities. In the course of this debate he scornfully told his audience that he was not speaking to them but to the thousands outside: by those thousands, if perchance he has so many readers, will he be judged and condemned.

In March 1859 a debate between Mr Bradlaugh and Mr John Bowes was arranged at Northampton. My father describes Mr Bowes as "a rather heavy but well-meaning old gentleman, utterly unfitted for platform controversy." The *Northampton Herald*, which professed to give an "outline" of this debate, announced that the "mighty champion" of the Secularists was "a young man of the name of Bradlaugh, who endeavoured to impose upon the credulity of the multitude by arrogating to himself the high-sounding title of 'Iconoclast.'" Mr John Bowes the *Herald* put forward as a "gentleman well known for his contests with the Socialists and the Mormonites." The *Herald's* outline-report was reprinted in the *Investigator*, with a few additions in parentheses; but a note is appended that it is very imperfect, and my father having by this time fallen ill with rheumatic fever, he was unable to revise it. There is just one passage in Mr Bradlaugh's opening speech which is given fairly fully, and which it is desirable to repeat here, for in it he lays down his position as an Atheist, a position to which he adhered until his last hour.

"He did not deny that there was 'a God,' because to deny that which was unknown was as absurd as to affirm it. As an Atheist he denied the God of the Bible, of the Koran, of the Vedas, but he could not deny that of which he had no knowledge."

This statement Mr Bradlaugh made, in varying words, over and over again, and yet over and over again religious writers and speakers have described, and probably they always will describe, the Atheist as "one who denies God."

In the years 1859 and 1860, despite the fact that in the former year he lay for many weeks very seriously ill, discussions, as he himself says, grew on him "thick and fast." "At Sheffield I debated with a Reverend Dr Mensor, who styled himself a Jewish Rabbi. He was then in the process of gaining admission to the Church of England, and had been put forward to show my want of scholarship. We both scrawled Hebrew characters for four

nights on a black board, to the delight and mystification of th audience, who gave me credit for erudition because I chalked th square letter characters with tolerable rapidity and clearness. A Glasgow I debated with a Mr Court, representing the Glasgo Protestant Association, a glib-tongued missionary, who has sinc gone to the bad; at Paisley with a Mr Smart, a very gentlemanl antagonist; and at Halifax with the Rev. T. D. Matthias, Welsh Baptist minister, unquestionably very sincere."

I have not been able to get a report of the debate with I Mensor, and indeed I do not think one was ever printe The discussion with the Rev. T. D. Matthias was for man years on sale with other Freethought publications, and has doub less been read by many. The subject of the debate was "Th Credibility and Morality of the Four Gospels," and it was continue for five successive nights—October 31st, November 1st, 2nd, 3r 4th, 1859. It grew, as we have already seen, out of lectur delivered in Halifax by Mr Bradlaugh, and was with one or tw exceptions conducted with such calmness, courtesy, and good fee ing, that at the conclusion each gentleman expressed his appreciatio of the other. The Court debate was not held until 1860, and wa a four nights' debate, terminating on March 20. The use of th City Hall was refused on the ground "that such meetings tend t riot and disorder," and the discussions were therefore held in th Trades' Hall, which on each evening was crowded to the door. Th chair was taken by the late Alexander Campbell, whom Mr Bra laugh speaks of as "a generous, kindly-hearted old Sociali missionary, who, at a time when others were hostile, spok encouragingly to me, and afterwards worked with me for a lon time on the *National Reformer*." Mr Campbell edited the *Glasgo Sentinel*, and in the issue of March 17, 1860, there is an allusio to the debate then being carried on between "Iconoclast" and M Court, of "The Protestant Layman's Association." Says th *Sentinel*, "Few Scottish clergymen are fit for the platform. Th pulpit, indeed, unfits for logical debate, but the Protestant communi ought to feel well pleased that in Mr Court . . . they have skillful and redoubtable champion of Christianity." The *Glasgo Daily Bulletin*, giving a few words to the final night, says th "the speaking during the evening was excellent and occasional excited, but the conduct of the audience was orderly in the extrem Mr Bradlaugh was animated and forcible, and exhibited many

the traits of a great speaker. Mr Court's university career is evidently polishing and improving him." The audience passed a resolution of censure upon the authorities who refused the City Hall, regarding it as involving a slander upon the community of Glasgow. A friend, after much searching, came across and sent to me a fragment of the published debate; but as it contains only one complete speech from each disputant and parts of two others, one cannot say much about it. Mr Court seems to have been unusually smart, and the *Daily Bulletin's* reference to his "university career" accounts for the numerous literary quotations which adorned his speech.

The *Paisley Journal* gives a short notice of the debate with Mr John Smart of the Neilson Institute, which was held for two successive nights in the Paisley Exchange Rooms in March 1860. Speaking of the first night's audience, it says it "was the largest we ever saw in the Exchange Rooms, the whole area, gallery, and passages being crowded;" on the second night the audience was estimated at between 1100 and 1200. The discussion for the first night was upon the four Gospels; and the editor remarks: "Of course, there will be differences of opinion as to which of the debaters had the best of the argument; but those who could clear their minds of partisanship will perhaps be of opinion that Mr Bradlaugh's speeches displayed boldness and vigour, with great information on the subjects at issue; that Mr Smart showed himself as an accomplished scholar, with a mass of knowledge ever ready to bring up in illustration of his views; and that each had a foeman worthy of his steel." The subject for the second night was a consideration of the teachings of Christ. The *Journal* thought that "both speakers brought their best arguments and greatest powers of intellect into the subject." Mr Bradlaugh enforced his objections "in powerful voice and vigorous language, and with telling effect. In his own quiet scholarly way—closely, tersely, and clearly, Mr Smart took up most of the objections and discussed them *seriatim*." It will be seen that the *Paisley Journal*, at least, tried to clear its mind of "partisanship," and to hold the scales evenly.

CHAPTER X.

HARD TIMES.

The question will probably have presented itself to many min
If Mr Bradlaugh was giving up so much time to public work,
lecturing, reform meetings, debating, etc., how was he living
while? what was his home life, and in what way was he earn
his bread? It will be remembered that, after leaving the army
1853, he was before the year was out in the employ of Mr Rog
solicitor, of 70 Fenchurch Street, first as "errand boy" at 10s
week, and then as clerk at a slowly increasing salary. After a
months at Warner Place, he and my mother went to live in a li
four-roomed house at No. 4 West Street, Cambridge Heath, wh
my sister Alice was born. In the previous January my father
had a very troublesome piece of litigation to conduct for his firm
Manchester. Often and often has he told us the story of
and he used to work us up into a state of excitement by
graphic account of his capture of two men at night from a comm
lodging house in one of the low parts of Manchester; of his in
view at the Albion Hotel with Mr Holland, a surgeon implica
in the case, who, when my father rose to ring the bell for s
lemonade, mistaking the intent, rose in alarm, and cried, "For G
sake, don't!" These and other episodes in the case remai
clearly enough in my memory, but when I wished to retell
story in a connected form, I found myself altogether at a
First of all, I could not remember that my father ever mentio
the date of these legal adventures, and without the date I coul
little in the way of searching for press reports. However, I fo
a clue to this in the following letter, which was amongst t
papers of my mother's which, as I have said, I looked thro
quite recently for the first time:—

"North Camp, Aldershot,
"29th January 1856.

"Madam,—Mr Bradlaugh has been kind enough to send me, du

e last few days, some Manchester newspapers containing reports
ative to the case of suspected poisoning. Not knowing where to
dress him now, I take the liberty of writing to you. Will you be so
nd as to convey to him my thanks for the papers, and my hearty
ngratulations on his having obtained the management of the prosecu-
n; it is an opportunity of distinguished service. With his wonderful
uteness and energy (Mr Bradlaugh and myself are such old and close
ends that we do not mince words in speaking of or to each other) he
ll surely distinguish himself, and thus, as I suppose and hope, be in
ir way for promotion, as we phrase it. Watching the case with great
erest, I thought his cross-examination of Mr Holland, the surgeon,
remely good and well conducted; but as this is merely an unpro-
sional opinion, he will not care much for it, although so favourable.
'Trusting that yourself and the other members of the family are
oying good health, I have the honour to be, Madam, yours most
pectfully,

JAS. THOMSON, Schoolmaster.
"Depôt, 1st Rifles.

Mrs C. Bradlaugh."

Apart from the subject, this letter has in itself a special interest
personal admirers of "B.V.": the handwriting—the earliest
cimen in my possession—is singularly unlike Mr Thomson's
ting of later years, so unlike that it was not until I had looked
he signature that I realised who was the writer, although I am
familiar with his writing that I should not have thought it
sible that I could hesitate in recognising it.

The poisoning case must have aroused considerable attention in
nchester at the time. It arose in this way:—An insurance com-
y called The Diadem Life Insurance Company had reason to
eve that frauds were being practised upon them in Manchester
ough their agent, and consequently instructed their solicitor to
estigate one case which they deemed unusually suspicious. The
citor happened to be Mr Rogers, and he sent his clerk, Mr Brad-
gh, to Manchester to conduct the proceedings there. A man
ned John Monahan, a waterproof worker, had become insured in
Diadem Office for £300; and after paying the premiums he died,
ving a will securing the £300 to his son James Monahan.
tain facts had been kept back from the Insurance Company at
time of taking out the policy, and the man's age had also been
ngly given. Investigations led, first, to the belief that the
had not been written until three weeks after the testator's
h—and this was subsequently sworn to by witnesses, one of

whom wrote out the will—and finally, to the possibility tha
old man, John Monahan, had been poisoned. Two men impli
in the matter Mr Bradlaugh himself captured and handed ov
the police in the middle of the night, and, in consequence o
evidence sworn to, an order was made for the exhumation o
body of Monahan. As there was no record of the place of b
the details of the exhumation were revolting in the extreme.
four days a gang of men were employed in digging up bodies
almost haphazard manner under the vague directions, first, o
sexton and next of a niece of the deceased. Mr Bradlaugh,
consulting with the coroner, contracted with a Mr Sturges to u
take the work with more system. Sixty or more bodies were
up, and at length one of these was identified as that of Mon
Under the circumstances one cannot believe that the identific
was very precise; the body had been lying in a common grav
between five and six months, and no one's memory seems to
been clear enough even to point out the spot where the old ma
buried. Mr Bradlaugh was always of opinion that they di
get the right body after all, although in the body found there
traces of poison. These traces the medical evidence did not
sufficient to justify a charge of poisoning, and this count the
fell to the ground. The counsel engaged on behalf of the ac
son, James Monahan, was very indignant that my father shou
allowed to conduct the prosecution; he protested that heret
the rule in that court was that no one should be allowed to pr
in that court unless an attorney, or solicitor, or barrister. O
last occasion, the counsel went on, as the prisoners had been
hended only the night before, and therefore, as there wa
perhaps time to instruct a professional man, Mr Bradlaugh
been allowed to appear. Other clerks had been refused to a
and he could not see why a different rule should be adopted i
case. To expedite the business, he suggested that the case sh
according to ordinary practice, be conducted by a solicit
barrister. Mr Bradlaugh said he had appeared to co
cases for his employer in London police courts, and this
matter entirely within the discretion of the Court. He urge
he alone was in possession of all the facts of the case, and th
could not communicate his knowledge to any other person.
Maude (the magistrate) remarked that it had been the genera
in that court that parties should be represented either by c

solicitor, but there was no rule without an exception, and looking the peculiarity of this case, he thought it would be very inconnient now not to allow Mr Bradlaugh to elicit the facts.

At a later stage of the proceedings a Mr Bent, who was atching the case on behalf of another of the prisoners, objected, the part of the solicitors practising in the court, to Mr adlaugh, an attorney's clerk, being allowed to appear, but the nch overruled his objection. In consequence of the medical idence as to the condition of the exhumed body, the charge of isoning had, of course, to be entirely abandoned, but in the arch following James Monahan and two others were charged th having, on 3rd August 1855, "feloniously forged a will rporting to be the last will and testament of John Monahan, d with having uttered the same, knowing it to be forged," and other was charged with having feloniously been an accessory er the fact. The jury found Monahan guilty, but acquitted the ners. Keefe, the fourth man, was then charged with having ren a false oath, and to this he pleaded guilty.

In September 1857 my father moved from West Street to Hedgers Terrace, Cassland Road, Hackney, where I was born in e March of the following year. He now began to think it was ite time to take some definite steps towards the advancement his position in life, and with that object in view he wrote the lowing letter to Mr Rogers:—

'Dear Sir,—I have been in your employ above four years, and now twenty-five years of age. I have a wife and child, beside ther and sisters, looking to me for support; under these circumstances s absolutely necessary that I should make the best position I can for self. My object in now addressing you is to ascertain if there is any bability of my obtaining my articles from you, and if so, at what iod? You must not be offended with me for this, because we are in position of two traders. I have my brains for sale, you buy them. aturally try to get the best price—you perhaps may think I sell too h. I have already this year refused three situations offered to me. e first (although it was £160 a year) I refused because it came just r my last increase of salary; the second because it did not involve articles; and the third because it was made to me immediately prior he death of Mr Rogers, and I thought it would be indelicate then to ible you. My question to you now is, Do you feel willing to give my articles? Of course, I need not say that I have not the means to for the stamp, and the matter therefore involves the question of an

advance of £80. I would, however, gladly serve you for the five y
at the salary I now receive, and I would enter into any bond, how
stringent, to prevent loss of practice to you in the future. If you
inclined to do this, name your own time within six months: if, on
contrary, you think I set too high a value on my capabilities, or
determined not to give articles to any clerk, I shall be obliged by
early reply.

"Whatever may be the result of this application, I trust you
believe that I am grateful for the many past kindnesses you
shown me, and that the good feeling at present existing may no
lessened between us. I have my way in life to make—yours to a g
extent is smooth and easy; but as you have struggled yourself,
willing to hope you will not blame me for trying hard to make a
in life.—Yours very respectfully,

"(Signed) CHAS. BRADLAUG

"Thos. Rogers, Esq."

This letter is undated and without address; and it will be n
as a curious point of interest, in one so very business-like
practical, that Mr Bradlaugh rarely did put his address or dat
the letters he wrote with his own hand. If the address happe
to be stamped on the paper, well and good, if not, he rarely w
it; and his nearest approach to dating his letters was to put
them the day of the week. I do not, of course, say that he n
went through the customary form of putting the date or add
but that he more often than not omitted it. This habit,
tracted early in life, he retained until his death, and in fact
very last letter entirely written with his own hand was m
dated with the day of the week.

The precise reply to this appeal I do not know; that it
have been in the negative, and that my father had to seek for s
one else who would give him his articles on the terms indicate
his letter is clear. This person he thought he had found in
Thomas Harvey, solicitor, of 36 Moorgate Street, and he qu
Mr Rogers in order to be articled to him. The draft of the art
of agreement found amongst my father's papers bears the
November 16th, 1858. This connection proved to be a
unfortunate one for my father; for Mr Harvey shortly afterw
fell into money difficulties, in which Mr Bradlaugh also be
involved. My father's troubles—as troubles ever seem to
came, not singly, but in battalions; he was now not only wit
regular employment and in serious pecuniary difficulties,

eumatic fever seized upon him, and laid him for many weeks in
e spring and early summer of 1859 on his couch in his little room
Cassland Road. In August, still weak, poor, and full of care,
e was, as I have said, obliged to stop the *Investigator*, and give
p for the time his cherished project of editing a Freethought
urnal.

When poor people are ill, necessity compels them to curtail the
eriod of convalescence, so before my father was able to go out he
rove to do writing work at home, although the rheumatism
ngering in his right hand rendered the use of the pen painful and
fficult. As soon as he could get about again he began once more
cturing and debating (as we have seen) with renewed energy.
nyhow the stories are legion of the fortunes he made upon the
atform and through his publications, though a few small
cidents will show the amount of truth there is in these oft-
peated tales.

Just before the birth of my brother Charles, on the 14th
ptember 1859, we moved from Hackney to a little house at
ark, near Tottenham, called Elysium Villa; and while we lived here,
hen my father had to make a journey to the North he was obliged
start from Wood Green station, a distance of about three and
half miles from our house. The only way to get there was to
lk—omnibuses there were none, and a cab was out of the question
the score of expense. Mr Bradlaugh had no portmanteau in
ose days; his books and his clothes were packed in a square tin
x, which to the "curious observer"—to use a phrase much
voured by novelists—would have given a hint of his profession,
asmuch as it was uncommonly like a deed box. The maid Kate,
sisted by some one else, carried this box from home to the station
Wood Green over night, and my father would get up early in
e morning and walk the three and a-half miles to catch the first
in to the North. It must be borne in mind that my father did
t, like many young men, like walking for walking's sake, and
e long walk, followed by a still longer train ride in one of the
l comfortless third-class compartments in a slow train, finishing
with a lecture or debate, made a fairly heavy day's work.

Before going farther I must stay to say a word about Kate,
cause I want to give some idea of the devotion my father
spired at home as well as in the hearts of men who could only
lge him by his public acts. Kate came to us from the country,

a girl of sixteen, when I was but a few months old; she st
with us until our home was broken up and my brother die
1870. Many a time her wages were perforce in arrears; an
1870 she would, as she had done before, have patiently waite
better times and shared with us, had we not been compelle
do without her. Her loyalty was absolute. When we t
children were babies she cheerfully bore poverty with us;
well do I remember—as a picture it stands out in my mind,
of my earliest recollections—the carpetless floor and scan
furnished room. In the days when there was arrest for debt
kept the door against the sheriff's officer: when one of
Thomson's sad periods of intemperance overwhelmed him,
with my mother, searched the purlieus of London for him, fo
him in some poor den, and brought him home to be nursed
cared for. Kate lives to-day, and with unabated loyalty n
allows an opportunity to pass of saying a word in praise, o
defence, of her dead but much-loved master.

A letter to my mother (undated, but certainly written earl
the sixties) giving some description of one of my father's jour
to Yarmouth, reminds us that the old-fashioned windo
third-class carriage left many things to be desired, and
these days of luxurious travelling such hardships would be tho
unendurable:—

"I am safely landed here* with sevenpence in my pocket. It
snowed nearly all the journey, and if it continues I expect all
bloaters will be turned into whitings. The ride was a cold one, fo
E. C. R.† parliamentary carriage combined the advantage of ventil
with that of a travelling bath, wind, rain, and snow gaining admi
and accompanying us without payment—which was not fair.

"You asked me to write, and I will therefore describe the inci
of the journey. Park to Broxbourne: carriage full, darkness preva
Broxbourne: spent 1d. on *Daily Telegraph*, which read to m
lying on the broad of my back, the carriage being more empty
view was mist in the clouds of snow. Cambridge: bought 3
biscuits and a [*Morning*] *Star*, ate one and read the other till I ar
at Ely, with an occasional glance at Buckle on Civilisation. E
Norwich: cold, and discontented with my lot in life; Norwich:
Adams and Roberts, talked sweet things about confectionery fo
minutes, then straight on here, where I fulfil my promise of writing

* The letter is headed, "Yarmouth, Thursday."

† "Eastern Counties," now "Great Eastern" Railway.

The letter is ornamented with several drawings of himself under ne different circumstances indicated in his letter.

The story he also relates in his "Autobiography," "for the ncouragement of young propagandists," is a forcible example of he little profit his lectures often brought, and the difficulties his overty sometimes forced upon him.

"I had," he says, "lectured in Edinburgh in mid-winter; the udience was small, the profits microscopical. After paying my ill at the Temperance Hotel, where I then stayed, I had only a ew shillings more than my Parliamentary fare to Bolton, where I as next to lecture. I was out of bed at five on a freezing orning, and could have no breakfast, as the people were not p. I carried my luggage (a big tin box, corded round, which ien held books and clothes, and a small black bag), for I could ot spare any of my scanty cash for a conveyance or porter. The ain from Edinburgh being delayed by a severe snowstorm, the orresponding Parliamentary had left Carlisle long before our rrival. In order to reach Bolton in time for my lecture, I had book by a quick train, starting in about three-quarters of an our, but could only book to Preston, as the increased fare took l my money except 4½d. With this small sum I could get no freshment in the station, but in a little shop in a street outside got a mug of hot tea and a little hot meat pie. From Preston I ot with great difficulty on to Bolton, handing my black bag to e station-master there, as security for my fare from Preston, ntil the morning. I arrived in Bolton about a quarter to eight; e lecture commenced at eight, and I, having barely time to run to y lodgings, and wash and change, went on to the platform cold d hungry. I shall never forget that lecture; it was in an old nitarian Chapel. We had no gas, the building seemed full of foggy mist, and was imperfectly lit with candles. Everything peared cold, cheerless, and gloomy. The most amusing feature as that an opponent, endowed with extra piety and forbearance, ose that evening to specially attack me for the money-making d easy life I was leading."

Writing in April 1860, he also gives some idea of his profits as editor and a publisher:—"When," he writes, "I relinquished e editorship of the *Investigator*, I was burdened with a printing bt of nearly £60; this has been reduced a little more than half contributions, leaving about £26 still due. I have, in addition,

paid out of my own pocket, for Freethought printing, during t
years, more than £100, for which I have yet no return. Duri
the last eight months I have been actively engaged in lecturi
. . . . When you learn that at some places I took nothing aw
and paid my own expenses, and that at nearly every place I o
received the actual profit of my lectures; and when, in additi
you allow a few days for visits to my wife and family, which ha
been few and far between; and also reckon for more than a we
of enforced idleness through ill health, you will perceive that I
not amassing a fortune."

In 1861 he again wrote: "During the past twelve months
have addressed 276 different meetings, four of which e
numbered over 5000 persons; eighty of these lectures h
involved considerable loss in travelling, hotel expenses, loss
time, etc. I have during the same time held five separate deba
two of these also without remuneration."

It is very likely that even in these early years my fat
cherished the hope of being able to earn enough by his tongue a
his pen to devote himself entirely to that Freethought a
political work which he had so much at heart; but as his own wo
show us, the day for that was not yet come, and the fortune he
accused of amassing existed then, as always, only in the hea
imagination of his detractors.

CHAPTER XI.

A CLERICAL LIBELLER.

ome lawsuits in which Mr Bradlaugh was interested brought him to contact with a solicitor named Montague R. Leverson, who d indeed been engaged in the defence of Dr Bernard. The quaintance thus begun resulted in an arrangement between them January 1862 that Mr Leverson should give my father his ticles. It was agreed that Mr Leverson should pay the £80 amp duty and all expenses in connection with the articles, and at my father should serve him as clerk for five years at a salary £150 per annum for the first three years and £200 for the final o. The articles were drawn up and duly stamped on 25th June the same year. For the convenience of business, my father ve up his house at Park, and went to live at 12 St Helen's ace, Bishopsgate. This connection, which opened so favourably, d gave my father the opportunity, as he thought, of making a tled position in life, lasted only for two years or less. Mr verson got into difficulties, and the business was broken up. gue accusations had been brought against my father for the nner in which he is supposed to have treated Mr Leverson. thing definite is stated, but the slanderous "know-all's," who lly know nothing, try to make out a case by means of hint and uendo. With a view of disposing of even such paltry slanders as se, I quote the following letter written in reference to Mr ntague R. Leverson :—

"Langham Hotel, Portland Place, London, W.
"7th January 1867.

"My Dear Sir,—As written words remain when those spoken may be otten, I desire to place on record my sense of the kindly interest and crity you have recently displayed in your endeavours to serve a son with whom, despite anterior intimate relations, you had a short e previously been on antagonistic terms.

"Your earnest and energetic zeal on a former occasion had commanded

my respect and that of my wife, who witnessed some of your untir
efforts, and I regret that your friendly services have not met their
and due appreciation.

"I feel sure, nevertheless, that should an opportunity occur where y
good offices would be required, you would not withhold them.—I rem
dear Sir, yours most truly, GEORGE R. LEVERSON

"Chas. Bradlaugh, Esq."

When Mr Bradlaugh quitted Mr Leverson he also quitted
Helen's Place, and went back to Tottenham to live, where, inde
my sister and I had remained at a school kept by two maid
ladies during the greater part of the intervening time. He t
the house, Sunderland Villa, next door to the one we had
viously occupied, and for business purposes he rented an offic
the city first at 23 Great St Helen's, and later at 15 and
Palmerston Buildings, Old Broad Street. A company was for
called the "Naples Colour Company," of which he was the nomi
principal, and in which he was very active. This enterprise a
out of the discovery that iron and platinum were to be found
the sand of the beach at Castellamare, a little place on the c
not far from Naples. From this sand, steel of the finest qua
was manufactured, and paint peculiarly suitable for the paintin
iron ships, inasmuch as it would not rust. I have a razor in
possession manufactured from this steel, and I remember
while we were at Midhurst my grandfather still had some of
paint, with which he loyally painted hen-coops, troughs, sh
and every article in his posssession that could be reasona
expected to stand a coat of paint. Everything in connection w
the company was done in my father's name; the Italian Gov
ment granted the concession in his name; some stock in
Grand Book of Italy, at one time held in his name, was in
nection with this company; Foundry, warehouses, and o
buildings were raised; there were factories at Granili, Naples,
Hatcham New Town, London; steel and paint, especially
latter, were duly turned out, and were pronounced first-class;
somehow the business was a failure—perhaps partly because t
engaged in it may not have been sufficiently versed in the "colo
trade (I do not know that this was so, but think it very probab
and also certainly because of my father's name. I well reco
his telling us how on one occasion a large order came for pa
the paint was duly taken down to the wharf to be shipped, w

at the last moment came a telegram, followed by a letter countermanding the order. In the interval the intending purchaser had learned that the Bradlaugh of the "Naples Colour Company" was also Bradlaugh the Atheist, so, of course, he could not think of doing business with him.

In the city my father also fell into business connection with gentlemen who were concerned in the conduct of financial operations, and he himself took part in negotiating municipal loans, etc. I only remember two incidents in connection with these undertakings: one the loan to the city of Pisa, told by Mr John M. Robertson in his Memoir,* and the other a negotiation he was conducting to supply the Portuguese Government with horses. His business was nearly concluded to his satisfaction when he was recalled by telegram to London. Overend, Gurney & Co. had failed, and "Black Friday" had come; Mr Bradlaugh lost his contract; there was the terrible financial panic, and a fatal blow was struck to my father's business career. Mr Robertson quotes him saying, "I have great faculties for making money, and great faculties for losing it;" and these words were very true.

While at Sunderland Villa Mr Bradlaugh made many friends in the neighbourhood, and interested himself in local affairs. Going to the city every day, he made personal acquaintance with men who travelled daily in the same way, and won their liking and esteem. We children had a large circle of small friends, so that although there was a certain amount of hostility on account of my father's opinions† this did not greatly trouble us; we had

---

* "Once, as a financier, he was intrusted with the negotiation of a loan for the city of Pisa, with some of whose authorities he had become acquainted in some of his various journeys to Italy. His percentage, small in name, was to be considerable in total, on a loan of £750,000. He duly arranged matters with a certain London financier, who thereupon sent off a clerk to Pisa to offer the money at a fraction less than Bradlaugh was to get, provided he got the whole commission. Bradlaugh, however, had been secured in the conduct of the transaction up to a given date. He instantly went to Rothschilds, who allowed no commission, and put the loan in their hands. The other financier thus got nothing; but so did Bradlaugh."—John M. Robertson, "Memoir," pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

† For example, a lady gave the mistress of the school which we attended the option of sending us away or of losing her daughters. We were not sent away, so the lady withdrew her children rather than have them contaminated by contact with the children of the Atheist.

ample local popularity to counterbalance that. In any case house would have been sufficient unto itself, for during these ye we nearly always had one or two resident guests, besides a const flow of visitors of all nationalities. Many of our neighbo attended the Church of St Paul's in Park Lane, of which Rev. Hugh M'Sorley was the vicar; and I am bound to say t Mr M'Sorley at least did not err on the side of "loving neighbour." He felt the bitterest animosity towards Mr Br laugh, which occasionally found some vent in sharp passages vestry committees,* where, of course, they were almost always opposition.

* An instance of Mr Bradlaugh's interest in local matters may be found the *Tottenham and Edmonton Advertiser* for March 1, 1865, which give notice of a vestry meeting held on February 20, at which he was present. is reported as asking for a more detailed account of "Mrs Overend's charit and the increased value of the land forming part of the property. Sev members of the "Waste Land Commission" asked that an inquiry should made. The Chairman (the vicar) refused to allow the subject to be discuss but when the report was entered in the minutes, Mr Bradlaugh gave no that he should move that an inquiry be made.

The next business was to receive a report of the committee appointed the parishioners in the November before on the matter of the water supp Mr Delano, chairman of this committee, read the report, which consiste questions put by the local Board of Health, with correspondence there After criticising the discourtesy of the Board of Health, the chairman agr that nothing further could be done.

Mr Bradlaugh, however, "said it would not be right to let the sub drop without taking some further notice of it. He thought the Board bound to act at least courteously towards any of the parishioners hav complaints to make of the insufficiency of the water supply. The Bo acknowledged this insufficiency, and showed they could give a better sup when a stir was made about the subject. He complained of the unfairnes the Board in refusing all explanation. Not only did they do this, but t added impertinence in characterising him as a new member of the parish. could not tell who was to blame, but the Board confessed that the supply irregular, and showed that it was capable of being remedied. In his opin the Board deserved a vote of censure from the Vestry; they were bound to their best for those who elected them, and as far as lay in his power would teach them their duty. He then moved: 'That in the opinion this meeting the conduct of the Local Board of Health, in refusing to ans the questions of the Committee, is deserving of censure.'" This was secon by Mr Noble, and there was some discussion, a Mr Kirby rising to def the action of the Board, to which Mr Bradlaugh replied "in a most cau speech;" and the motion being put by the chairman, was carried: "twe six voting for, and two against it."

The Rev. Mr M'Sorley's animosity at length culminated in an outrageous libel. An article had appeared in *All the Year Round* entitled "Our Suburban Residence," in the nature of a "skit" dealing with Tottenham, in which Mr M'Sorley was alluded to under a very thin disguise. This article was reprinted in the *Tottenham and Edmonton Weekly Herald*, and Mr M'Sorley, taking it into his wise head that Mr Bradlaugh was the author, wrote the following "appendix" to the reprint, which appeared in the issue for April 28, 1866:—

"You will have seen that a serious omission has been made in a sketch which appeared in a recent number of *All the Year Round*, edited by C. Dickens, Esq. I crave your indulgence while I endeavour to supply the omission. It would be a crying injustice to posterity if the historian of our little suburban district were to omit one of the celebrities of the place. No doubt he is not much thought of or respected, but that shows his talent is overlooked. He is a great man this: why, our good-natured, genial, and humane vicar must hide his diminished head, when put in the scales and weighed against Swear'em Charley! and as for the 'bould' Irishman, the Rev. M'Snorter, why, he could not hold a candle to this genius; and as for the Rev. Chasuble—well, no matter, the least said about him the better, poor man!

"It was stated in the sketch that this parish had its representatives of all sorts of religions, from the Quaker to the Papist, the disciples of George Fox, who bends to no authority, and the disciples of the Pope, who makes all authority bend to him. We had a capital sketch of Churchism, High, Low, and Broad. But the sketcher forgot to add another to his list. Ay, truly, if we have those who are of the High Church, and the Low Church, and the Broad Church, we have some who are of 'No Church.' Why, we have got in our midst the very Coryphæus of infidelity, a compeer of Holyoake, a man who thinks no more of the Bible than if it were an old ballad—Colenso is a babe to him! This is a mighty man of valour, I assure you—a very Goliath in his way. He used to go 'starring' it in the provinces, itinerating as a tuppenny lecturer on Tom Paine. He has occasionally appeared in our Lecture Hall. He, too, as well as other conjurers, has thrown dust in our eyes, and has made the platform reel beneath the superincumbent weight of his balderdash and blasphemy. He is as fierce against our common Christianity as the Reverend M'Snorter is against Popery—indeed, I think the fiercer of the two. The house he lives in is a sort of 'Voltaire Villa.' The man and his 'squaw' occupy it, united by a bond unblessed by priest or parson. But that has an advantage; it will enable him to turn his squaw out to grass, like his friend Charles Dickens, when he feels tired of her, unawed by either the ghost or the

successor of Sir Creswell Creswell. Not having any peculiar scruples conscience about the Lord's Day, the gentleman worships the God nature in his own way. He thinks 'ratting' on a Sunday with a go Scotch terrier is better than the 'ranting' of a good Scotch divine for the Presbyterian element has latterly made its appearance amo us. Like the homœopathic doctor described in the sketch, this gent man combines a variety of professions 'rolled into one.' In the pr vinces he is a star of the first magnitude, known by the name of Mos Scoffer; in the city a myth known to his pals as Swear 'em Charle and in our neighbourhood he is a cypher—*incog.*, but perfectly unde stood. He contrives to eke out a tolerable livelihood: I should s that his provincial blasphemies and his City practice bring him in clear £500 a year at the least. But is it not the wages of iniquit He has a few followers here, but only a few. He has recently done very silly act; for he has, all at once, converted 'Voltaire Villa' in a glass house, and the whole neighbourhood can now see into t premises—'the wigwam,' I should say, where he dwells in true R Indian fashion with his 'squaw.' This is the sketch of one particul character in our suburban residence, which has been omitted. But is worth all the others noticed in Dickens' paper, and I have no dou we shall all feel gratified at your allowing it room in your paper."

The article was, of course, unsigned, but it did not ta Mr Bradlaugh very long to discover who was the author this "Appendix:" surely one of the most dastardly libels which a professed "gentleman" ever put his pen. The i mediate steps taken by Mr Bradlaugh to show his appreciati of the Rev. Mr M'Sorley's attentions resulted in the appearan of apologies from both editor and contributor in the issue of t *Herald* for the following week, May 5th. Having given the te of the libel, I now give the retracting words, which are as stro and complete as the falsehoods which preceded them.

"Our Suburban Residence and its 'Appendix.'
"Mr and Mrs Bradlaugh.
No. 1.

"The Editor and Proprietor of this newspaper desires to express extreme pain that the columns of a journal which has never bef been made the vehicle for reflections on private character, shou partly by inadvertence, and partly by a too unhesitating reliance on authority and good faith of its contributor, have contained week, in the form of an 'Appendix' to a recent article from *All Year Round*, a mischievous and unfounded libel upon Mr Cha Bradlaugh.

"That Mr Bradlaugh holds, and fearlessly expounds, theological inions entirely opposed to those of the editor and the majority of our aders, is undoubtedly true, and Mr Bradlaugh cannot and does not mplain that his name is associated with Colenso, Holyoake, or Paine; t that he has offensively intruded those opinions in our lecture hall NOT TRUE. That his ordinary language on the platform is alderdash and blasphemy' is NOT TRUE. That he makes a practice openly desecrating the Sunday is NOT TRUE. That he is known the names of 'Moses Scoffer,' or 'Swear 'em Charley,' is NOT RUE. Nor is there any foundation for the sneer as to his 'City actice,' or for the insinuations made against his conduct or character a scholar and a gentleman.

"While making this atonement to Mr Bradlaugh, the Editor must press his unfeigned sorrow that the name of Mrs Bradlaugh should ve been introduced into the article in question, accompanied by a ggestion calculated to wound her in the most vital part, conveying as does a reflection upon her honour and fair fame as a lady and a fe. Mrs Bradlaugh is too well known and too much respected to ffer by such a calumny; but for the pain so heedlessly given to a nsitive and delicate nature the Editor offers this expression of his profound and sincere regret.

"No. 2.

'The author of the 'Appendix' complained of, who is NOT the itor or Proprietor, or in any way connected with the *Tottenham rald*, unreservedly adopts the foregoing apology, and desires to orporate it with his own.

'It is for him bitterly to lament that, stung by allusions in the article m *All the Year Round*, which he erroneously attributed to the pen Mr Bradlaugh, he allowed his better judgment to give way, and ote of that gentleman in language which he cannot at all justify, which he now entirely retracts.

'To Mrs Bradlaugh he respectfully tenders such an apology as omes a gentleman to offer to a lady he has so greatly wronged. He sts that the exquisite pain she must have suffered from a harsh nsion will be somewhat mitigated by the public avowal of its absolute ustice. As a wife united to her husband in holy wedlock by the emn forms of the Church, as a mother of a young family, to whom sets the proper example of an English lady, she is entitled to aration from one whose only excuse is that he wrote of her in orance and haste, while writing of her husband under irritation and itement.

The writer of the libel has only to add that he has addressed to Bradlaugh a private letter bearing his proper signature, and avow- , while he laments, the authorship of the offending article; and he

begs to offer his thanks to Mr Bradlaugh for the generous forbear
which declines to exact the publication of the writer's name, from
siderations which will be patent to most of the readers of this jour

These apologies were accepted in a few generous words by
Bradlaugh :—

"On my own behalf, and that of my wife, I am content with
apologies. To have accepted less would have shown my disregard o
honour and my own. To have required more would have be
punish with too great severity those whose own frank avowals show
they acted rather with precipitancy than with 'malice prepense.'

"(Signed) CHARLES BRADLAUG

If I could believe that Mr M'Sorley *had* frankly—to repea
Bradlaugh's word—repented in fact, as well as in appearan
should pass this libel now with but slight allusion, and have
sidered myself bound by my father's promise not to mak
writer's name public.* In the immediate locality it was impos
that the authorship of such an astounding concoction should
remain secret, and for long afterwards Mr M'Sorley's name
bandied about with small jests amongst the irreverent young
of the neighbourhood. The apology was made under conside
pressure: members of the congregation threatened to leav
Church, a lawsuit loomed in the distance, and a horsewhippi
the near future.† "This fellow," said Mr Bradlaugh,‡ spe
thirteen years later, and still withholding the name, "I com
to retract every word he had uttered, and to pay £100, w
after deducting costs, was divided amongst various char
institutions. The reverend libeller wrote me an abject
begging me not to ruin his prospects in the Church by publi
his name. I consented, and he has since repaid my mer

* In 1872 Mr Bradlaugh had occasion to address a letter in the *N*
Reformer to the Rev. Mr M'Sorley, dealing with a sermon of his publi
the *Tottenham and Edmonton Advertiser*, but he did not make the sl
allusion to the clergyman's former conduct. Mr M'Sorley died in 189

† I remember that some one, I know not whom, put the horsewhip
hall in readiness, and this impressed upon the minds of us childr
dreadful depths of Mr M'Sorley's depravity! Our father never said
word or raised his hand in anger to one of us, and we knew that the
must be very bad indeed if the possibility of a whipping could
contemplated!

‡ *The Weekly Dispatch*, November 16, 1879.

losing no opportunity of being offensive. He is a prominent contributor to the *Rock*, and a fierce ultra-Protestant."

So much for the bitter lament and frank avowal of an ordained minister of the Church of England!

It is an open question which was the worse of the two—the Rev. John Graham Packer or the Rev. Hugh M'Sorley. I am inclined to think that the latter carried off the palm, although his malignancy recoiled upon himself, whilst Mr Packer's took such terrible effect. In any case a perusal of Mr M'Sorley's "Appendix" will convince the reader, if indeed any need convincing, that Mr Packer was not—as has lately been the fashion to assume—the only clergyman who has striven to injure my father's character.

CHAPTER XII.

TOTTENHAM.

Our house at Sunderland Villa was what I suppose would called an eight-roomed house. It comprised four bedrooms, sitting-rooms, and a little room built out over the kitchen, wh was Mr Bradlaugh's "den" or study. There was a garden in the communicating by a private way with "The Grove," a road runn at right angles to Northumberland Park, in which our house situated; and at the bottom of this garden, when things loo very prosperous indeed, some stables were built. There was t stalled the longed-for horse which was to take my father to City every day; but before the stables were quite completed B Friday came, and with it vanished all these entrancing drea The building indeed remained, but merely as a playhouse fo children, or to afford an occasional lodging for a friend (the co man's quarters being well and snugly built), and also, I fear, "good joke" to the neighbourhood.

We usually had one or more dogs, belonging to the var members of the family, for we were all fond of animals, and big ones were kept in the paved forecourt of the stables. At time there were three dwellers in the court, but these ultima thinned down to one, the dog Bruin, my father's special favou Bruin was part retriever and part St Bernard, a fine dog to loo and wonderfully clever. Mr Bradlaugh was never weary of rela anecdotes of his intelligence and sagacity. From his kennel in court Bruin's chain-range covered the garden gate, and with there no bolt or lock was necessary, for while with friends he the mildest and gentlest of dogs, with strangers or suspi persons he was truly formidable. He made no unnecessary of what he could do; he quietly watched the person until he well within his reach, and then hurled himself at his throat. I once saw. He was devoted to my father, and with him al perfectly docile and obedient. And when, in 1870, Mr Bradl

ad to part with him, losing Bruin was by no means the smallest rief at a time when there was little else but sadness and sorrow.

At St. Helen's Place Mr James Thomson (B. V.) had shared our ome, and he again lived with us for some years at Sunderland 'illa. The acquaintance which sprang up between them during Ir Bradlaugh's army experiences in Ireland had soon ripened into arm friendship.

When my father quitted the service they kept up a close orrespondence, and many a time have I heard my mother lament iat Mr Thomson's "beautiful letters" had been destroyed. When Ir Thomson also left the army and came to London at the end of 862, he came to my father, who at once held out a helping hand o him. In 1863 Mr Bradlaugh obtained for him the appointment f Secretary to the Polish Committee, but his inherited curse of ntemperance seized upon him, and at a crucial moment he dis-ppeared.* On May 29th Mr W. J. Linton wrote from Ambleside:—

---

* Mr W. E. Adams speaks of this matter in his recollections of my father, om which I have already quoted on page 68. "I think it has been id," he remarks, "that Mr Bradlaugh did not do the best he could for mes Thomson, the author of 'The City of Dreadful Night.' My own stimony on this subject may not be of much account, but I happen to now that Mr Bradlaugh for many years maintained Thomson as a member his own family; sometimes finding him employment in his own office, at her times getting him situations elsewhere. When the Polish Revolution 1862 broke out, a committee was formed in London to assist the insurgents. was appointed secretary of that committee. But in 1863 it became cessary that I should resign in order to accept an appointment in ewcastle. Mr Bradlaugh asked me to do what I could to obtain for nomson the succession to the office. It was mainly on Mr Bradlaugh's rong and urgent recommendation that the committee selected him. I nsferred to him all the books, documents, correspondence, etc., much of of a very interesting and valuable character. Although I endeavoured, th in Manchester and in Newcastle, where I visited some of the leading liticians, to form branches of the central committee in London, I ceased active participation in the movement. It was naturally expected, of rse, that Thomson would do all that had been hitherto done by me, and leed, from his superior qualifications, a great deal more. A few weeks er I had been located in Newcastle, however, a letter was placed in my nds from the late Peter Alfred Taylor, who was chairman of the Polish mmittee, asking whether I could tell him where James Thomson could be nd, since he had not been at the office for many days, and had left the airs of the committee in a disordered condition. Poor Thomson, as turned out, had been overtaken by one of those periodical attacks of

"Dear Bradlaugh,—The enclosed from Taylor. I send it to y knowing no other way of getting at Thomson, and wishful not to thr over any one spoken kindly of by you. But for myself I would n stand a second utter neglect of this kind. However, it rests wi Taylor.

"After some trouble about Thomson, he might at least have writt to me in the first instance, or to Taylor now, to account even f 'illness'—which I begin to doubt.

"*I* only asked him for a daily paper, which would have satisfied n of his daily attention. I have had *three* since I left. Row him, pleas —Yours ever, very hard worked, W. J. Linton."

Enclosure.

"House of Commons, May 28, 1863.

"Dear Linton,—Do you know Thomson's address or how to get it? He has not been at S. Street this week, and everything is going the D——l.—Yours ever, P. A. Taylor."

These fits of intemperance, comparatively rare at first, unhappi became more and more frequent. While Mr Thomson lived wi us when he came back after one of these attacks—or was broug back, for indeed it usually happened that some friend searched f him and brought him home despite himself—he was nursed a cared for until he was quite himself again, for it often happen

---

dipsomania which ultimately resulted in his death. It may readily imagined how much this collapse must have disturbed and distressed Bradlaugh. But it does not appear that it made any difference whate in his helpful friendship for the unfortunate poet; for some years afterwa I still found Thomson a member of Mr Bradlaugh's family and the occup of an important post in the business which Mr Bradlaugh was then c ducting. These are matters of personal knowledge. I may add that Bradlaugh, whenever Thomson was the subject of conversation between always spoke of him in the tenderest and most affectionate terms. Ev when, as I understand, he had been compelled to part company with unfortunate friend, no word of censure or complaint ever passed Mr Bradlaug lips in my hearing.

"The kindness which Mr Bradlaugh had shown to poor Thomson w shown in a modified degree to me too. I should regard myself as one of most ungrateful creatures living if I ever forgot the kindly help a sympathy I received from him in a most trying period of my life. For ma months during this period, when I was begging some brother man to g me leave to toil, I breakfasted at his house nearly every morning (and breakfast was a matter of some consequence to me then), in order to le what had come of inquiries which he was day by day making on '-half, inquiries which eventually resulted in a service of the highest valu

at he was bruised and wounded, and unfit to go out for some ys.

Although he failed so miserably in his secretary's work, Mr adlaugh gave him a post in his own office, and encouraged him write for the *National Reformer*. He had already written a v scattered articles, first for the *Investigator* in 1859, and then the *National Reformer*. In the latter his writings ultimately tended over a period of fifteen years, commencing in 1860, and ding in the summer of 1875. His contributions range from the allest review notice of some pamphlets written by Frederic rrison, to his great and remarkable poem of "The City of eadful Night." Those who think most highly of this wonderful rk admit that there was no other publisher in London who uld have published it, but at the same time they give no credit my father for discerning genius to which every one else was then nd; on the contrary, they join in the suggestion that Mr omson was in some way ill-used by Mr Bradlaugh, although v they do not deign to tell. Most of "B.V.'s" writings to the tional *Reformer* were done in the years 1865, 1866, 1867, the t half of 1868, and second half of 1869, 1870, 1871, 1874, and early months of 1875. In the other years his contributions re more scattered, but no year is entirely without.

While he lived with us at Sunderland Villa, Mr Thomson was just of the family, sharing our home life in every particular. He was vourite with us all; my father loved him with a love that had ear many a strain, and we children simply adored him. Some- es in the evenings he, with my mother for a partner, my father n Miss Lacey (a frequent inmate of our house), would form a al quartet at whist; and many were the jokes and great the on these whist evenings. On Sundays, if my father were at ne, he and Mr Thomson would take us children and Bruin for lk over the Tottenham Marshes to give Bruin a swim in the Lea; f my father were away lecturing, as was too frequently the case, n Mr Thomson would take us for a long ramble to Edmonton see Charles Lamb's grave, or maybe across the fields to ngford. In the winter time, when the exigencies of the weather us indoors, he would devote his Sunday afternoons to us, tell us the most enchanting fairy tales it was ever the lot ildren to listen to. One snowy night my father and he came tch my sister and me home from a Christmas party. They

had to carry us, for the snow was deep. They took us out of house with due regard to propriety; but they had not got before they were all too conscious of the weight of their respect burdens, so they set us down in a fairly clear spot, and then adjusted us "pick-a-back." There was much joking over our weig and we heartily joined in the laugh and enjoyed the jests at expense, and over and above all the notion of being aided abetted by our elders in doing something so shocking as a "pic back" ride through the streets. These were delightful, ha times to us at least, and, in spite of all his cares, unhappy for my father. He had youth and health and h and courage, a friend he loved, and children he was ever good I feel indeed as though my pen must linger over these sm trifles, over these merry moods and happy moments, and I am to put them aside for sadder, weightier matters.

Or the two would sit in my father's little "den" or study, smoke. Mr Bradlaugh smoked a great deal at this time, "B.V." was an inveterate smoker; the one had his cigar, and the o his pipe; and while the smoke slowly mounted up and by deg so filled the room that they could scarce see each other's f across the table, they would talk philosophy, politics, or literat I can see them now, in some ways a strangely assorted pai they sat in that little room lined with books; at the far sid the table the poet and dreamer, with his head thrown back with the stem of his pipe never far from his lips, his face al lost in the blue clouds gently and lazily curling upwards; here, near the fireplace, my father, essentially a man to who think, to plan, was to *do*, sitting in careless comfort in his uncushioned oaken chair, now taking frequent strong draws at cigar, transforming the dull ash into a vigorous point of light, again laying it aside to die into dull ash once more, whils argued a point or drew himself up to write. How often and vividly that once familiar scene rises before my closed eyes! course, whilst with us, Mr Thomson had the use of my fat little library as his own, and many of the books still bear traces of his reading in the pencilled notes.

During the Carlist War, in 1873, Mr Bradlaugh obtained his friend an appointment to go to Spain as special correspon to a New York paper; but alas! he was taken "ill" whilst a his duties, wrote irregularly and infrequently, and as a cli

rote three lines describing an important event when three columns ere expected. He was consequently recalled, and when he got ack my father found, to his additional vexation, that he (Mr homson) had lost the Colt's revolver which he had lent him. It as an old friend to Mr Bradlaugh; he had had it for many years, id it had served him well.

My father's anger was, as usual, short lived; and in the next ear he published "B. V.'s" "City of Dreadful Night," and thence-rward gave him regular work on the *National Reformer*. But e was unhappily one not to be relied upon; and on a special casion when he was left with the responsibility of the paper he sappeared and left it, as far as he was concerned, to come out best it could. At length, in 1875, in spite of all my father's rbearance and affection, Mr Thomson for some reason felt jured; but whatever might have been his grievances, they ere in fact utterly baseless. Mr Thomson resented his supposed jury by an open insult, and from that moment the friendship tween these two was dead. On Mr Thomson's side it seemed rned to hatred and bitter animosity, and he said against my ther some of the most bitter things possible for a man to say. ie memory of all past love and kindness seemed washed out and owned in a whirl of evil passions. My father was deeply unded, and at first, for some year or two, never voluntarily entioned his old friend's name; but when the first soreness had ssed he spoke of him, seldom, it is true, but with a certain ideruess, and always as "poor Thomson." We found amongst ngs long put away a silver cup won by Mr Thomson and cribed with his name; we asked my father what we should do th it. "Send it to him, my daughters; I dare say he needs it, or fellow." And indeed we heard afterwards that it soon found way to the pawnshop. It was characteristic of my father that said nothing to us, his daughters, of his quarrel with one to om he knew we were greatly attached; we heard of it from ers not too friendly to my father. We, naturally and without ord, although not without great grief, ranged ourselves on our ier's side, and met Mr Thomson as a stranger; we felt that he s grateful for our sacrifice, but he neither uttered a syllable of roval or comment, nor did he ever attempt to sway us by sign word.

Although our home was small, the doors were made to open very

wide. Relations and friends, all who stood in need of kind and hospitality, seemed to find their way here. My father's youn sister Harriet, after leaving the Orphan Asylum in which she been placed at her father's death, lived with us for a long t She was a brilliant, handsome girl, yet bearing a strong resembl to my father. I can always picture her as she stood one 30t April, awaiting the child guests who were to come to make m over my sister's birthday. Standing against the wall I can her tall, well-proportioned figure, robed in one of the spri muslin gowns of those days, the short sleeves and low neck the time showing her fine arms and shoulders. I see her with its fair complexion, alive with vivacity and the warm glo health, her light brown hair, her laughing mouth and eyes— which were certainly not of the "angel" order, but whose and flash gave some warning of the unrestrained temper wit Poor Harriet! this same temper was her own undoing. Dr by it she married badly, in every sense of the word, dra through a few years of miserable existence, and eventually die the Fulham Hospital, of smallpox, when it fell to my fathe discharge the funeral expenses—such was the poverty of her home. I have heard that stories have been told and even prea from a public platform of her "deathbed conversion," but is only one of the common pious frauds. Her illness was unexpected, and lasted only a few days, none of her family, ex her husband, knowing of it until after she was dead. Apart that point and the nature of her illness, which would somewhat s in the way of much visiting, I am not aware that she ever c herself anything but a Christian. She was brought up in religion, and she was not interfered with whilst with us.

Here, also, Mr Bradlaugh's younger brother found a resting and tendance after illness; but as I shall have occasion to s of him later, I will for the moment pass him with a mere men

Others, too, more than I can count, found their way to small house in Northumberland Park. Some were nursed t some did their courtship there, and some were even married there. In the meantime, who can tell how many were the vis to that little study at the back, over the kitchen? Alas! I only remember the names of a few. There were Frenchmen Talandier, Le Blanc, Elisée Reclus, Alphonse Esquiros; Ita and Englishmen working for Mazzini and Garibaldi; Irish polit

ke General Cluseret and Kelly; and there was Alexander Herzen, r whom my father had a great admiration, and whom he always unted as a friend. These, whose names are sometimes joined faces, and others, faces without names, lie indistinctly in the m far-back memory of my childhood.

I was here about to break off and take up again the thread of e story of Mr Bradlaugh's public work, but it occurs to me that have said little about my father's treatment of us, his children, d of our early education. There is so little to say, and certainly little of importance to linger over, that I should have passed on other matters were it not for the imaginings of those who make their business to spread false statements concerning Mr adlaugh, even on such a purely personal matter as his children's ucation.

My father was away from home so much that ordinarily we saw n very little, and my earliest recollection of him is at St. Helen's ace. One evening in particular seems to stand out in my emory. The room was alight and warm with gas and fire; and one end of the table, covered with papers, sat my father. I ppose that we were romping and noisy, and interfered with his rk, for he turned towards us and said in grave tones, which I always hear, "Is it not time you little lassies went to bed?" trifling incident, but it shows that at that time he was obliged do his thinking and writing in the common room in the midst his family, and the term "little lassies" was a characteristic one h him. When we were quite little, if he had anything serious say to us, it was his "little lassies" he talked to; as we grew er it was "my daughters," and what he had to say always med to have an additional emphasis by the use of the special, tender term, almost entirely reserved for serious occasions. In morning, when he left home, we three children always embled for the "goodbye" kiss; after that we seldom saw him il the next day. If, however, he was home in the evenings ile we were still up, we used to sit by his elbow while he played st or chess, and after the game was over he would so carefully lain his own moves, and perhaps the faults of his partner or his onents, that before I was twelve years old I could play whist ell as I can to-day, and chess a great deal better, merely through ching his play, and paying attention to his comments.

Broxbourne was then his favourite place for fishing; it
easily reached from Northumberland Park, and there were in t
days good fish in the Lea. He and the proprietor of the fish
right were very good friends; and sometimes when it grew too
to fish, he would wind up his day with a pleasant game at billi
before taking the train home. He generally took us children
him if the day was fine, and these were indeed red-letter days
us. We were on our honour not to get into any mischief,
with the one restriction that we were not to make a noise close t
water, we were allowed a perfect, glorious liberty. Sometimes
too would fish, and my father would give us little lines and f
and hooks, and with an impromptu rod stolen from the ne
willow or ash tree we would do our best to imitate our supe
But my brother was the only one who showed great persever
in this respect; my sister and I soon tired of watching the p
float on the sparkling water, and sought other amusements.
Carthagena Weir my father would "make it right" with
Brimsden the lock-keeper, and he would rig us up a rope s
on which he would make a seat of a most wonderful sheep-s
or there were a score of ways in which we amused ourselves
there was no one to say, "Don't do this" or "Don't do that."
could roll in the grass and get our white muslin dresses grass-g
jump in the ditch and fill our shoes with mud, anything so lo
we enjoyed ourselves and did no harm. Whether it was the fe
of freedom and the being made our own judges of right or w
I do not know, but I do not remember one occasion on whic
were rebuked either by the lenient guardian with us or b
stricter one when we got home again—for, of course, as is mostl
way with women, my mother was much more particular abou
"proprieties" than my father; and had he brought us home
very tumbled, muddy condition, our fishing expeditions would
been less frequent.

As to our early education, our father did the best he coul
us; but his means were small, and the opportunities for scho
twenty-five and thirty years ago were not such as they are to
My sister and I, first alone and then with my brother, were se
a little school taught by two maiden ladies; the boys being ta
upstairs, and the girls in a room below. At this school, as al
although the contrary has been stated, we were withdrawn
religious instruction, but the Misses Burnell did not always

injunction: if a bogie was wanted to frighten us with, then od" was trotted out. I remember on one occasion, when I pose I had been naughty, Miss Burnell, pointing to the sky, me that God was watching me from above and could see all id. Childlike, I took this literally, though I suppose with the verbial "grain of salt," for I leaned out of the window and ed up into the sky to see for myself this "God" who was ays watching my actions. It was just dusk, and it happened to time when some comet was visible. When I looked out and this brilliant body lighting up the darkness all about it, I was vinced that *this* was the "eye of God" of which Miss Burnell been talking, and hastily drew in my head again to get out is sight! But as at home we had no mysterious Being either ear (because that seems the first impression generally made n sensitive children) or to love, this awful Eye blazing away head merely left a vague feeling of uneasiness behind, which and healthier thought effaced. My little brother was soon n from this school and sent to a boarding-school, where he ained only a few months, as it was unsatisfactory; he was also -walked, which resulted in laming him for a time. The ter who took the boys out for walking exercise could not have of an exactly cheerful disposition, for at the time of the dful ice accident in 1867, when forty persons were drowned, narched the boys to Regent's Park to see the dead bodies n out of the water. It was a terrible sight for little boys to and as my little brother was only just over seven years old, remembrance of these rows of dead bodies made an indelible ression upon his mind. He was then sent to some good friends lymouth, Mr and Mrs John Williamson, and while he grew and strong in the sea breezes, he went to school with their On coming home again, he was sent to Mr John Grant, olmaster in the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards—then a d of Mr Thomson's, and so of my father's—who took him as ivate pupil. My sister and I learned French of different ch refugees who frequented our house, and I must do them ustice to say that our French was both a great deal better taught learned than our English. My father used to hold sudden inations at unstated times of our progress in the French uage, especially if he happened to come across a *franc* piece, niscent of his journeys to the Continent. This *franc* was to

be the reward of the one who answered best; but somehow was so stupid and desperately nervous that I never once won prize: my sister always carried it off in triumph.

Never during the whole of our childhood did my father c raise his hand against us, never once did he speak a harsh w We *were* whipped, for my mother held the old-fashioned, mista notion that to "spare the rod" was to "spoil the child;" when scolding or whipping failed to bring obedience, the cul was taken to that little study; there a grave look and a gr word brought instant submission. But it seldom went beyond threat of being taken there, for we loved him so that we could bear him even to know when we were naughty.

I feel that much of this may well seem very trivial to those read my book, but my excuse for dwelling so long on such de is that even the most ordinary incidents in my father's his have been misstated and distorted. I take my opportunity wh I may, for many lie cold in the grave, and mine is now almost only hand which can nail down the wretched calumnies wh strike at such small personal matters as these.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE "NATIONAL REFORMER."

OSE who have travelled with me thus far will have noticed that story of Mr Bradlaugh's public work is carried down to 1860, t prior to the inauguration of the *National Reformer*. This I ught would be a good point at which to break off and look at at his private life and home surroundings had been during that e; and the account of this I have brought down to about the r 1870. I will now retrace my steps a little and go back to 1860 ake up again the narrative of my father's public work, and to of the starting, carrying on, and vicissitudes of the *National ormer*, of the stormy lecturing times when Mr Bradlaugh ivered twenty-three or more lectures in one month, travelling ween Yarmouth and Dumfries to do it and home again with haps less money in his pocket than when he started. Italy, land, the Lancashire Cotton Famine, the Reform League, the neral Election of 1868, these and other matters of more or less portance will bring us again to the year 1870. That year ught with it such important events touching both the private public life of Mr Bradlaugh that it made, as it were, a break his life, and marked a new era in his career.

The Sheffield Freethinkers, as I said a few pages back, ost adopted the young "Iconoclast" as their own. In him y found a bold, able, and untiring advocate of the opinions y cherished; in them he, in return, found full appreciation of efforts, kind friends and enthusiastic co-workers. This union not existed long before it resolved itself into a practical form he promulgation of the *National Reformer*. The initiation of idea came from Mr Bradlaugh, who naturally sighed after his *Investigator*; but as neither he nor any one of these Yorkshire nds was sufficiently wealthy to take the sole risk of starting running a newspaper, a committee of Sheffield, Bradford, and ifax men formed a Company and issued a prospectus, which

was inserted in the *Reasoner* of February 12, 1860.* Th
original Prospectus is very interesting, and a perusal of it w
show how closely, except on one or two matters of detail whi

* The Prospectus of the *Reformer*, as it appeared in the *Reasoner*, was
follows :—

"Reformer Newspaper Company, Limited. Capital, £1000, in 20
shares of 10s. each. This Company is to be formed for the purpose of issui
a weekly newspaper, price twopence, to be entitled the *Reformer*, of the si
of the *Manchester Guardian*, folded so as to form eight pages. It will adv
cate advanced Liberal opinions, on Social, Political, Theological, and Scienti
questions, and will permit free discussion on every statement made, or opini
advanced in its columns, or upon any question of general importance. T
present platform of political views will be mainly that advocated by t
Northern Reform Union, but every phase of the political question shall ha
free and unreserved treatment, and the most partial Tory will be allowed
answer the views of the Editor, as well as the most extreme Republican, t
promoters being of opinion that no one man holds the whole truth, but th
it permeates from one extreme to another, and can only be found by a co
plete ventilation and examination of each man's views. On social scien
the promoters intend specially to watch the conduct of the Social Scie
League, reviewing the course taken by its leading men, and illustrating t
general views enunciated at its meetings. The newspaper will contain f
reports of co-operative news, meetings and proceedings of trade societies, a
co-operative progress throughout the country. It will also contain artic
illustrating the connection between physiological and psychological phe
mena, and illustrating new scientific discoveries, examining and explaini
the various theories in connection with animal magnetism, phrenology, et
treating fully on the important ground recognised under the title of Politi
Economy. The present platform, of theological advocacy, will be that
antagonism to every known religious system, and especially to the vari
phases of Christianity taught and preached in Britain ; but every on
Churchman, Dissenter, or anti-theologian—shall have full space to illustr
his own views. The paper will also contain all the important news of
week, summary of Parliamentary debates, reviews of books, etc. etc. ; spe
law and police intelligence ; original poetry, etc. The Company will be c
ducted by a committee of management, appointed annually by the gen
body of shareholders. The committee will have the whole financial con
of the paper, and will have the appointment of the Editor. The Editor
the first six months will be 'Iconoclast,' who will be continued in that o
if satisfaction be given to the committee of management. A numbe
well-known writers have already associated themselves with that gentlem
in order to make the pages of the *Reformer* worthy of general approbatio

It will be noted that here the paper is called the *Reformer* simply, bu
the first advertisement which appeared after the publication of its policy
was announced as the *National Reformer*.

ave necessarily altered with the times, the programme of the tter day *National Reformer* adhered to that issued thirty-four ears ago. A careful comparison of the policy embodied in this rospectus with the policy of the paper up to January 1891 will ntirely disprove the various assertions of modifications airily ade by many persons; by some carelessly, these never having oubled to make themselves acquainted with the facts; by others ilfully, regardless of the truth within their knowledge.

The arrangements for the paper were completed, and announce-ents concerning it made, when Mr Joseph Barker returned to ngland from America. His coming was heralded by a flourish of umpets—literary trumpets, that is—receptions were arranged to elcome him, and there was evidently a widespread notion that seph Barker was a very great man indeed. It is difficult for us day, having before us his whole public career, with its kaleid-copic changes of front, to realise the enthusiasm which his name voked in 1860. But be that as it may, it is quite evident that that time his reputation stood high amongst English Free-inkers; and, in an evil hour, Mr Bradlaugh, thinking that the operation of such a man would be of great advantage to the use he had at heart, suggested to the Sheffield committee that r Barker should be invited to become co-editor with himself. e suggestion was readily adopted, and all future announcements ncerning the *National Reformer* contained the two names, seph Barker and "Iconoclast," as "editors for the first six nths."

The issue of the first number was promised for April 8th (1860), t apparently there was some little difficulty in getting it under igh, and it was not until the following Saturday,* April 14th, at the new venture was fairly launched. According to the angements made between the committee of management and the tors, Mr Joseph Barker edited the first half (four pages), conoclast" the second; and in this last half were put all the liamentary, co-operative, and society reports, announcement of tures, and advertisements. I conclude that after a few numbers, Bradlaugh found all these reports greatly curtailed the space ilable for original articles by himself or his contributors, for y soon the Parliamentary reports were abandoned, and criti-n of measures before the Legislature, written either by himself

* The paper was at first dated on the Saturday.

or by "Caractacus," were substituted. The "original" poetry, remark, was mainly confined to Mr Barker's side (I use the wo "original" because it appeared in the Prospectus); and even the the poetic seed seems to have taken some time to germinate, f until the tenth number only two or three stray shoots appeared with "No. 10," however, it suddenly blossomed into upwards of column of verses. These verses are from the pens of Charl Mackay, John G. Saxe, Longfellow, and Richard Howitt, and is a heavy demand upon us to believe that they made their fir appearance under the auspices of Mr Barker in the *National R former*. After this number there was seldom an issue without son verse—"original" or otherwise. There is one small matter whic has amused me immensely in connection with the *National R former* (and also with the *Reasoner*), that is, the enthusiast advocacy of the Turkish Bath. A casual observer, say a Hind or a Confucian, coming to these papers with an entirely unbiasse mind, might well imagine that the Turkish Bath was a mainstay Secularism, such is the ardour with which its merits are put fo ward. At each town visited by the different editors, wherev there was a Turkish Bath, the bath is also visited, reported upo and if possible, commended in their respective papers. Thus, the first number of the *National Reformer*, Mr Barker winds u an account of "My lecturing tour" by a detailed description the bath at Keighley, and refers more briefly to those he revelle in at Sheffield, Huddersfield, Rochdale, Stockport, and Bradfor He seems to have been a new convert, and on that ground perha may be excused the eagerness which carried him to such flights his description as to record the momentous fact that the dryi sheet was "fringed with red." While Mr Barker thus describ in his half of the paper, "Iconoclast" in the four pages under h charge devotes two-thirds of a column to an article on "Clean ness," in which he also extols the Turkish Bath, but with t calmness and matter-of-fact manner of an old frequenter. M Jagger of Rochdale and Mr Maxfield of Huddersfield are especial and discriminatingly praised for the comfort and cleanliness their arrangements. We are all tolerably familiar with the p verb "Cleanliness comes next to Godliness," but any one readi the Freethought papers of thirty odd years ago would be compell to admit that it took a very front place in the principles Secularism then.

As a matter of course, Mr Bradlaugh addressed some "First ords" to his readers; from this I will detach two sentences, and wo only; and these because they embody, in forcible language, ruths as sound to-day as at the moment when they were written. et us unite against the clergy, he urges upon his Freethinking eaders, for "the Bible is the great cord with which the people re bound; cut this, and the mass will be more free to appreciate acts instead of faiths." Then in praising the efforts at Co-peration at Rochdale, he adds: "I would say to the men of other owns, do not strike against your masters, ye who are servants, but ombine to serve one another in co-operative associations, which ill enable you to employ and elevate yourselves, and in time ill strike the words 'master and servant' out of our vocabulary."

The second number of the *National Reformer* did not appear ntil a month later, the third came out on June 2nd, and with iat commenced the weekly issue. With the exception of a few tters and occasional extracts, the whole of which rarely filled iore than two or three columns, Mr Joseph Barker's half was ntirely written by himself, and the initials "J. B." dotted all ver the four pages become so monotonous that the sight of nother signature gives quite a relief to the eye. The most rominent contributors to Iconoclast's section were "Caractacus," G. R.," and Mr John Watts. When the paper was nothing iore than a project, Mr Bradlaugh spoke of it to his iend Mr W. E. Adams, who was then living at Manchester. Ie asked the author of the "Tyrannicide" pamphlet to write rticles for the new paper, but Mr Adams had so modest an pinion of his own abilities that he hesitated to consent. But nsent he at length did; an article from his pen upon "Reform" ppeared in the first number, and once having made the plunge, e became a regular weekly contributor. The first contribution as signed "W. E. A.," but after that Mr Adams wrote under ie signature of "Caractacus," and the eloquence of his articles mpeaching the oppressor, or pleading the cause of the oppressed, uicker the blood in one's veins to-day, although the men and uses which inspired his pen are now more than half forgotten. . R.'s first article on the population doctrines appeared in the urth number, and after that he wrote fairly frequently for the *ational Reformer*. In number sixteen, the printer transferred ne "make-up" paragraphs—sent by Mr Bradlaugh to fill up

any vacant corners in his section—to Mr Barker's half. Th paragraphs were sufficiently interesting in their way, but, afte the manner of such paragraphs, contained no very startlin doctrines, nor expressed any very extraordinary sentiment. Th first read "Kindness to animals promotes humanity;" the secon gave some tonnage statistics; the third was upon persecution urging "that he who kills for a faith must be weak, that he wh dies for a faith must be strong;" the other paragraphs wer quotations from Thackeray, Wendell Phillips, Senior, Mansell Bampton Lectures, Theodore Parker and Ruskin. Such was th effect of these harmless looking extracts upon Mr Barker, howeve that he thought it necessary to specially address his readers o September 8th (in No. 17), publicly repudiating the sentimen as "foolish or false," and specially selecting for condemnation th maxim on kindness to animals! This is the first intimation th public have of the "rift within the lute," and one is immediatel driven to the conclusion that a man who could publicly repudiat in the brusque language used by Mr Barker, such a trifling matt as this, must have been very anxious to pick a quarrel with h colleague, no matter how slight the grounds. As a matter course, Mr Bradlaugh was obliged in the next number to explai that the paragraphs had been used by the printer to fill up wh would otherwise have been a blank space in Mr Barker's hal "It was done," he said, "without my knowledge, but I ca hardly say against my wish," and then, naturally enough, he pr ceeded to defend or explain the sentiments expressed in the This matter, small in itself, makes it fairly evident that M Barker was a man exceedingly difficult to deal with; and h entire lack of self-restraint is shown in his eagerness to displ to the public the smallest of his grievances, even as against h co-editor, with whom one would have imagined it would ha been to his interest to at least appear on friendly terms, since directly involved the welfare of the paper.

For some time after this, things went on quietly between t two editors, each pursuing the even tenor of his way. But th seeming tranquillity did not extend far below the surface. M Barker expressed to certain persons his regret at having associat himself with Mr Bradlaugh, and his determination not to contin long as co-editor. Of course, all this was reported to M Bradlaugh, although he allowed it to pass quite unnoticed.

There were for the moment no more outbursts of repudiation in the *National Reformer*, still the paper was very curious reading, and it grew more and more curious each week. As Mr Bradlaugh himself wrote at a later stage: "The points of difference between myself and Mr Barker are many. He professes now to be a Theist. For eight years, at least, I have been an Atheist. I am for the Manhood Suffrage. Mr Barker is against it. I hold the doctrines of John Stuart Mill on Political Economy. Mr Barker thinks the advocacy of such opinions vile and immoral. Mr Barker thinks Louis Napoleon a good and useful man. I believe the Emperor of the French to be the most clever and unscrupulous rascal in the world." These were a few of the more prominent points of difference, and they seemed to increase and magnify week by week, although my father's Malthusian advocacy and his hatred of Louis Napoleon were made the principal grounds of friction. All Mr Bradlaugh's contributors were apparently obnoxious to Mr Barker. He fell foul of "Caractacus" on the subjects of the American War, Garibaldi, and the Emperor of the French; "G. R." was attacked for his economical doctrines in the most unreserved language; and Mr John Watts he opposed on private grounds. These differences of opinion broke out once more into open hostility in Mr Barker's half. In No. 47, "Caractacus," in an article on the dangers to the rights of free speech, called upon "all honest and liberal men" to stand by Iconoclast and Mr Barker in their efforts "to maintain the very greatest of our public rights." In the same number, and on the opposite page, Mr Joseph Barker protested against the reference to himself. He had seen the article before it went to press, and had he mentioned his objection, the words would have been erased; but apparently that was too ordinary a method for Mr Barker. In No. 48 he inserted a ridiculous statement that Luther made it a rule to translate a verse of the Bible every day, which rapid rate of working "soon brought him to the conclusion of his labours." A few weeks later he wrote of this as though it had appeared in "Iconoclast's" section; in the same issue of the paper he also took occasion to insert a notice disclaiming all responsibility for anything that might appear in the last four pages, and this notice he continued week by week. All this to an infant paper was about as bad as a course of whooping cough, measles, and scarlet fever to a child; that the *National Reformer*

survived it proves that it had an exceptionally strong constitutio
Mr Bradlaugh naturally became much alarmed about its futu
for it was noticeably falling away and losing strength. Feeli
that a little more of such treatment would kill it outright,
addressed himself to those who, with himself, were responsible
its existence.

He sent a short letter to the shareholders of the *Natio*
Reformer Company, in which he said :—

"Eighteen months since I, with the special aid of my Sheffi
friends, initiated the present Company. The paper belonging to t
Company was to have been edited by myself, but feeling that two m
do more work than one—if such work be done unitedly—I offered
share such editorship with Mr Joseph Barker. The experience of t
past twelve months has taught me that the paper can only be efficien
conducted under one editor."

After recounting the differences and difficulties, he ends
suggesting that both should tender their resignations, and th
some one gentleman be elected as the sole conductor. If t
course should be adopted, he says, he would offer himself as
candidate for the office.

An extraordinary meeting of the shareholders was called
August 26th (1861), and Mr Bradlaugh was elected as editor, w
a salary of £5 per week, by 41 votes against 18 for Mr Barker, a
with the next number this gentleman's connection with the pa
came to an end.

Before dismissing Mr Barker's name altogether from these pag
I am anxious to record a little discovery that I have made sin
I have been at work upon this biography. If those who own
copy of the "Biography of Charles Bradlaugh," by A.
Headingley, which for the most part gives a very fair account
the life of Mr Bradlaugh up to 1880, will turn to pages 78 to
they will find a story given there of rioting at Dumfries a
Burnley during Mr Bradlaugh's visits to those towns. At Du
fries, so the story goes, there was so much violence exhibited t
"Bradlaugh," whom the mob had threatened to kill, thought
had better wait until the excitement was over; he waited u
midnight, when some one took him down into a cellar and so
into the street; once outside he feared to go to his hotel,
waited in the shadow by the river-side. At length he ventured
move a little, but was recognised by some persons, who rushed

o raise the hue and cry. "Bradlaugh then turned down a dark ide street and got back to the friendly river," where after a time ie saw a policeman and then took courage "to walk by his side." He was soon met by friends, for the town was being scoured for im, and conducted to his hotel in safety. The story of what appened at Burnley is somewhat similar. I must confess that he account of these riots always annoyed and disappointed me. t was so unlike my father to wait about for fear of the mob, get ut through the cellar and loiter by the river-side till he happened o meet a policeman under whose sheltering wing he at last entured to go towards his lodgings. But Mr Bradlaugh having een the book, having caused it to be revised in one or two points, never occurred to me to doubt the *general* accuracy of the state- ients made in it. Lately, in searching for some account of these ots, I find that Mr Headingley is quite trustworthy, except on ne point, and that is the *name of the lecturer* at Dumfries and urnley. Those who own copies of this work are requested to ubstitute "Barker" for "Bradlaugh" wherever the latter name ccurs on the pages specified, beginning with the paragraph at the ottom of page 78. No injustice will be done to Mr Barker's emory, for his own account * has been faithfully followed by Ir Headingley.

From the issue of September 7th (1861), then Mr Bradlaugh was le editor of the *National Reformer*, and in the following number e made a declaration of his policy and objects as advocate of the ecular Body. In concluding this statement of his views he says:— "Our party is the 'party of action,' youthful, hopeful effort; e recognise no impassable barriers between ourselves and *the ght;* we see no irremovable obstacles in our course to *the true.* 'e will strive for it, we will live for it, and, if it be necessary, e for it. And even then, in our death we should not recognise feat, but rather see another step in the upward path of martyr- m . . . . it is our most enduring hope that . . . . we may find grave which, in the yet far-off future, better men than ourselves ay honour in their memories; forgetting our many faults, alone nembered now, and remembering our few useful deeds, at present our hostile critics persistently overlooked."

A month later appears one of his earliest letters to the clergy,

* *National Reformer*, March 23, 1861.

though not *the* earliest, for some five or six short letters, scatte
over several months, had previously appeared; most of these v
brief challenges based upon the public statements of some cl
or repudiation of certain views attributed to Freethinkers, or
demnation of some intolerant utterance. The letter to the E
J. Clarke, of Cleckheaton, is, I think, about the first of th
controversial letters of which he subsequently wrote so many,
which were so popular and effective. In November we find
ification of another change to take place in the *National Refor*
In future Mr George Jacob Holyoake is to "rank as c
contributor," while Mr John Watts is definitely charged with
duties of sub-editor. A week later, a letter signed "G
Holyoake," and headed "One Paper and One Party," infor
"the Secularists of Great Britain" that Mr Holyoake had arra
to become special contributor. With the beginning of the
1862 he was to contribute three pages of matter either from
own pen or from the pens of others for whom he was responsi
The *Reasoner*, edited since 1842 by Mr Holyoake, came to an en
the June of 1861; after that he was connected with the *Counse*
and was proposing to bring out a new paper called the *Sec*
World. This latter title he liked so well that although
abandoned for the time the bringing out of his new pape
favour of special contributions to the *National Reformer*,
reserved to himself "a copyright in that idea." It will
remembered that the Company agreed to pay their editor £5
week in full discharge of his duties. Of this Mr Holyoake
to receive £2 per week, leaving £3 to my father to pay c
contributors, his sub-editor, and himself. An effort was mad
sell 10,000 copies of the first issue of the paper under the
arrangement; about 8000 were sold, and the sale would
exceeded the 10,000, if the orders had not arrived too lat
supply them.

In consequence of the diversity of opinion which had
expressed in the columns of the *National Reformer* at va
times, a correspondent wrote in February 1862 asking what
the political and religious views really advocated by this jou
and from the answer made to this gentleman by Mr Bradlaugh
can judge to what extent he went back upon the position of
earlier years, as it was for the last few years of his life the fas
to assert. He says:—

" Editorially the *National Reformer*, as to religious questions, is, d always has been, as far as we are concerned, the advocate of heism ; it teaches that all the religions of the world are based on error; that humanity is higher than theology ; that knowge is far preferable to faith ; that action is more effective than ayer ; and that the best worship men can offer is honest work, in ler to make one another wiser and happier than heretofore. politics, we are Radicals of a very extreme kind ; we are adcates of manhood * suffrage ; we desire shorter Parliaments ; vs which will be more equal in their application to master and vant ; protection from the present state of the laws which make easants more valuable than peasants ; we desire the repeal of laws against blasphemy, and the enactment of some measure ich will make all persons competent as witnesses whatever may be ir opinions on religion ; we advocate the separation of Church l State, and join with the financial reformers in their efforts reduce our enormous and extravagant national expenditure."

Those who have read the literature in connection with the Freeought movement for the five or six years prior to 1862 will be no way unprepared to find that the journalistic union between Holyoake and Mr Bradlaugh was very shortlived. In March father, feeling unable to continue to work under existing angements, sent his resignation into the *National Reformer* mpany; however, at the Special General Meeting held on the 23rd, vas decided not to elect any editor "in the place of Iconoclast." Bradlaugh therefore continued to act as editor, and Mr Holyoake sed to be special contributor to the paper. My father was ious there should be no quarrel—there had been enough of

---

"Manhood," Mr Bradlaugh explained later in answer to a letter from Law, he used "not in a sexual sense, but rather as asserting the right of y citizen to the franchise," with, of course, limitations as to insanity, etc. father put his position in most unmistakable language in March 1884 in *National Reformer*, in answer to a suggestion made by a correspondent if there had been women-voters in Northampton he would not have been ed. "If the women-electors," he said, "thought fit to reject Mr Brad-h, and they made the majority, it would be their right. If Mr Bradlaugh in the House of Commons he would vote for woman suffrage, even if he sure he would in future be excluded by women's votes." And again in December of the following year he urged : "Even if it were unfortunately that every woman would always vote Tory, it would be the duty of cals to try and obtain the suffrage for them "

that with Mr Barker—and proposed to Mr Holyoake that
should contribute two columns of original matter each week,
which he should receive the same amount as he had recei
before for the three pages. The *Secular World* was re-announ
and it had my father's best wishes. "We believe that its adv
will benefit the Freethought party," he writes. However,
matter was not to be so soon or so easily settled. Mr Holyo
claimed from my father the sum of £81, 18s., urging that
agreement to act as special contributor was for twelve mont
although he had only filled the post for three months, he
claimed his salary for the remaining nine. The matter was pl
before legally appointed arbitrators—Mr W. J. Linton, chose
my father, and Mr J. G. Crawford by Mr Holyoake. T
gentlemen did not agree, Mr Linton being strongly in favou
Mr Bradlaugh, and Mr Crawford as strongly, I presume, on
other side. They therefore chose an umpire, Mr Shaen—who
the way, had, I gather, previously acted as solicitor to Mr H
oake, and who many years later showed a decided pers
hostility towards Mr Bradlaugh. After many delays Mr Sha
length made his award in August 1863 in favour of Mr Holyo
and my father writing to a friend at the time says rather gri
"The only good stroke of luck lately is that I am ordered
Shaen to pay G. J. H. £81, 18s. Linton will tell you
particulars."

In May 1862 Messrs W. H. Smith & Son first officially ref
to supply their agents with the *National Reformer*. They
occupied the chief railway station bookstalls in England, but
not quite the monopolists they are to-day, and Mr Bradlaugh c
for a little while at least get his paper sold at all the stat
numbering some sixty or seventy, on the North Eastern and
castle and Carlisle railways, at which book agencies were hel
a Mr Franklin. It is wonderful, indeed, how this journal
aged to live through more than thirty years in spite of this pow
boycott, extending as it afterwards did to every part of the king
Mr Bradlaugh called upon his friends to use every effort to
up the sale. "We will do our part," he wrote, "and we
upon our friends, east, west, north, and south, to do their
also." During the last year of his life Mr Bradlaugh was giv
understand that the boycott would be raised, and that Messr
H. Smith & Son would be willing to take the *National Refo*

:o the railway bookstalls, but the first expenses would have
1 so great that he was unwilling to enter into the further
ncial liabilities which the new departure would have involved.
he *National Reformer* was not only from its earliest years
sed by the most powerful booksellers in England, but it was
gned in a quarter where indeed it might have looked for fair
and a little justice—I mean by the Unitarians.* The cynical
ction that those who have themselves broken away from the
ventional thought of the times always damn those who go a
e further than themselves, carries a germ of truth within
bitter shell. The Unitarian body always seem to treat
thinkers with an acrimony special to themselves and us.
vidual Unitarians whom I have known personally have been
, pleasant, liberal-minded people, but Unitarians as a body or
presented by their organ seldom enough have turned a kindly
towards atheists.

'ith every man's hand against it, with financial difficulties to
le it, both the editor and the company of the unfortunate
r felt compelled to review the situation, and put matters on a
what different footing. Hence at a duly convened meeting
in September the company was wound up, and Mr Bradlaugh
ointed liquidator according to the terms of the Joint Stock
pany's Act, 1856." From this time the sole responsibility,
cial and otherwise, rested upon my father. Unfortunately,
w months later his health broke down, and at the urgent
aty of his friends he "most reluctantly resolved to determine
onnection as Editor, and to retire entirely from the conduct
esponsibilities of the paper."

e begged therefore the support of all friends to Mr John
s, who had consented to take up the onerous burden of
rship. Mr John Watts, in an address published the following
, wished it to be understood that he was taking up the
rship at the "express wish" of Iconoclast. On quitting the
r's chair with the issue of No. 146 (Feb. 28), Mr Bradlaugh
expression to his wishes in regard to the conduct of the paper.
should wish," he says, "that the *National Reformer* may
nue to advocate the fullest liberty of thought and utterance,
ding to others that which it claims for itself. That it should

* See *Inquirer*, May 31, 1862.

be plain and honest in its attacks on shams. That it should s
no falsehood merely because uttered by a great man, show
mercy to royal treachery simply from reverence for royalty,
have no pardon for crowned wrong while ragged wrong
suffer . . . . ."

To Freethinkers and Radicals he says, with a bitter prescienc
his own future fate indicated in some of his words: "Your
lies not in petty personal strife, but in the diffusion of the great
mighty truths for which our predecessors have risked stake
dungeon. Your duty is not to take part in disputes whe
John or Thomas is the better leader, but rather so to live
need no leaders. A public man's life is composed of str
phases. If successful, he wins his success with hard strugg
As he struggles the little great ones before him, who env
hope, block up his path. His ignorance is exposed, his in
bility made manifest; and then when he has won the victory,
made a place for standing, each envious cowardly caviller, who
not meet him face to face, stabs him with base innuendo i
back. I do not envy any statesman's character in the han
his political antagonists, still less do I envy when I hear
dissected behind his back by his pseudo-friends."

In concluding his article he gives special praise to Mr
Watts and Mr Austin Holyoake for their help on the paper, t
the blame for all its past shortcomings on his own shoulders.

From February 1863 until April 1866 Mr John Watts e
the *National Reformer;* but unless my father happened
abroad, as he frequently was during the early part of the si
traces of him were to be found somewhere or other in the
either in an article from his pen, a letter, or answers to c
pondents on legal points. During these three years he contri
several notable articles, such as "Notes on Genesis and Exo
"The Oath Question," "Real Representation of the People,
Plea for Atheism," "Universality of Heresy," "The Atonen
"Antiquity and Unity of the Origin of the Human Race,"
Twelve Apostles," "Why do Men Starve?" and "La
Prayer," and many of which have been from time to time r
or rewritten, and published and republished in pamphlet forn

He also gave the paper considerable financial assis
amounting in the three years to upwards of £250.

On the 22nd of April 1866, a notice appeared in the *Na*

rmer to the effect that Mr Bradlaugh would resume his orial duties on the paper, of which he had never relinquished copyright. The occasion for this announcement was a very one. Just as in 1863 Mr Bradlaugh, overtaken by illness, obliged to lay aside his burden of editorship, so in 1866 Mr n Watts also became too ill to continue his work. But the ss of Mr John Watts was unhappily more serious than Mr dlaugh's; it was the forerunner of his death. In the November he same year a career of some promise was cut short at its ing, and Mr John Watts died of consumption at the early of thirty-two.

Then he learned of his friend's illness my father readily con-ed to resume his former task as editor, and appointed as sub-or Mr Charles Watts, who spoke of the satisfaction it had to his brother to have so willing and able a friend take charge ne paper once more. A little later Mr Austin Holyoake was ciated in the sub-editing with Mr Charles Watts.

nus in 1866 the journal was once more under the full control Mr Bradlaugh, and although he subsequently, for a time, ciated another editor with himself, he thought for it and fought t, wrote for it and cared for it, from that time until within a night of his death, when from his dying bed he dictated a few s for me to write. He had to fight for it in press and law .

1867 the high-priced and refined *Saturday Review* started tory, so often repeated since, that Mr Bradlaugh had compared with a monkey with three tails; and further declared, with delicacy of language which one expects to meet in such aris-tic company, that "such filthy ribaldry as we have, from a of duty, picked off Bradlaugh's dunghill, is simply revolting, us, and nauseating to the natural sense of shame possessed by age." Needless to say, the "savage" feelings of the *Saturday ew* were much too delicate to admit any reply from the editor ne journal attacked. Mr Bradlaugh, of course, replied in his paper, and "B. V." took up the cudgels also on behalf of his d. He wrote at some length, and the following quotation and amusingly pictures the *National Reformer* at least:—

his poor *N. R.!* Let us freely admit that it has many imperfec-many faults; its poverty secures for it a constant supply of poor rs, while securing for us, the poor writers, an opportunity of

publishing what we could hardly get published elsewhere. But I not to affirm that, by its essential character, it is quite incompa superior to such a paper as the *S. R.* It has clear principles, whi honestly believes will immensely benefit the world; the *S.* governed by hand-to-mouth expediency for the sole benefit of i The former is devoted to certain ideas; the latter has neither dev nor ideas, but has a cool preference for opinions of good fashion a loose and easy fit. The former is written throughout honestly, writer stating with the utmost sincerity and candour what he think feels; the latter—why, the latter would doubtless be ashame resemble in anything its poor contemporary. The former, thoug always choice and accurate in its language, is generally written in clear English (and I really account this of importance, and even o importance, in an *English* publication); the latter is not written i language at all, for a mixed jargon of the schools, the bar, the p and the clubs is certainly not a language."

Amongst the papers which copied the *Saturday Review* a was the *Printers' Journal;* and this paper, determined not t behind its aristocratic colleague, added a little slander on its account, that the *National Reformer* was improperly printe underpaid compositors—although had the editor cared to in he would have found that the men were paid according t regulations of the Printers' Society.

In January and June of 1867 there appeared in the *Na Reformer* some noteworthy letters from the Rev. Charles Vo They are specially remarkable when contrasted with his utterances of 1880. These letters arose out of a sermon pre at Healaugh on October 21st, 1866, in which Mr Voysey that if it were urged

'that a belief in the Articles of the Christian Creed without m is better than morality without belief,* I frankly own that, tho am a Churchman, I would rather see them put aside and torn rubbish, than see the cause of morality, which is true religion, moment imperilled. I would honestly prefer a morality witho religious belief—nay, even without any religious hopes and re consolations—to the most comforting, satisfying creed without m . . . . Inexpressibly sad as it is to us, who rejoice in our and whose hearts pant for the Living God, yet there are son cannot believe in him at all. Some of these are kept steadfast i

* A dignitary of the Church was reported to have said that it wa "to have a religion without morality than morality without religion.

re and upright in their lives, models of good fathers and mothers, d husbands and wives, and fulfilling God's own law of love, which mercy he has not made dependent on Creed, but has engraven on very hearts. They are living evidences of morality without religion; l if I had to choose between the lot of a righteous man who could not ieve in a God, and the man of unlimited credulity, who cared not to righteous so much as to be a believer, I would infinitely sooner be righteous Atheist."

Mr Bradlaugh made a short comment upon this, to which Mr ysey replied, and one or two further letters appeared. In a ter dated January 13th he writes:—

'But I leave these minor matters to express my heartfelt sympathy what you call the 'Infidel party' under the civil disabilities which ve hitherto oppressed them. I think with sorrow and shame of the pid, as well as cruel contempt, with which some of my brother-clergy- n have treated you; and I cannot but deplore the want of respect ards you as shown in the attitude of society, and in the continuance those nearly obsolete laws which our less enlightened forefathers sed in the vain hope of checking the movements of the human nd. . . . . *I can do but very little, but that little I will do with all heart to remove the stigma which attaches to my order through its d and senseless bigotry.*"

e italics here are mine, as I wish to draw special attention to sentiments of the Rev. Charles Voysey in 1867. In June of same year he wrote other somewhat lengthy letters, in which expressed his great respect for Mr Bradlaugh's "candour and nesty," and his thanks for the "invariable courtesy" shown him. at is the Mr Voysey of 1867. In 1880 the Rev. Charles Voysey ved the value of his unsought promise to work to remove the gma from his order, by going out of his way to preach a sermon the Langham Hall upon the "Bradlaugh Case," in which he plained that he felt "ashamed and disgraced by the people of rthampton for electing him [Charles Bradlaugh] to represent m;" he said that "most of the speeches in the Bradlaugh e, in favour of his exclusion, strike me as singularly good, olesome, and creditable," and he felt thankful to the speakers not mincing the matter. Mr Bradlaugh, making an ex- dingly brief commentary on Mr Voysey's sermon, said:—

"We presume that this commendation included the various rases invented for Mr Bradlaugh by 'hon.' members, but never d by him. Mr Voysey's belief in God seems to include approval

of the use of lies on God's behalf. Mr Voysey says: 'It is m
than probable that if Mr Bradlaugh had claimed to affirm with
giving reasons for it the Speaker would have at once permit
him to affirm.' Here Mr Voysey writes in absolute and inexc
able ignorance of what actually took place. For eightpence
Voysey can buy the Report of the Select Parliamentary Co
mittee, which, while unfavourable to me, gives the exact facts, a
this at least he ought to do before he preaches another sermon f
of inaccuracies as to fact, and replete with unworthy insinuatio

"The whole affair," says Mr Voysey, "has been a perf
jubilee to the martyr and his friends." And in the end it wa
such a jubilee as is never likely to fall to the lot of Mr Voys
True, it was paid for in years of care and terrific mental anxieti
true, it was heralded with insult and actual personal ill-usa
true, it cost a life impossible to replace; but the "jubilee" ca
when over the "martyr's" very deathbed the House of Comm
itself vindicated his honour; when even a Tory statesman co
be found to uphold my father's conduct in the House, and a T
gentleman to proclaim that he was "a man who had endeavoured
do his duty." It was a jubilee of the triumph of consistent cour
and honesty over "blind and senseless bigotry" and unprincip
malice.

CHAPTER XIV.

IE "NATIONAL REFORMER" AND ITS GOVERNMENT PROSECUTIONS.

r the third of May 1868 the *National Reformer* appeared in new character. A startling announcement at the head of the litorial Notices sets forth that "the Commissioners of Her ajesty's Inland Revenue having commenced proceedings to ppress the *National Reformer*, a special fund is opened, to be titled 'The *National Reformer* Defence Fund,' to which sub-iptions are invited." Above the editorial leaders was the end, "Published in Defiance of Her Majesty's Government, and the 60 Geo. III. cap. 9."

Beyond these two statements no further information was given til the following week, when Mr Bradlaugh explained in answer numerous inquirers that the Commissioners of the Inland venue had, under 60 Geo. III., cap. 69, required him to give eties in the sum of £400 against the appearance of blasphemy sedition in his columns; that they had sent officially to chase a copy; and that they claimed £20 for each separate y of the *National Reformer* published. Another com-nication came from W. H. Melvill, Esq., Solicitor to the and Revenue Office, insisting upon his compliance with the uirements of the statute. Mr Bradlaugh replied intimating refusal, and stating that he was prepared to contest matter. He also addressed a short public letter to the nmissioners:—

You have," he writes, "taken the pains to officially remind me of Act of Parliament, passed in 1819, avowedly for the suppression of ap Democratic and Freethought literature, and you require me to ply with its provisions, such provisions being absolutely prohibitory he further appearance of this journal. With all humility, I am ged to bid you defiance; you may kill the *National Reformer*, but ill not commit suicide. Before you destroy the paper we shall have ght the question as far as my means will permit me."

The Government showed itself in so little hurry to notice
Bradlaugh's defiance that he announced the suspension of t
"defence fund" in the hope that the Government had "rec
sidered its hasty intimations." My father's warlike spirit appe
to have made him half regretful that all these prelimina
threatenings seemed about to result in nothing more serio
for he believed he "should have made a good fight for t
liberty of the press;" although, on the other hand, he was,
course, "delighted to be let alone," as he could not afford "to
to jail," and "jail" would have been the natural termination
his defeat and the Government triumph. The hopes and fe
of his suspense were, however, at length brought to an end, a
the next issue of the *National Reformer* (May 24) appeared w
the words "Prosecuted by Her Majesty's Government" prin
in large black type on the front page; and this announcem
was so continued until the end of the proceedings, giving to
journal—despised and rejected by its contemporaries as it wa
quite a distinguished appearance.

In fact, the public could hardly have read his words as to
possibility of a reconsideration by the Government, when he
ceived an ominously worded writ * from the Solicitor's Departm
Somerset House, for the recovery of two penalties of £50 and £
attaching to the publication and sale of the paper; and it may
remarked that the claim of these sums of £50 and £20 me
considerably more than would appear to the eye of the uninitiated
it meant £50 "for each and every day" since publication, and £
"for each and every copy" published, so that the amount of
penalties really claimed was something tremendous. On these
numbers alone, at the very lowest estimate, it must have reac
somewhere about a quarter of a million of money. "The Defe
Fund" was of course re-opened; for, as we shall see later on,
Bradlaugh had by this time gained plenty of personal experi
as to the cost of litigation, and opposing the Government

* "This writ is issued against you for the recovery of two penalties o
and £20 incurred by you in respect of the publication and sale of
National Reformer, Secular Advocate and Freethought Journal' news
of 3rd May 1868, without making the Declaration and Recognisa
required respectively by the Statutes 6 and 7 Wm. iv. cap. 76, and 1st
iv. cap. 73; and also for two other like penalties in respect of the pu
tion and sale of the newspaper of 18th May 1868."

officers promised largely in the way of expense. Hosts of small subscribers sent their small sums to swell the funds for the defence of the persecuted and prosecuted paper. Meetings were held, and a petition for the repeal of the Statutes of William and George was immediately got up. One of the first to be presented was one from Mr Bradlaugh himself, which was laid before the House on May 25th by Mr John Stuart Mill; on the same day Mr Crawford presented one from Mr Austin Holyoake; and later on people in various parts of the country, sent in petitions through their respective members. These petitions and the general agitation soon began to have their effect, and resulted in a meeting of members being convened to be held in one of the Committee Rooms of the House, to consider the proper action to be taken. Men like James Watson, who had suffered imprisonment for his defence of the liberty of the press; Richard Moore, whose name was well known in those days for his efforts to promote political freedom; and Mr C. D. Collet, who had worked untiringly for political reforms: such men as these came forward with help and advice, as well as many others who, like Edward Truelove and Austin Holyoake, were intimately associated with my father. On the 28th May he received an "information" from the law officers of the Crown, but, curiously enough, it was undated. No one who knows anything of Mr Bradlaugh will need to be told that this slip did not pass unnoticed, and on the following day, with the view of gaining a slight extension of the time to plead, he applied to Mr Baron Bramwell to order the withdrawal of the information. Baron Bramwell made the order applied for, and the solicitor to the Inland Revenue amended his document the same day.

From this "information," with its customary confusion of legal jargon retailed to clients at so much per folio, we may extricate three essential points, which I will put plainly in as many lines, viz., that Mr Bradlaugh was being proceeded against for (1) publishing the *National Reformer;* for (2) being the proprietor of it; and for (3) selling the paper so published and owned "at a less price than sixpence, to wit, at the price of twopence."

These last words were pregnant with meaning, for, as my father wrote at the time, "If the price was sixpence I should not be prosecutable; it is only cheap blasphemy and sedition which is liable to be suppressed." The rich might read the covert blas-

phemies of an affectedly pious and unaffectedly sixpenn
weekly journal, or dally over expensive and erudite treatis
which were openly heretical; but ignorance and religion wer
necessary to the masses to keep them in proper subjection, an
woe betide those rash men who ventured to throw open to thes
the door of the Chamber of Knowledge! Has not this been th
law of England, and is it not in fact the sentiment of certai
Englishmen even to-day?

As the particulars conveyed in this formidable "information
differed somewhat from those furnished in the earlier *subpœna a respondum*, Mr Bradlaugh applied to the Courts to compel furth
and better particulars concerning the penalties for which judgmen
was prayed. This application was heard on the 30th May, in th
Court of Exchequer, before Mr Justice Montague Smith, and wa
opposed by counsel (of whom there was quite an array) on beha
of the Crown. After a "lengthy and rather sharp passage
arms" the Judge decided in favour of the application, and ordere
the solicitor to the Inland Revenue to "deliver to the defenda
a further and better account in writing of the particulars of th
statutes referred to in the 3rd and 6th counts." * This victory ov
the law officers of the Crown was of trifling consequence, exce
as giving a little additional time for pleading, and as showing h
opponents that they had to deal with a man ready to see an
ready to use every advantage given him. This second victor
small perhaps as bearing on the final issues, was of vast mor
importance, for it forced the Crown to state that they relied on t
obnoxious statute of George III. for the enforcement of the 3
and 6th counts. The assistant-solicitor, Stephen Dowell, Esq., ma
this admission in the briefest possible language, abandoning t
"to wits" and other ornamental phraseology of the original wor
information. On the 1st June Mr Bradlaugh entered four ple
in his defence; but it was now the turn of the law officers of t
Crown to interpose, and they objected that a defendant might or
plead one plea, and referred their opponent to the 21 James I., cap.
sec. 4, as bearing on the case. The letter conveying this objecti
was put into my father's hands at Euston Station just as he w
leaving by the 2.45 train for Northampton, the suffrages of whi

* The 4th, 5th, and 6th counts were identical with the 1st, 2nd, a
3rd, except that they referred to a different issue of the paper.

own he was then seeking to win for the first time. That very lay was the last for giving notice for the next sittings, and half-past three was the latest time available on that day. Mr Bradaugh felt himself in a position of considerable embarrassment. There was no time for consideration; he doubted the accuracy of he Government, but he was not acquainted with the wording of he statute of James; his train was on the point of leaving for Northmpton, and some decision must be come to immediately. He espatched a clerk to Somerset House with authority to modify is plea according to the terms of the solicitor's letter, but reserving is right to inquire into the matter, and take such course upon it s the law permitted.

On his return from Northampton, he went at once to Messrs pottiswoode, the Queen's Printers, and there he learned that the tatute of James was "not only out of print, but had not been asked or within the memory of the oldest employee in the Queen's Printing ffice." On referring to the Statute Book, he arrived at the opinion hat Mr Melvill was once more in error, and therefore went himself o Somerset House, where, to his "great surprise," he found that he Government lawyers were no better informed than himself, nd merely sheltered themselves under an opinion of the counsel o the Treasury that he had no right to plead more than one plea. pon hearing this, Mr Bradlaugh immediately wrote Mr Melvill hat unless he at once pointed out the authority under which his ght of pleading was limited to "Not Guilty," he should apply to judge at chambers to have his pleas reinstated. Mr Melvill plied on the same day repeating his declaration, but without ving his authority. The next day (Friday, June 5th) Mr Bradugh was served with a rule that the case should be tried by a pecial jury, and that the jury should be nominated on the Tuesday llowing. On Saturday the application to reinstate the pleas was eard before Mr Justice Willes. After a great deal of discussion, e judge at length endorsed the summons with a delaration giving r Bradlaugh liberty to raise upon the trial all the issues involved his pleas.

The trial came on in the Court of Exchequer on Saturday, June th, before Mr Baron Martin. The Court was filled with Mr radlaugh's friends, to witness this great forensic contest between mself, on behalf of a free, unshackled press on the one hand, and the other, Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Sir John Karslake,

Kt., aided and assisted by the Solicitor-General and an inferic legal gentleman "in stuff," on behalf of the Government and th oppressive press laws of George and William. When the jury wa called only ten gentlemen answered to their names; thereupon th Associate asked the Attorney-General, "Do you pray a tales? The Attorney-General answered, "We do not pray a tales." Th Associate then asked Mr Bradlaugh the same question, to which h also replied in the negative. Upon this the jury was discharge and the great press prosecution entered into by the moribun Tory Government of 1868 came to an abortive end.

"It is not in mortals—least of all, in mortals mean as these— to command success. I make no doubt that the man who ha the courage to defy them will at least do more—deserve it." S wrote "Caractacus" before this nominal trial came on, an assuredly whatever measure of success there was in it was surel on my father's side. Mr Bradlaugh did not "pray a tales," becau by so doing he would have forfeited certain rights; but by n praying a tales, and by not asking for fines to be imposed upo the absent jurymen, the law officers of the Crown most clear showed their eagerness to seize upon any excuse to abandon th proceedings upon which they had so rashly embarked. To d the Government justice, I think they had been rather driven in the matter by their bigoted followers. As far back as 1866 w find the English Church Union urging the prosecution of a "infidel newspaper, reputed to possess a considerable circulation The matter had actually been brought before the Attorney-Genera with a view to legal proceedings, and he, "whilst suggestin the necessity of mature consideration as to the desirability procuring prominence for a comparatively obscure publication b means of a public prosecution, promised that the question shou be very carefully considered." In 1867 the *Saturday Revie* tried week by week to inflame the mind of the public against th *National Reformer* and Mr Bradlaugh, and other Tory journa followed the example so worthily set them. Judging from a this, one can hardly be assuming too much in supposing th action of the Government was not altogether spontaneous.

At the meeting of members of Parliament and others interest in the matter to which I have already referred, Messrs Ayrto M.P., Milner Gibson, M.P., J. S. Mill, M.P., R. Moore, C. B Collet, E. Truelove, and A. Holyoake were present, and after son

lk it was decided to raise the question the next evening (June 12) n the House on going into Supply. Accordingly, on the following vening Mr Ayrton, in a speech of considerable length, called ttention to the state of the law regarding registration and security n respect of certain publications, but the Attorney-General politely haracterised his statements as "utterly at variance with the acts." Mr Milner Gibson, in an able speech, demonstrated some f the absurdities of the press laws. John Stuart Mill asked for he repeal of the Act, and pending that the suspension of all rosecutions under it, and Mr Crawford "pleaded in tones of loquence and fire for a free and untaxed literature for the orking classes."

It will probably occur to every one, as it occurred to me, that would be interesting to know what were the comments of the ress upon this debate, and the abortive trial held upon the llowing day. I have looked through several London journals f that particular date, but have failed to find any comments hatever; the press was apparently in profound ignorance con- rning this important matter, which so vitally affected its nterests.* I did, however, find something in my search; I ound that in the *Times* report of the parliamentary debate upon he registration of newspapers which I have just alluded to, he name of the *National Reformer* was actually omitted from Mr yrton's speech, although the suit against it was deemed of such mportance as to require the services of the Attorney and the olicitor-General, and a third counsel. I turned over the pages f the *Times* and other papers, vainly seeking for some report of he proceedings in the Court of Exchequer—but there was not he line: to such pettiness did the leading journals of the day ondescend.

In concluding the account of this, the first prosecution of the *ational Reformer*, I cannot pass over without notice the conduct the Rev. John Page Hopps, who, with those other gentlemen hose names have already been mentioned, set up a brilliant xception to the usual manner in which Mr Bradlaugh was treated

---

* A few provincial papers condemned the prosecution, and later on the *aily Telegraph* announced a possible repeal of the Press Laws, and that the meantime "the Government had resolved not to press the objection- le clauses"

by the publicists of the day. He wrote to my father a hear letter, saying that while of course differing from him in certa opinions, he thought the prosecution "both cowardly and mean and wishing him "success and support," promised him whatev aid he could give.

In the year 1868 Mr Bradlaugh ceased to use that name und which he had carried on his public career from the time of his retu from the army. The disguise had always been a very transpare one, and the smallest Christian taunt at his *nom de guerre* made hi cast caution to the winds and declare his real name. At t time of his first candidature for a seat in Parliament in 1868 determined to throw aside even this semblance of concealmer and all announcements were henceforward made in the name "Charles Bradlaugh," although the repute of "Iconoclast" h been so great that the name clung to him for many years; in so of the Yorkshire and Lancashire districts it was proudly membered until the last. The *National Reformer* was issued the first time on November 15th, 1868, as "edited by Char Bradlaugh," instead of "edited by Iconoclast" as heretofore. T winter of this year was a very stormy one politically; the gene election of December resulted in turning out the Tories and bri ing the Liberals into power under the leadership of Mr Gladsto Mr Gladstone and his colleagues had not been in office many we before they took up the press prosecution abandoned by th Tory predecessors, and as early as January 16th, 1869, Bradlaugh received formal notice that the Government inten to proceed to trial. Mr Bradlaugh confessed that this move ca quite unexpectedly to him, but he would "fight to the la whether against Tory or against Liberal. He regarded it, howe as "a most infamous shame that a private individual should h been put to the expense of one abortive trial, and should r have another costly ordeal to go through on the same account."

On Tuesday morning, February 2nd, the case again came o the Court of Exchequer, this time before Mr Baron Bramw The Attorney-General, Sir Robert Collier, the Solicitor-Gene Sir J. D. Coleridge, and Mr Crompton Hutton were there to p on behalf of the odious Security Laws, and enforce them aga one man and one paper selected out of "hundreds, nay thousa of publications liable under the same Acts of Parliament, wh do not comply with their provisions, and which are yet allowe

on unprosecuted." Just as had happened in the previous year, , curiously enough, on this occasion also only ten special jury- en answered to their names; but this time a tales was prayed by e Crown, and the absent jurymen were fined £10 each. Sir obert Collier appears to have done his work as little offensively my father as possible, and at the end of his opening speech id:—

"Mr Bradlaugh knows perfectly well that if at any time he had timated his readiness to comply with the provisions of the Act, the osecution would not have been proceeded with. The prosecution is t for the purpose of punishing and fining him, but to ensure com- iance with this Act, as long as it remains the law; and if Mr Bradlaugh es his mistake, as I think he will, and will comply with the Act, no nalties will be enforced against him."

For a Republican and Freethought paper to give sureties against chnical sedition and blasphemy, "even if we could find friends sane enough to enter into recognisances," would be like announc- g Hamlet at the Lyceum with the part of the Prince of Denmark t out. So in spite of Sir Robert Collier's grace and politeness, r Bradlaugh was obliged to persist, and the prosecution there on proceeded with the examination of witnesses as to the purchase the paper, etc.

The Crown obtained a verdict; but there were seven points erved on my father's behalf for discussion and decision. "At sent," wrote my father, "we are not beaten, and we will per- ere to the end; but we must deplore that the present advisers the Crown should think it right to try to ruin an individual h a litigation of such an enormously costly character."

There were some rather amusing incidents in connection with trial. When Baron Bramwell pronounced his verdict for the wn, Mr Crompton Hutton rose in his place, and said with a id air of generosity that as the first and second counts were the e, "it would not be right for the Crown to take two penalties," efore a verdict might be for the defendant upon the second fifth counts. As though when penalties had reached well seven figures, a million or two less was of much consequence! Austin Holyoake, in a descriptive article upon the prosecution, ch he found it difficult to class as either tragedy or farce, e "it resembles very much a melodrama in two gasps and

a tableau," says in regard to the suggested non-enforcement of fu
fines :—

"This relieved my mind very much ; for as the penalties ha
accumulated since May last to between three and four millions had
been suddenly called upon to pay, I feel sure the sum I had with
would have fallen short by at least two millions of the amount forfeit
to 'our sovereign lady the Queen.' The Chancellor of the Exchequ
is very busy devising schemes to create a surplus for his next budg
Perhaps this is one of them."

The learned Attorney-General, Sir Robert Collier, in the cou
of his opening speech, read the statute of the 60 Geo. III. chap.
sec. 8, which laid down regulations as to the publication of a
paper, etc., which "shall not exceed two sheets, or which shall
published at a less price than sixpence." In reading this statu
Sir Robert Collier remarked that the provision as to pamphl
had been repealed. When it came to Mr Bradlaugh's turn
speak in his defence, he pointed out the error of this. T
Attorney-General "has read to you the statute of the 60 G
III. chap. 9, and he himself, the representative of the Crown h
to-day, knows so little of the statute that he . . . . states that
part as to pamphlets is a part which has been repealed. The f
is that the whole of this Act of Parliament is a living Act."

Having put the Attorney-General right in the matter of law
was now Mr Bradlaugh's turn to inform the officials at Somer
House of what went on in their own department. At the t
Mr Edward Tilsley, a clerk in the office of the Solicitor of Inla
Revenue, had sworn, accurately sworn, under the cross-examinat
of the defendant, that the *Sporting Times* was not registered.
the 4th of February all the morning papers contained a le
from Mr Tilsley announcing that he had made a search, and t
the *Sporting Times* was registered, and he asked for publicity
this fact "in justice to the proprietors of that paper." The p
prietors must have been considerably astonished. Mr Bradla
was ; and to such an extent did his amazement carry him, that
immediately went to Somerset House, where he also searched
register. The result of his search appeared in the following let
published in the papers of the 5th :—

"Sir —With reference to Mr Tilsley's letter in your issue of to-
permit me to state that I have this morning searched the register

Somerset House in the presence of that gentleman, and that his evidence in court seems to have been more correct than his correction. The *Sporting Times* is not registered. Mr Tilsley's error, when writing to you, arose from the fact that another paper with the same name was once registered, but this was before the popular journal of Dr Shorthouse came into existence. I believe Dr Shorthouse would contend, as I contended at the trial, that his publication does not come under the statutory definition of a newspaper."

As the days flew by Mr Bradlaugh grew more and more confident that he had a good case to go before the judges in asking for his rule, and he notes that "a feeling in favour of my ultimate success seems gaining ground in many competent quarters, although the utmost surprise is felt that a Liberal Government should persist in such a prosecution." A petition was drawn up setting forth the chief points in the prosecution, and praying that all such enactments as create differences between high and low priced publications to the detriment of the latter might be repealed. Mr Bradlaugh sent his petition to Viscount Enfield, Member for Middlesex, who duly presented it. For thus doing his bare duty to one of his constituents, Viscount Enfield was most virulently attacked by the *Blue Budget*. Lord Enfield and Mr Bradlaugh were unknown to each other, and the former had merely fulfilled the obligation of his Parliamentary membership; for this he was accused of being the apologist for Mr Bradlaugh, for whom he did "not object to risk his reputation."

On Thursday, April 15th, Lord Chief Baron Kelly, Baron Bramwell, and Baron Cleasby, sitting in the Exchequer Court, heard the motion for a new rule. The three judges listened to Mr Bradlaugh with the greatest attention, and took the utmost care to fully comprehend the bearing of every argument he put forward, although their continuous interruptions were rather embarrassing to him. Having heard what he had to urge, a rule *nisi* was granted him on three points; if he succeeded in maintaining his rule on either of two points, the prosecution was at an end; if he failed in these, but succeeded in the third, then there would have to be a new trial. It is hardly wonderful that, having gained so much, he began to feel fairly sanguine of success; nor is it less wonderful that, with all the worry and all the work, he should be feeling rather bitter against the Government, which had actually brought in a Bill on April 8th to repeal those enactments

which they were at that very moment trying to enforce agains
him.

"If the Gladstone Cabinet had been a generous one," he wrote
"it would have abandoned a prosecution which, when carried o
by the late Government, some of the members of the presen
Cabinet had already emphatically condemned. If the Gladston
Government had been just and consistent, it should at least, whe
bringing in a Bill to repeal the very laws under which we ar
prosecuted, have delayed the legal proceedings in this case unt
after the debate in the House upon this Bill, which has no
actually passed its second reading."

The rule of court granted by the judges was served upon th
solicitor to the Inland Revenue on the 16th of April. Upon th
23rd that gentleman wrote Mr Bradlaugh that as it was propose
to repeal the enactments under which the proceedings had bee
instituted, "the Law Officers of the Crown will agree to a *st*
processus being entered," and asked if he would consent to th
course. To this Mr Bradlaugh made answer:—

"SIR,—I will consent to a *stet processus* being entered, not because
the Bill now before the House of Commons, but because I am sick of
litigation involving loss of time, anxiety, and expense; and I conse
only with the distinct declaration on my part, that I am not liab
under the statutes under which I am prosecuted, and protesting that
Liberal Government ought never to have carried on such a prosecutio
If the Law Officers of the Crown had proposed a *stet processus* when th
new Government came into office, the act would have been gracefu
now, after twelve months of harassing litigation, the staying furth
proceedings, when a rule has been granted in my favour, is a matter f
which I owe no thanks.

"If any more formal consent is necessary, I will give it. I nev
courted the contest, nor have I ever shrunk from it; but I have
inclination to carry it on; fighting the Crown is a luxury only to
indulged in by the rich as a voluntary occupation. I have fought fr
necessity, and have the sad consciousness that I retire victor at a loss
am ill able to bear."

In the *National Reformer* for the following week my fath
announced the total monies subscribed for the defence of t
National Reformer at £256, 10s.; these were mainly from t
hard earnings of poor friends, although a few had helped out
their fuller purses. He gave also a detailed account of the mon

ıe had actually paid away during this litigation; it amounted to £300, but of course this did not include the value of the time lost ɔoth directly and indirectly * in the course of these proceedings. To be £50 out of pocket is but a trifle to a rich man, but when it orms one item amongst many to a poor man it is a very serious natter. John Stuart Mill wrote him from Avignon: "You have ained a very honourable success in obtaining a repeal of the nischievous Act by your persevering resistance." But he did not hink there was any hope of getting the Government to refund my ıther's expenses, although, as he said, a "really important ictory" had been obtained. The "poor friends," however, con-inued to subscribe their pence and their shillings until the deficiency ras in great part, if not wholly, made up.

The repealing Bill introduced into the House by Mr Ayrton and ıe Chancellor of the Exchequer passed through its three stages ithout debate, and was then sent up to the House of Lords in harge of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who introduced it to his rother peers on Monday, May 31st. Lord Lansdowne explained ıat the Act of Geo. III. was passed at a time of much agitation,

> when it was thought necessary to subject the Press to every conceiv-ɔle restriction and coercion. In repealing these Acts their lordships eed not apprehend that there would be no security against an abuse y the Press of the power which it enjoyed, for it would remain nenable to the Libel and other Acts, and the distinction between ewspapers and books being one not of kind but of degree, there was ɔ reason why the former should be treated in an exceptional way. enerally speaking, moreover, these Acts had not of late years been nforced, though their retention on the Statute Book enabled persons to ke advantage of them with the view of gratifying personal feeling."

Lord Cairns, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Somerset, ɔoke, but upon points of the Bill other than that referring to ewspapers. That the "debate" was not lengthy will be fully alised from the fact that upon this occasion the Lord Chancellor ok his seat on the woolsack at five o'clock, and "their lordships journed at five minutes before six." The Bill passed its second d third reading (this last on June 21st) without a further word discussion. Thus, almost in complete silence, were the Security

* He was at one period quite ill and under Dr Ramskill's care through e overwork and mental worry of this lawsuit.

Laws swept from the Statute Book, and cheap prints and de
prints made to stand technically equal in the eye of the law.

What were the comments of the Press on this great triump
so hardly won for them? After the trial of February 2nd, th
Morning Star printed a splendid article against the prosecutio
but all the other daily papers of the metropolis persevered in the
silence. "To struggle with the Treasury officials would be
mean task," said my father, "even if we had words of encourag
ment and more efficient aid from those, many of whom stand lik
ourselves, liable to be attacked as infringers of an oppressive la
As it is, we fight alone, and only one of the London journals h
spoken out on our behalf." The *Manchester Courier* wonder
why the law had not been put in force against the *Nation*
Reformer before. The *Blue Budget* reviled Lord Enfield f
merely presenting a petition. The *Times* report of the lengt
proceedings before the three judges on April 15th occupies on
twenty-five lines. The only London papers which printed M
Melvill's offer of a *stet processus* and Mr Bradlaugh's rejoind
were the *Times*, *Star*, *Reynolds' Newspaper*, and *Queen's Messeng*
"Not one paper said a word in our favour or congratulated us
the battle we have had to fight." Finally, the repealing B
passed through all its stages and became law without notice
remark. The bigotry of the leading journals of the day was
great that although they themselves reaped an easy harvest fr
the toil and suffering of their Freethought contemporary, they h
not the grace to utter a word of good fellowship or rejoicing.

But the Government had not even yet done with Mr Bradlau
and the *National Reformer*. After allowing him some years' respi
an attack was directed against him from another quarter. In t
autumn of 1872 the Postmaster-General, Mr Monsell, gave
father notice that the *National Reformer* was to be deprived of t
privilege of registration, notwithstanding that for the past ni
years it had been registered for foreign transmission as a newspap
and had been within the last five years prosecuted by both To
and Whig Attorney-General as a newspaper.

This notice was quite unexpected, and, as might be imagin
my father did not take it very kindly.

Quite an unusual number of papers took up the cudgels in
defence. Most, of course, professed either a profound dislike of
personality, or ignorance of the contents of his journal, but th

ere thoroughly alarmed at the prospects opened up by this novel ethod of press censorship.

By the end of October, however, Mr Bradlaugh received an timation that the Postmaster-General had withdrawn his objec-on. The Government seemed determined to advertise the paper, d although they did not gain anything themselves, the processes ey employed were very worrying to its poor proprietor. He rote a special word of thanks to the numerous journals who had ked for fair play towards him, and in doing so also tendered his mpathy "to the one or two bigoted editors who prematurely joiced" over the suppression of the Freethought organ.

CHAPTER XV.

ITALY.

Full of sympathy for Italy, my father spoke much on be
of Garibaldi and Italian emancipation. When Garibaldi made
"famous Marsala effort," money was collected from all p
of the United Kingdom and sent to his assistance, mainly thro
the agency of W. H. Ashhurst, Esq. And men went as well
money. "Excursionists" was the name given to these volunte
amongst whom not a few Freethinkers were numbered. It
always my father's pride to remember that in 1860 he
Garibaldi 100 guineas. For if he had an empty purse, he
a full heart and an eloquent tongue, and with these he mi
the gold to send to Garibaldi and Italy. I have tried, as a ma
of interest, to collect together a list of the towns where t
Garibaldi lectures were given, but I have not traced more t
about half. At Sheffield he earned £20, and Oldham, Holmfi
Halifax, Nottingham, Rochdale, Northampton, Mexbro',
furnished funds, each town according to its rate of preju
against the speaker or its ardour for the cause he advocated.
some towns the enthusiasm was so great that hall proprietor
bill printer refused payment in order that their fees should s
the funds; in other places piety and prejudice was so strong
the audiences were not large enough to furnish the actual expe
On receiving the money Garibaldi wrote my father a letter
his own hand, thanking him for the services he was then re
ing to Italy. I am, unfortunately, not able to give the tex
this letter, which my father received on July 20th, 1861,
although I have a distinct recollection of having seen i
has either passed into other hands or become accidentally destr

Mr Bradlaugh became acquainted with Mazzini about 1
when he was living at Onslow Terrace, Brompton, under the
of Signor Ernesti. From the first he won my father's h
and to the end—although on certain matters their opi
became widely divergent—he placed him high above most

verencing in him his single-mindedness, his purity of purpose, is steadfastness and courage. After Mazzini's death Mr Bradugh wrote of him:* "He was one of the few men who impress ou first and always with the thorough truthfulness and incorptibility of their natures. Simple in his manners, with only ne luxury, his cigar, he had that fulness of faith in his cause hich is so contagious, and by the sheer force of personal contact e made believers in the possibility of Italian unity even amongst ose who were utter strangers to his thought and hope."

A framed portrait of Mazzini always hung in my father's room. t Sunderland Villa it hung in his little study; but at Circus oad, where the crowding books rapidly usurped almost every ch of available space, the picture hung in his bedroom. Subriptions received for the emancipation of Italy were acknowledged the back of signed photographs of Mazzini, or on specially graved forms dated from Caprera, but bearing Mazzini's aracteristic signature. There are doubtless many people who ill retain such acknowledgments received through Mr Bradlaugh, d just before his death, Mr Joseph Gurney, of Northampton, ry kindly gave me two that he had received in this way.

At the conclusion of his Autobiography Mr Bradlaugh wrote: In penning the foregoing sketch I had purposely to omit many cts connected with branches of Italian, Irish, and French olitics," because "there are secrets which are not my own alone, d which may not bear telling for many years to come." My ther died with these secrets still untold. For all three countries risked his life or liberty; but, beyond knowing this and a few ecdotes—told by him at the supper table at the end of a day's cturing—I know very little that is definite. I have two letters Mazzini's to my father without date or address; but although ey suggest many possibilities, they tell nothing:—

"My Dear Sir,—I do not think you can do anything for me in the ree places you mention. Of course, I shall always be glad to see u.—Yours faithfully, Jos. Mazzini.

"Friday."

"My dear Mr Bradlaugh,

"Can you? Will you?

"Ever faithfully yours,

"Thursday. Jos. Mazzini."

* "Five Dead Men Whom I Knew When Living," by Charles Bradlaugh.

Mr Bradlaugh first visited Naples in November 1861, a some of his impressions as to Naples and Rome were recorded the *National Reformer* at the time, and more than twenty ye later he wrote a description of Ischia for *Our Corner*. I have t passport issued to him by "John, Earl Russell," on the 11 November 1861, lying before me now; it is stamped and mark all over till there is scarcely a clear space anywhere on it, ba or front. Naples 1861, France 1861, Germany 1863, Gene 1866, Rome 1866, France 1871, Germany (?) 1871, Spain 187 Portugal 1873, and other places, the stamps of which are n quite illegible. There is hardly a stamp on it that does n suggest the possibility, nay, the certainty, of some story we wou give much to know. Naples—Rome—these bring up the thougl of the struggle for Italian freedom, linked with the names Garibaldi and Mazzini; France—the War, the Commune, and t Republic; Spain—the War, the Republic and Castelar, the failu Looking at this passport with its covering of names and dat legible and illegible, I realise to the full how little I know, a how feebly I am able to portray the great events of my fath life; to say that I do my best seems almost a mockery when know that this "best" is so poor and so fragmentary.

While he was at Naples in 1861, Mr Bradlaugh was diligent watched by the police, and his bedroom at the hotel was frequent overhauled. For instance, an English book he was reading, a marking with his pencil as he read, disappeared for a day or and on its return bore traces—to the keen eye of its owner least—of having been carefully examined.

A story, which I have slightly amended from Mr Headingle biography,* will give some idea as to how closely he was observ and what risks he ran.

The police, as I have said, were soon put on the alert wh Mr Bradlaugh arrived in Italy, and evidently kept a keen wat over his every movement. Thus it was ascertained that wh at Naples, a few days after Bomba's fall, he had received a pack of political letters. It has been said that walls have ears. In t case they evidently possessed eyes.

He was in the room of his hotel, alone, and, as he thought, s from all observation. A friend then entered, and without a

* Biography of Charles Bradlaugh, by A. S. Headingley, p. 62.

versation of a nature that could be overheard, gave him the ket which he had volunteered to take over to England with . Though as a rule not devoid of prudence, he so little pected any danger on this occasion that he took no special caution. He left Naples in a steamboat sailing under the flag he two Sicilies, and all went smoothly, excepting the ship, till reached Civitâ Vecchia. Here, to the surprise, if not to the m, of the passengers, a boat-load of Papal gendarmes came on d. Even at this moment Mr Bradlaugh was not yet on his d, and had the gendarmes at once made for his portmanteau, might possibly have seized the despatches.

he sub-officer preferred, however, resorting to what he doubt- considered a very clever stratagem. He politely inquired Mr Bradlaugh, whom he discovered with so little difficulty it is probable he knew perfectly well the principal acteristics of his general appearance. With much politeness, officer informed him that the British Consul wished to see on shore. This at once put my father on his guard. If he t on shore he would be on Roman soil, subject to the Papal , and there was no guarantee for his safety. On the other d, he did not know the English Consul, and had no business him. Evidently this was but a mere trap, so Mr Bradlaugh, equal politeness, refused to land.

he officer, joined by the full force of the Papal gendarmes, eeded this time with less ceremony. They ordered him to his luggage, and evidently knew that it contained the t dispatches. My father now understood that he had been ayed. Yet no one at Naples could have seen him when he ved the letters, and the walls alone could have seen the sactions, unless a hole had been made through them, and a h kept on all his actions. This, in fact, is the only explana- that can be given of the circumstance.

answer to the demand for his luggage, Mr Bradlaugh at once uced his English passport, and assumed that this would e to shield him from further annoyance. The document was, ever, treated with the profoundest contempt, and the Papal e now prepared to break open the portmanteau. In vain Mr laugh protested that he was under the flag of the two Sicilies, he was not under nor subject to the Papal laws; the Papal armes were undeterred by any such arguments. The position

was becoming desperate, and Mr Bradlaugh found himself ter outnumbered; but he had learned the value of coolness, deter ation, and audacity.

Without any more argument, he set himself against his manteau, drew a heavy six-chambered naval revolver from coat pocket, cocked, and aimed at the nearest Papal genda He then simply and quietly promised to blow out the brai the first individual who attempted to touch his luggage. In of this threat matters might have gone badly with him, fo was surrounded by foes, and there was the danger of an at from behind. But at this juncture an American, who had watching the whole incident with considerable interest, wa delighted at the "Britisher's pluck" that he suddenly snat up a chair, and springing forward, took up a firm stand bac back with the Englishman, crying, while waving the chair a with fearful energy: "I guess I'll see fair play. You look those in front, I'll attend to those behind!"

This turn of events somewhat disconcerted the Papal gendar They did not like the look of Mr Bradlaugh's formidable wea and the American had destroyed all chance of seizing hin surprise from behind. They hesitated for some time ho proceed. At last they resolved to put the responsibilit others, and go on shore for further instructions. The moment had left the ship Mr Bradlaugh employed this reprieve in brin all the pressure possible to bear upon the captain, who was, some trouble, persuaded to put on steam and sail out to sea b the gendarmes had time to return. A few days later my f reached London in safety, and had the satisfaction of deliv the letters.

Another story told in Mr Headingley's book* is very amu and although it has no bearing upon Mr Bradlaugh's political yet shows his resourcefulness and coolness in emergency.

"His experience with the Papal gendarmes had taught hi advantage of carrying a revolver when travelling in Italy, th this, it appears, was strictly against the Italian law, and on occasion nearly resulted in serious consequences. The diligen which Bradlaugh was travelling [between, as he often said w wry face, two fat priests smelling strongly of garlic] from Nu

* Page 103.

a to Civitâ Vecchia had been entirely cleared out on the vious evening by a band of brigands. Bradlaugh consequently his revolver in the pocket of the diligence door, where he ught it would be more readily accessible in case of attack. en, however, they stopped at Montalbo for the examination of luggage and passports, the police discovered the revolver and e about to confiscate it. Bradlaugh at once tried to snatch the pon back, and got hold of it by the barrel, while the policeman l tight to the butt—by far the safest side. In this position a e discussion ensued, Bradlaugh expostulating that so long as Government were unable to protect travellers from brigands should not object to persons who sought to defend themes. This argument only drew reinforcements to the policeman's stance, and Bradlaugh was seized and held tightly on all sides. ally, Bradlaugh urged that it was his duty to the Life Assur- Company where he had insured himself to carry weapons, and ect his life by every possible means. This novel argument luced an unexpected and profound impression, particularly n he informed them that he was connected with the Sovereign Midland Assurance Companies. The police respectfully and minute care noted these names down. What they thought meant Bradlaugh has never been able to explain; but they at let him loose, and he triumphantly walked away, carrying him his cherished revolver."

CHAPTER XVI.

PLATFORM WORK, 1860–1861.

On the third Monday in May 1860 Mr Bradlaugh commenced second debate with the Rev. Brewin Grant, which was to be tinued over four successive Mondays. The St George's I Bradford, capable of holding 4000 persons, was taken for discussion, and people attended from all the surrounding distr and some even came in from the adjoining county of Lancas So much has been said as to the relative bearing and abili these unlike men, to the disparagement of Mr Bradlaugh, th will come as a surprise to many to learn that Mr Grant's lang and conduct during this debate were condemned in the unqualified terms by persons altogether unfriendly to antagonist.*

* The *Leeds Times*, in a very unfriendly notice of the second night's d at Bradford, said: "Mr Grant had declared there would be such fun . . . . he should exhibit the characters of some notorious infidels as Paine, Carlile, Southwell, and others down to the last 'mushr 'Iconoclast' himself, and prove from them that infidelity is the fi source of immorality and crime. All this he did in his opening half- address, but where could anything like 'fun' be found in it all? . Mr Grant in foisting such matter upon his audience was shirking the points of the discussion. . . . . Mr Grant is anything but a calm an passionate disputant, and his indulgence in sarcasm even when unpro is ill calculated to check a tendency to personalities on the part of oppo or to lead to the impartial investigation of the truth."

The *Bradford Review* had a short article on the four nights' discu and, speaking of the use of personalities, said: "Here we must say, obliges us to say that Mr Grant was the first and by far the greater o in this direction. The language would not have been tolerated in any s It was an outrage upon the ordinary proprieties and decencies of life."

The *Bradford Advertiser* was expressly hostile to Mr Bradlaugh, reviewing the four nights' debate also remarked: "We feel bound to c that 'Iconoclast' acted with a dignity which contrasted very favour compared with Mr Grant. . . . . We are glad the course is at an en

In the fourth night of the debate, Mr Grant, harping on the eged immoralities of Paine and Carlile, twitted his antagonist th calling him "my friend." When the time came for my her to reply, he rose, evidently in a white heat of anger, to fend these two great dead men from their living calumniator. s speech produced such an effect, not only upon the audience, t upon Mr Grant, that the latter grew quite uneasy under his rds and under his gaze; he asked "Iconoclast" to look at the dience and not at him. Mr Bradlaugh replied: "I will take it it you are, as indeed you ought to be, ashamed to look an nest man in the face, and I will look at you no more. Mr ant complains that I have called him 'my friend.' It is true, in ate I have accustomed myself to wish all men my friends, and greet them as friends if possible. The habit, like a garment, me, and I have in this discussion used the phrase 'my friend;' , believe me, I did not mean it. Friendship with you would a sore disgrace and little honour."

A verbatim report was taken of this debate; but when the MS. his speeches was sent the Rev. Brewin Grant for approval, he used to return it, and thus the debate was never published.

Another person who came forward to champion Christianity inst "Infidels" generally, and Mr Bradlaugh in particular, was Rev. Dr Brindley. This gentleman, well known as a con- ned drunkard and a bankrupt, was yet announced as the hampion of Christianity, the well-known controversialist inst Mr Robert Owen, and the Socialists, the Mormons, and Secularists." A four nights' debate was arranged to take place Oldham in June in the Working Men's Hall.

The meagre reports show nothing of any interest beyond the that on each evening there were enormous audiences. Mr dlaugh had another four nights' debate with Dr Brindley at

---

r attended a discussion where so little gentlemanly conduct was exhibited, much said that was vile and unworthy, especially from one professing e a preacher and a practiser of Christ's teachings."

letter in my possession, written to a friend by one of the audience ediately after the second night, gives a private view of the debate. He es: "The debate was very hot last night; the excitement was great. Grant's friends were disgusted with his conduct. At one time, when Bradlaugh was speaking, Mr Grant put out his tongue at Mr Bradlaugh, the audience cried 'Shame' to Mr Grant for his conduct."

Norwich a few months later, but this did not appear to be wor
reporting at all. Dr Brindley was not by any means so clever
Mr Grant, nor did he use quite such scandalous language upon t
public platform and to his adversary's face, although, if rumo
did not belie him, he was more unrestrained both as to matter a
manner when relieved of his antagonist's presence.* One thi
at least he and Mr Grant had in common—an overwhelmi
antagonism to Mr Bradlaugh. This feeling led each man in
continuous hostile acts, overt or covert, each according to h
temperament and opportunity. Dr Brindley's rage amounted
fever heat when Mr Bradlaugh became candidate for Northampto
and in that town he frantically used every endeavour to hinder h
return. When Mr Bradlaugh determined to go to America
1873, Dr Brindley's feelings quite overpowered him, and
rushed after his enemy to New York, with, I suppose, some s
of idea of hunting down the wicked Atheist, though really, looki
back on the past, it is difficult to see that the poor creature cou
have had any clear ideas as to what he was going to do
Mr Bradlaugh when he reached America. He must have be
carried away by some sort of wild frenzy, which amounted
insanity. My father's first lecture upon the Republican Moveme
in England, at the Steinway Hall, New York, proved to be
immense success, and at its close Dr Brindley offered some oppo
tion. By his language he aroused such a storm of hisses a
uproar, that Mr Bradlaugh was obliged to interpose on his beha
which he did by appealing to the audience "to let the gentlem
who represents the aristocracy and the Church of England go o
This convulsed the assembly, who—in laughter and amusement
consented to hear the rev. gentleman out. Four days later
Brindley publicly answered Mr Bradlaugh at the Cooper Institu
and the *Germantown Chronicle* (Philadelphia) gives the follow
amusing account of the proceedings:—

"Brindley's purpose in life is to go for Bradlaugh hammer and to
and he has actually paid his way out here, cabin passage, to hunt up
show up and finally shut up the six foot leader of the English Radic
He is determined to keep on after Bradlaugh hot foot, and where
that eminent individual leaves a trace of his presence, there will
indefatigable Brindley be, with his orthodox whitewash brush, to w

* This, I gather, did not apply to his attitude to Mr Bradlaugh only.

t the name and memory of his Freethinking countryman. Dr Brindley an interesting orator, and the most simple-minded Briton that has esented himself at the Cooper Institute for some time. His voice is funny as a Punch and Judy's, and when the audience of last night ared with laughter, it was impossible to tell whether it was at what indley had said, or Brindley's method and voice in saying it. Some the audience were beery, and disposed to ask beery questions. The aker said England was full of wealth, and that labour was never so ll paid. Everybody was happy, and Bradlaugh was an incendiary, tory-teller, a nuisance, who would make a rumpus and make every- dy miserable, even in the Garden of Eden. 'Were you ever in a ual ward?' asked a smudgy fellow in the back of the hall. 'No,' swered the bold Brindley, 'but if you were there now it would save police trouble.' And so he replied to other impertinent questions, til he made the impression that he was not quite such a fool as he ked. He said Bradlaugh was an Atheist, whose belief is that 'brain ver is the only soul in man,' and that as he was played out in England had come over here to air his theories, and pick up pennies. 'You ow where Cheshire is?' said Brindley, 'Cheshire, where the cheese nade,' and Brindley was about to tell a story on this head, when a key at the back end of the hall cried out, 'There ain't no cheese made re now. It's all done in Duchess county.' No telling what a good ng this fellow spoiled by his remark. Bradlaugh, anyhow, was ped and vivisected, and Brindley took his tomahawk and himself y soon after."

But the farce was to end in a tragedy. Overcome by chagrin mortification, Dr Brindley died within a month of his appear- e on the Steinway Hall platform. He died in New York in erty and neglect, and was buried in a pauper's grave. The *icago Times*, alluding to the terms of Mr Bradlaugh's appeal to New York audience to give Dr Brindley a hearing, said that the gentleman was "slain by satire." "Since Keats, according to on, was snuffed out by a single article, there has been no parallel ept this of a human creature snuffed out by a single sentence."

Following quickly upon the heels of the debate at Oldham with Brindley came one with the Rev. Joseph Baylee, D.D., Prin- l of St Aidan's College, Birkenhead. Dr Baylee himself pro- d the conditions on which alone he would consent to discuss. se conditions threw the entire trouble and expense of the e nights' discussion upon Mr Bradlaugh's committee. They ided that Dr Baylee and his friends might open and conclude

the proceedings with prayer, and they also provided that the deb
should consist of questions and categorical answers with
speeches whatever on either side. Those who recall Mr Bradlaug
marvellous rapidity of thought, and the way in which he co
instantly grasp and reason out a position, will see that this c
dition would certainly be no disadvantage to my father. T
audiences, as usual, crowded the hall, and listened to both speak
with the utmost attention. This discussion, which was repor
at length and published in pamphlet form,* has had a very w
circulation. It is in many respects a remarkable debate; but a
is easily obtainable, I will leave it to speak for itself, more es
cially as, from its peculiar form of question and answer, it does
lend itself conveniently to quotation.

Were it possible it would be tedious to follow Mr Bradla
through the hundreds of lectures which he delivered during th
ten years, but it will be interesting, and will give us a clearer i
of the turmoil and work of his life, to note some of the difficul
he had to meet thirty or so years ago. Nowadays, as soon
Parliament rises nearly every member of the House of Comm
thinks himself called upon to go and air his views throughout
length and breadth of the country; then, public speaking
much more uncommon, and Freethought lectures in especial w
few and far between. To-day, almost every town of any size
its own Freethought speakers, and speakers come to it with m
or less frequency from adjoining districts and from Lond
Little difficulties create great stir and excitement now: then, g
difficulties came almost as a matter of course. But even w
difficulties were frequent and not altogether unexpected, that
not make them the easier to endure. A brick-bat which rea
its aim hurts just as much whether it is one out of many thr
or just one thrown by itself.

At Wigan, in October 1860, my father went to deliver
lectures in the Commercial Hall. The conduct of the peopl
this town was so disgraceful, that he said in bitter jest that i
did much more of this "extended propaganda" he should req
to be insured against accident to life and limb.

"I may be wrong," he wrote,† "but I shall never be convi

* God, Man, and the Bible. Three nights' discussion with the Rev. Dr Ba

† *National Reformer*, October 20. 1860.

my error by a mob of true believers yelling at my heels like mad
gs, under the leadership of a pious rector's trusty subordinate,
hammering at the door of my lecture room under the direction
an infuriated Church parson. I object that in the nine-
nth century it is hardly to be tolerated that a bigot priest shall
his influence with the proprietor of the hotel where I am
ying, in order to 'get that devil kicked out into the street' after
f-past ten at night. I do not admit the right of a rich Church
nitary's secretary to avoid the payment of his threepence at the
r by jumping through a window, especially when I or my
nds have to pay for the broken glass and sash frame. True,
these things and worse happened at Wigan."

There had been no Freethought lectures in Wigan for upwards
wenty years; the clergy had had it all their own way there undis-
ɔed. They determined to oppose the wicked Iconoclast in
ry way, and began by engaging the largest hall available and
ertising the same subjects as those announced for the Free-
ught platform. Had they contented themselves with this form
pposition, all would have been well, but their zeal outran dis-
ion, carrying with it their manners and all appearance of
ency and decorum. My father, continuing his account of this
ir, said—

Being unknown in Wigan, except by hearsay, I expected
efore but a moderate audience. I was in this respect agree-
disappointed. The hall was inconveniently crowded, and
y remained outside in the square, unable to obtain admittance.
friend was known to me who could or would officiate as chair-
, and I therefore appealed to the meeting to elect their own
ident. No response being made to this, I intimated my inten-
of proceeding without one. This the Christians did not seem
elish, and therefore elected a gentleman named [the Rev. T.]
on to the chair, who was very tolerable, except that he had
ntric views of a chairman's duty, and slightly shortened my
, while he also took a few minutes every now and then for
self to refute my objections to the Bible."

With the exception of the excitable and somewhat unmannerly
viour of some of the clergymen present, this meeting passed
without any serious disturbance, and was not unfairly reported
he *Wigan Observer*, which described "Mr Iconoclast" as "a
-made and healthy looking man, apparently not more than

thirty years of age. He possesses great fluency of speech, and evidently well posted up in the subject of his addresses. assurance he has no lack; and we scarcely think it would possible to put a question to him to which he had not an ans ready—good, bad, or indifferent."

By the following evening the temper of the Wiganites become—what shall I say? More Christian? Mr Bradlau when he arrived at the hall, "found it crowded to excess, and addition many hundreds outside unable to gain admittance. name," he says, "was the subject of loud and hostile comm several pious Christians in choice Billingsgate intimating that t would teach me a lesson. As on the previous evening, I reque the religious body to elect a chairman, and Mr Thomas St was voted to the chair. Of this gentleman I must say that he courteous, generous, and manly, and by his kindly conduct c pelled my respect and admiration. Previous to my lecture majority of those present hooted and yelled with a vigour wh if it betokened healthy lungs, did not vouch so well for a hea brain; and I commenced my address amidst a terrific din. I window was besieged, and panes of glass were dashed out in r reckless wantonness, while at the same time a constant hamme was kept up at the main door. As this showed no prospec cessation, I went myself to the door, and, to my disgust, fo that the disturbance was being fostered and encouraged b clergyman * of the Church of England, who wished to admittance. I told him loss of life might follow any attemp enter the room in its present overcrowded state. His answer that he knew there was plenty of room, and would come in. prevent worse strife I admitted him, and by dint of main stre and liberal use of my right arm repelled the others, closed doors, and returned to the platform. I had, however, at the c received one blow in the ribs, which, coupled with the e ordinary exertions required to keep the meeting in check, f tired me out in about an hour. Several times, when any c betokened a new breach in either door or window, the whole o audience toward the end of the room jumped up, and I had lite to keep them down by dint of energetic lung power. Tow the conclusion of the lecture, the secretary of the rector force

* The Rev. W. T. Whitehead.

y bodily through a window, and I confess I felt a strong
lination to go to that end of the room and pitch him back
ough the same aperture. If he had intended a riot, he could
have acted more riotously. Some limestone was thrown in at
ther window, and a little water was poured through the
tilators by some persons who had gained possession of the
f. This caused some merriment, which turned to alarm when
arm and hand waving a dirty rag appeared through a little hole
the centre of the ceiling. One man in a wideawake then
ped upon one of the forms, and excitedly shouted to me, 'See,
devil has come for you!' After the lecture, I received in the
fusion several blows, but none of importance. When I quitted
building one well-dressed man asked me, 'Do you not expect
l to strike you dead, and don't you deserve that the people
uld serve you out for your blasphemy?' Two spat in my
."

Being concerned for the fate of the hotel if he carried back with
the excited crowds which dogged his heels, Mr Bradlaugh's
impulse was to avoid it; but remembering that he had left
his money there, he contrived to escape his pursuers, and reached
hotel unaccompanied, except by one friend. Notwithstanding
there was not "the slightest disturbance at the hotel, the
llady wished me at once to leave the house. I appealed to her
pitality in vain. I next stood on my legal rights, went to my
room, locked the door, retired to bed, and tried to dream that
gan was a model Agapemone."

Before the dispersal of the meeting, and while the Rev. W. T.
Itehead was asking the audience to teach Mr Bradlaugh a lesson
ch should prevent him coming again, whether intentionally or
the gas was turned off, so that the hundreds of persons in the
n, already in confusion, were placed in great danger of losing
r lives. Fortunately, the gas was relighted before any serious
equences had resulted.

bout a month later Mr Bradlaugh was again speaking at Wigan.
Mayor had threatened to lock him up, but, as might be expected,
threat was an empty one. The *Wigan Examiner* entreated the
ic not to attend the lectures, but without result. On the first
ing a form was set aside for the accommodation of the clergy,
it remained vacant. After the meeting (which had been a
y orderly one) Mr Bradlaugh relates how he was followed to

his lodgings "by a mob who had not been present at the lect and who yelled and shouted in real collier fashion. The *Exam* says they intended to 'purr' me.* An invitation on my pa any two of them to settle the matter with me in approved pugil fashion produced a temporary lull, under cover of which sh was gained from the storm of hooting and howling which broke out anew with redoubled vigour. On the second eve the Christian mob outside were even more discourteous." S friends † who had offered Mr Bradlaugh the hospitality of t roof, so that he might not again suffer the treatment he received at the Victoria Hotel on the former occasion, threatened and annoyed in a most disgraceful manner, bes being hissed and hooted on entering the lecture hall. Stones thrown at Mr Bradlaugh and Mr John Watts as they went in, during the lecture all was orderly. At the end, however, Hutchings, a Nonconformist and the sub-editor of the *Exam* amidst considerable noise and confusion, entered with the J. Davis and other friends, to contradict what Mr Bradlaugh said on the previous night. After some animated discussio was arranged that a set two nights' debate should be held bet them. Mr Bradlaugh then left the hall, and was immedi surrounded by a noisy crew.

"I walked slowly home," said my father. "At last, in a na court, one fellow kicked me in the back part of my thigh turned quickly round, and invited an attempt at repetition, mising prepayment in a good knock-down for the kicker; the whole pack of yelping religionists turned tail. Men women turned out of their houses half-dressed, and when name 'Iconoclast' passed from one to the other, the adjec attached to it sufficiently proved that humanising influences sorely needed to soften the conversational exuberance of natives of Wigan."

Those who were not sufficiently brave to come near enou give a kick at Mr Bradlaugh's back hurled bricks at him, cowardice unnerved them and prevented them from taking a aim, so that although his hat was damaged, he himself unhurt. Mr and Mrs Johnson courageously insisted upon wa

---

* C. Bradlaugh in the *National Reformer* for December 1st, 1860.

† Mr and Mrs Johnson of Wigan.

his side, and the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus ought it no shame to throw stones at a woman: here, their tim being weaker, their courage was accordingly greater and eir aim straighter. But if the people acted so merely from norance and narrowness, it is not so easy to explain the male- ent attitude of certain local journals to my father. Week er week, the *Wigan Examiner* persisted in the attack, being ecially virulent in its onslaught upon his personal character. reprinted Mr Packer's mendacious letter to Brewin Grant, and following extract prefacing the letter will serve to show how at was the desire of the editor to keep the commandments of Deity, and not to bear false witness :—

Born in the classic region of Bethnal Green, he [Mr Bradlaugh] oted his juvenile faculties to the advocacy of teetotalism, but finding this theme did not afford sufficient scope for his genius, he formed himself to a select band of reformers who met in an upper room garret in the neighbourhood. Being a fluent speaker, he was soon lted to the dignity of an apostle in his new vocation, and finding work in every respect much more congenial to his mind than ving, he broke loose from all restraint, and went into the new iness with energy."

The debate between Mr Hutchings and Mr Bradlaugh was lly arranged for the 4th and 5th February (1861). On his to the hall on the first evening, my father received "one lence of Christianity in the shape of a bag of flour;" this was, course, intended to soil his clothes, but "fortunately it was g with too great violence, and after crushing the side of ther new hat from Mr Hipwell,* covered the pavement ead of myself. I shall need a special fund for hats," wrote Bradlaugh, "if I visit Wigan often." On his return from debate, although he was followed by a large crowd of men boys, all hooting was quickly suppressed, and was, in fact, mpted only by a very few. On his first visit to Wigan he "retired to rest, not only without friends to bid me good- ht, but with many a score of loud-tongued, rough lads and bidding me, in phraseology startling and effective, everything so kindly a farewell;" † but during the three months which

* A Freethinking hatter of Bradford.

† C. Bradlaugh in *National Reformer*, February 16, 1861.

had elapsed since Mr Bradlaugh's earliest visit to this Lancash
mining town public feeling had considerably changed and modifi
and in the evening, the house where he was staying "was crow
out," he tells us, "with rough but honest earnest men and wom
who insisted, one and all, in gripping my hand in friendlin
and wishing me good speed in my work. The change was
great that a tear mounted to my eye despite myself." His
always the same sensitive nature; he was ever moved to
heart by a sign of true sympathy or real affection. Persecut
found him stern and unflinching, hypocrisy found him severe
unforgiving, but kindness or affection instantly touched
fountain of his gratitude and his tenderness.

Out of this debate, which contains nothing particularly n
worthy,* arose a lawsuit. The reporter, a person nar
Stephenson M. Struthers, after having sold "the transcript"
Mr Bradlaugh at 8d. per folio, sold a second copy of his note
Mr William Heaton, on behalf of Mr Hutchings' Committee,
3 guineas. This my father did not discover until he had u
some of the copy, and paid Struthers £5 on account. He t
refused to pay the balance (£11, 16s.), and for this the shortha
writer sued him. Mr Bradlaugh expressed his willingness to
for the labour involved in making a copy; but he objected to
for the *sole* copy when he had not received that for which he
contracted. The suit came on in the Wigan County Court, be
J. S. T. Greene, Esq., on April 11th (1861). After the case
the plaintiff was closed, Mr Bradlaugh entered the witness-bo
be sworn—at that time the only form under which he could
evidence. Mr Mayhew (for the plaintiff), after some pream
as to not desiring to be offensive, asked "with regret" if
Bradlaugh believed "in the religious obligations of an oat

* The following short passage from this debate may serve as an exa
of the incisive eloquence of which my father was capable at the age of ei
and-twenty :—

"Men say, 'I believe. Believe in what? 'I believe' is the prostra
of the intellect before the unknown—not an exertion of the intellect to g
the knowable. Men who have taught in Sunday Schools, and children
have been taught there, men worshipping in our churches—men follo
men in this way have their ideas made for them, fitted on to them
their clothes; and, like the parrot in its gilded cage, they say 'I beli
because they have been taught to say it, and not because they have a
faith when they do say it."

Bradlaugh objected to answer any question until he was sworn. Judge would not allow the objection; and after a considerable exchange of opinion and question and answer between the ge and Mr Bradlaugh, in which the latter explicitly stated readiness to be sworn, he asked to be allowed to affirm. This Judge refused to permit. And this is how the episode ed:—

he JUDGE: Only give me a direct answer.

r BRADLAUGH: I am not answering your question at all. I have cted on two grounds, both of which your Honour has overruled, I am not bound to answer the question.

he JUDGE: If you put it in that way, I should be sorry to exercise power that I believe I possess according to law. You won't answer question?

r BRADLAUGH: I object that I am not bound to answer any ques- that will criminate myself.

ne JUDGE: You will not answer my question. Do you believe in existence of a supreme God?

r BRADLAUGH: I object that the answer, if in the negative, would ect me to a criminal prosecution.

ne JUDGE: Do you believe in a state of future rewards and punish- ts?

r BRADLAUGH: I object that—

ne JUDGE: Then I shall not permit you to give evidence at all; I think you escape very well in not being sent to gaol.

he Judge, having thus taken advantage of his magisterial sion to insult a defenceless man as well as to refuse his ence, proceeded with consummate injustice to sum it up as undefended case," and gave a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount. After the case was over, Mr William Heaton wrote Ir Bradlaugh denying a material point in Mr Struthers' sworn ence as to what had occurred between them. Thus did the of Christian England treat an Atheist as outlaw, and in the of justice deal out injustice in favour of a man who, as his w Christian stated, had spoken falsely under his oath in the ess-box.

r Hutchings himself felt the disgrace of this so keenly that rote expressing his desire to co-operate in a public movement Vigan in favour of Sir John Trelawny's Affirmation Bill. o feel strongly," he said, "that you were most wrongfully niquitously deprived of the opportunity of defending your

cause, and this I feel the more strongly that it was done in s conformity with English law."

Two other polemical encounters arose directly out of the W lectures; these were both held with the Rev. Woodville Woodr a Swedenborgian divine. The first, at Wigan, upon the "Exist of God," continued over four nights; the second, upon "Divine Revelation of the Bible," also a four nights' debate, held at Ashton in the autumn of the same year.

Mr Bradlaugh held quite a number of theological discuss about this time. In addition to those I have already mentic with the Rev. Brewin Grant, Dr Brindley, Dr Baylee, Mr Hutchi and the Rev. Woodville Woodman, a controversial corresponde between himself and the Rev. Thomas Lawson, a Baptist mini of Bacup, arose out of some lectures delivered by Mr Bradlaug Newchurch in October 1860. It was originally intended to a set debate upon the subject "Has Man a Soul?" but no could be obtained in Bacup for the purposes of the discuss The correspondence was therefore published in the *Nati Reformer* during the spring of the following year. Then a de upon the credibility of the Gospels was arranged between Mr B laugh and the Rev. J. H. Rutherford, and was held in Liver in October 1860; another upon "What does the Bible te about God?" was held with Mr Mackie in Warrington in A 1861; and a few months later my father also debated for nights at Birmingham with Mr Robert Mahalm, a representativ the Irish Church Mission in that town.

In the middle of July (1860) he was lecturing for the first in Norwich. St Andrew's Hall was taken, and the proceed the lecture were to go to Garibaldi; but this was one of the pl where religious prejudice was strong, and where therefore receipts did not equal the expenditure. On the second eve Mr Bradlaugh delivered an open-air address at Chapel F when "yells, hisses, abuse, a little mud, and a few stones for the chorus and finale of the entertainment." Nothing dau in September he went to Norwich again, and the orderly behav of his audience formed a marked contrast to their previous cond By November, when he once more visited Norwich, the thinkers there had found themselves strong enough to hi commodious chapel for the winter months, substituting a p for the communion table. From Norwich his steps tu

turally to Yarmouth, where he was much amused by hearing e town crier follow up his "Oyez! Oyez!" by the announcement at "the cel-e-bra-ted I-con-o-clast" had arrived.

Only a few weeks elapsed before Mr Bradlaugh again went to orwich and Yarmouth. He went the week immediately before aristmas, and had an eight hours' journey to get there, with the lving snow coming through "the Eastern Counties Railway mpany's patent [3rd class] ventilating carriages," which seemed astructed with the express object of making "perfectly clear to unfortunate passengers the criminality of their poverty." is, his fourth visit to Norwich, was a great success, and the tures at Yarmouth were also more favourably listened to. By nuary he found his audiences increasing at Norwich, and the erest perceptibly growing, but at Yarmouth he received a eck. There had been much commotion in the local official cles at the repeated visits of the Atheist lecturer, and pressure s used on all sides, so that only a small sale room in a back eet could be hired for the lectures. The room was soon over-wded; Mr Bradlaugh had to be his own chairman, and on ng home walked to the music of yells and hootings. This play of intolerance roused up some of the more thoughtful abitants, and the theatre was obtained for the following night, en, despite the necessarily brief notice, a large audience—luding many ladies—assembled to hear the lecture. A Mr tcher was elected to the chair, the proceedings were orderly oughout, and Mr Bradlaugh walked home unmolested.

The matter, however, was not to end here. Both the Yarmouth rgy (or at least *one* Yarmouth clergyman, the Rev. E. Neville) l magistrates expressed their determination that the lectures st be put down, and so Mr Bradlaugh received information that ceedings were to be taken against him for blasphemy. The *rfolk News* and *Yarmouth Independent* for March 23rd reported eeting of magistrates at which the subject of "Iconoclast's" ts was under discussion, the letting of the theatre to him severely commented upon, and the persons responsible for the ing held up to public odium. Not one of the nine or ten gistrates present could be found to say a word on behalf of the eist; and the speeches of the Mayor, Mr S. Nightingale, and other of the magistrates, Mr Hammond, from which I quote, typical of the attitude of the rest:—

"He [the Mayor] had attended the bench that morning (Tues March 19) because he had observed bills circulated in the town set forth that 'that wretched man calling himself "Iconoclast"' * inten to give lectures again at the theatre. He really thought 'Iconocl was doing a great deal of mischief in the minds of the younger pa the community, and he thought they ought to take some steps to pre it. He some time ago called the attention of their clerk to the sub who had proceeded to look into the law of the case. It seemed monst to him that a man should be allowed to utter blasphemy as 'Iconocl was doing and for them not to interfere. . . . . He wished the ma trates to take some steps for putting a stop to these lectures."

The Mayor found an ardent supporter in Mr Hammond, wh

"thought the thanks of the town were due to His Worship for brin the subject before the notice of the bench. He had thought yesterday himself, and spoken to one or two of the magistrates on matter, and he also intended to call on the Mayor about it, had he gone into it. It was evident that Mr Sidney [the lessee of the theat at least he (Mr Hammond) thought—could not know what he was let the theatre for. He (Mr Hammond) was part proprietor of the th himself; but rather than take any part of the profits arising out of a purpose, he would sooner see it shut up for twenty years. If no o magistrate would do it, he would move that Mr Sidney be refused licence next year, should these diabolical practices be allowed at theatre. He perceived from the large bill issued that the front b were to be 6d., the upper boxes 4d., the pit 3d., and the gallery 2d.; it must be evident to the magistrates that the thing must be disrepu indeed to have a place like the theatre let in that way—to hav public mind poisoned by a repetition of these lectures, perhaps by- by at 2d. each, as an inducement to lead the young away that might hear the Holy Scriptures set at nought. He felt very sensiti the point, and so far as his humble assistance went, he would give put a stop to these nefarious practices. He felt personally oblig the Mayor for bringing forward the subject that morning, and he h every magistrate on the bench would lend a helping hand to putting a stop to the nuisance. (Applause.)"

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Mr Nightingale (the M observed "that he felt determined to put a stop to these exhibition

* The Mayor's exact words.

† The *Norfolk News* prefaces its account by saying: "For some m past considerable excitement has been caused amongst the religious munity of the town by the delivery of lectures tending to subver fundamental principles of Christianity by a Freethinker under the *soub* of 'Iconoclast.' We have attended none of these lectures ourselves

In a leaderette the local journal commented strongly on the
irse proposed by the wise and learned Dogberries; and when
Bradlaugh placarded Yarmouth with an address to the magis-
tes accepting the gauntlet thus thrown down, and expressing
resolve to lecture within their jurisdiction, it spoke of the
pirited reply" which he had addressed to his would-be per-
utors. The upshot of all this was that my father immediately
ermined to devote a special week to East Anglia, commencing
h two nights at Yarmouth.

'On my arrival at Yarmouth," he wrote, "I found myself
rally hunted from room to room. The theatre being closed
inst me, the Masonic Hall was taken, but the mayor personally
ted upon the proprietor, and the 'screw' being put on I was
deprived of this room. I was determined not to be beaten,
therefore hired a large bleaching-ground in which to deliver an
n-air address." There were present about 1000 persons, "in-
ding at least one magistrate and several police officers," and it
be noted as most significant that the action of the magistrates
not meet with popular favour, that the meeting concluded with
ers for Mr Bradlaugh and for the owner of the ground.
the following evening the audience was largely increased, and
mbered at least 5000 persons, who were orderly and attentive
ughout. Outside the meeting there was stone-throwing,
cipally by boys. One of the stones struck my mother, who,
tifying the lad who threw it, threatened to give him into
ody. At which the lad answered, "Oh, please, mum, you can-
; the police have told us to make all the noise, and throw as
y stones as we can." This, we will hope, was a liberal inter-
ation of the police instructions, but at least it shows very
ngly that the lads had reason to expect the police to look very
ently upon their escapades. The magisterial bluster ended in
ter, and the only result to Yarmouth from a Christian stand-
t was a pamphlet against "Infidelity" written by a Charles
chen, and whether that can be set down to the credit of

---

ing from what we have heard, we should think that 'Iconoclast' was a
d man so far as regards his elocutionary powers. He has been combated
is own platform, denounced from various pulpits in the town, and at
h a determined effort seems to have been made to shut him out from all
laces in the town in which a public meeting could be held."

Christianity we must leave it to the followers of that creed judge. Mr Houchen said—

"It has been asked what is the real object of Iconoclast going fr place to place, and coming to Yarmouth from time to time, and answer has been money, money. Now, I ask the reader what th you, whoever you be, suppose Iconoclast himself was guaranteed to better paid than he now is for travelling from place to place, do not think he would turn round?"

To this my father rejoined that "the whole amount of Ico clast's receipts from Yarmouth has not equalled his payments board, lodging, and printing in that eastern seaport; that he journeyed to and fro at his own cost; and that if his object ' been money, money,' he has suffered grievous disappointme and this not because the audiences have been small, but beca of that 'rarity of Christian charity' which shut him out of thea aud lecture-hall after each had been duly hired, and promp policemen to connive at stone-throwing when directed against Infidel lecturer."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DEVONPORT CASE, 1861.

he early sixties the Freethinkers of Plymouth were a fairly
e body; their hall, the "Free Institute," in Buckland Street,
owed to the liberality of one of their members, Mr Johns,
there were some tolerably energetic spirits to carry on the
. At that time Mr George J. Holyoake was a great favourite
he Western towns, and Mr Bradlaugh was fast winning his
He was gaining public popularity and private friendships
ll sides, when an incident occurred which brought out some of
nost striking characteristics and rivetted some of these friend-
s with links of steel.

e had arranged to lecture at Plymouth for five days during the
week in December 1860. The first three and the last of these
res were given in the Free Institute; but that for the Thurs-
was announced to be given in Devonport Park. At the
inted time a considerable number of people had assembled,
Mr Bradlaugh was just about to address them when he was
ted by the Superintendent of the Devonport Police, who
d that he was authorised by the Town Council to prevent
lectures, and "all such proceedings in a place created alone
he recreation of the public." Mr Bradlaugh pointed out that
Temperance advocates used the Park; why should not he? Mr
ards, the Police Superintendent, not only refused to argue the
er, but said further that if Mr Bradlaugh persisted in his
re he should use measures to eject him from the Park. There
a little more talk, during which Mr Bradlaugh reflected that
as by no means certain as to what were his rights in the
; and in the end he decided not to lecture there that evening.
e his own words, he "submitted, but with a determination to
tter at some future time." Mr John Williamson (now in
ado), writing at the time, says: "On Monday, the 3rd. Iconо-

clast arrived by the 5 p.m. train, very much fatigued, and lool ill; he had to go to bed for a couple of hours before lectu . . . . during his stay he suffered much from neuralgia, w interfered with his rest by night." These few words as to the s of my father's health will give us some idea of the strain upon in all these stormy scenes, added to the anxiety of earning living. A comparison of dates will show that many of t episodes ran concurrently, although I am obliged to tell t separately for the sake of clearness. I take these incidents order of their origin; but while one was passing through different stages others began and ended. In addition to t more important struggles, there was also many a small ma which as yet I have left untouched. All this must be born mind by readers of these pages who wish to get a clear idea of Bradlaugh's life. My pen, unfortunately, can only set down thing at a time, though careful reading can fill in the picture.

The prohibition at Devonport Park was merely a sort of logue; the real drama was to come, and the first act was pla exactly three months later. Mr Bradlaugh had, as he determined "to do better at some future time;" with this en view he set aside a fortnight early in March, to be devoted to conquest of Plymouth, and the campaign opened on Sun the 3rd.

A field known as the "Parson's Field," or "Parsonage Fie adjoining Devonport Park, was hired in February for " lectures by a representative of the Plymouth and Devon Secular Society," for the first two Sundays in March. Accordin about half-past two on the afternoon of Sunday the 3rd, Bradlaugh went thither accompanied by two friends, Mr S and Mr John Williamson. He took his place upon a gravel h and was just about to speak, when he was informed that police were coming into the field, and on looking round he Mr Edwards (the Superintendent), Mr Inspector Bryant, several constables. Mr Edwards forbade him to proceed with lecture, saying that he had authority to remove him from field. Mr Bradlaugh answered that he had given way in De port Park because he was then uncertain as to his rights; now Superintendent had no right to interfere; he had an agreement the owner of the field; he was the tenant, and there he sh remain unless he was removed by force. He thereupon turne

e audience and commenced his lecture with these words: 'riends, I am about to address you on the Bible——." His eech was here brought to an abrupt conclusion, for, acting under e orders of the Superintendent, he was seized by six policemen,* whom he said:—

"Two attended to each arm, the remaining two devoting themves to the rear of my person. One, D. 19, I should think had ved an apprenticeship at garrotting, by the peculiar manner in ich he handled my neck. Our friends around were naturally ignant, so that I had the threefold task to perform of pacifying friends to prevent a breach of the peace, of keeping my own per, and yet of exerting my own physical strength sufficiently show the police that I would not permit a continuance of essive violence. In fact, I was obliged to explain that I sessed the will to knock one or two of them down, and the lity to enforce that will, before I could get anything like reasone treatment."

D. 19 in particular made himself very objectionable; twice Mr dlaugh asked him to remove his hand from the inside of his ar, but D. 19 would not, so at length he had to shake him off. hen the six policemen, aided by their Superintendent and pector, succeeded in getting Mr Bradlaugh out of the field, pector Bryant told him to go about his business. He replied, y business here to-day is to lecture; if you let me go, I shall back to the field." The Superintendent said that in that case would take him to the Station-house. Mr Bradlaugh, who all this time bareheaded in the keen air of early March, asked his hat. Mr Williamson stepped forward to hand it to him, was pushed roughly aside by the police, and Mr Bradlaugh not get his hat till later.

t the Police Station he was detained for some time whilst question of bail was under discussion. This was twice sed, once on the ground that there was no power to accept on a Sunday; and after being subjected to the indignity of g searched, Mr Bradlaugh was taken into an underground

---

*It is not without interest to note the number of police that were always oyed when there was any question of forcibly removing Mr Bradlaugh. Devonport superintendent contented himself with six. Twenty years the House of Commons employed fourteen—at least, I am told that s eleven policemen and three messengers.

stone cell, without fire, light, chair, or stool. In the
there was "a straw palliasse, with a strange looking rug and
sheet." This cell, it afterwards transpired, had not been used
two years. In this dungeon-like place he was kept for four
a-half hours, from half-past four until nine o'clock on an even
in the beginning of March. At this hour the Superintend
allowed him the luxury of a stone corridor in which there wa
fire; he was placed here in charge of a policemen, and also allo
the company of Mr Steer, a Freethinker, who had attended
meeting and had been taken into custody on a charge of assault
Mr Edwards while "in the execution of his duty." Mr Bradla
was at the outset charged with inciting to a breach of the pe
but on Monday was also further charged with an assault u
Mr Edwards. In the morning he and Mr Steer were brought
like felons, through a trap-door into the prisoner's dock. T
appearance in court was greeted with a hearty burst of cheeri
which the magistrates (of whom there were not less than n
upon the bench) tried in vain to suppress. The Court was v
full, and such a great crowd had assembled outside the Guildh
previous to the opening of the doors, that the Mayor (J. W.
Ryder, Esq.) decided that the Court ordinarily used for po
business was too small, and that the case should be heard in
large hall. The case was opened by Mr Little, of the firm
Messrs Little and Woolcombe, on behalf of the plaintiff,
Superintendent Edwards. After he had recited the char
he said he was instructed by the magnanimous Edwards tha
had no desire "to press strongly against the parties, if they wo
make a promise not again to make an attack upon public mora
Once or twice during the progress of the case, Mr Bradlaugh c
into collision with Mr Bone, the magistrate's clerk, but on
whole he carried his points fairly easily. The case lasted
whole day right into the evening, and was adjourned to Fri
the 8th to give Mr Bradlaugh time to procure evidence.
and Mr Steer were bound over in their own recognizances
£20 each.

The Court was again crowded on Friday, every part of
building being crammed, and the spectators included several
senting ministers of various denominations. When Mr Bradla
made his appearance in the dock he was, as before, greeted
tremendous and repeated cheering. The magistrate's clerk

e excited, and called out again and again, "You ought to be med of yourselves." The Mayor commanded the police to their eyes on the persons guilty of such manifestations, and ake them into custody if necessary. During the course of the eedings he gave this order several times in one form or her, and succeeded in provoking a considerable burst of laughter, casionally nearly every person in Court was cheering or hissing rding to his sentiments, and the Superintendent could hardly e afforded six constables to capture each disturber. However, at father's request, his friends ceased to cheer. The charge against Bradlaugh was dismissed without hearing the whole of the ence for the defence.* The magistrates found Mr Steer guilty, said that they did not consider the assault to have been of a severe acter, and therefore fined him only 5s. and costs, not to include rney's costs. Of course, the question of religious belief was

---

The descriptions of Mr Bradlaugh which appeared in some of the Devon- papers, and the opinions expressed in them, are rather amusing to read so many years after they were written. The *Devonport Telegraph* said Mr Bradlaugh was twenty-eight years of age, and his cross-examinations such "as would have done credit to an able barrister."

e *Western Morning News* said that he was "apparently about thirty- ears of age, and 5 ft. 10 ins. in height, is stoutly built, of a sallow com- on, and his countenance is adorned with neither whiskers nor moustache. ossesses intelligent features, and a commanding forehead, and he wears air brushed behind his ears. . . . . His examination of the witnesses onducted with facility and with much regularity. . . . . He sustained uanimity of temper in an admirable manner."

e *Devonport Independent*, referring to the presence in Court of the various ting ministers and others, said "they could not help admiring his Bradlaugh's] remarkable precision, his calm and collected demeanour, ne ability with which he 'conducted his own case' as well as that of his . . . . . He is about twenty-eight years of age, slight, and of a fair exion, above the ordinary height, and bearing the impress of an intelli- ountenance."

Plymouth Mail thought "the infidel lecturer Bradlaugh and his friend got off easily."

Western Daily Mercury gave very full reports of the trial, and under ading "Scandala Magnata" wrote a condemnation of the prosecution. inserted a number of letters on both sides: one, from "an old sub- ," who described himself as "the father of a family and lover of the of Scripture," wished that the inhabitants had "routed the wicked Bradlaugh out of the neighbourhood," and expressed a desire that the ament should punish the dockyard men who co-operated with ugh.

raised on the swearing of the witnesses for the defence, but the two who were questioned happened to be religious persons— indeed, was an "Independent Nonconformist," who was on way to chapel, and was attracted to the field by the crowd the presence of the police. On the following day (March notices were served by the authorities, representing the Department in Devonport, on the Plymouth Freethinkers others concerned, forbidding the use of the Park for the pur of lectures; Mr Bradlaugh therefore lectured on Sunday* in Free Institute, while he turned over in his mind a plan for following Sunday (17th). He announced to his audience tha intended to lecture "very near the Park," but the precise would not be made known until it was too late for the polic interfere.

Bills were posted to the following effect:—

"In consequence of advice received, 'Iconoclast' will deliver an o air address on Sunday forenoon, and will be present near the De port Park Lodge about half-past ten in order to vindicate the rig free speech."

Considerable excitement prevailed in Plymouth. Some tho that, in spite of the notice from the War Office representat the lecture was to be given in the Park itself; others thoug certain three-cornered field had been hired. All were wrong; pr ground could not be had for love or money, the owners renters of all such having joined the police and the clergy; v land belonging to the borough was also out of the question, be my father felt that to have lectured on such ground must resulted in a collision with the police, and might have e disastrously for some of his friends. Mr Bradlaugh, Mr Wil son, and Captain Trenaman consulted together, and—who origi the idea I do not know—after ascertaining that all the wate under the jurisdiction of the Saltash Corporation, it was resolv give the lecture from a boat in such a way that while the aud were in the borough of Devonport, the speaker, only a few distant from his hearers, should be outside the Devo jurisdiction.

* Meanwhile the Park was occupied by the military and the pol readiness to clear away the "infidels" should they appe

On Sunday morning, unfortunately, it rained in torrents and
great gales," lamented Mr Bradlaugh, in a brief description
ne day's adventures. "We, however, determined to persevere,
on arriving near the Devonport Park Lodge I soon found
elf at the head of a considerable number, who, despite the
and the wind, followed me to Stonehouse Creek, a small
itary of the river Tamar, where I embarked on board the
previously hired, and on which we erected a sort of plat-
from which I delivered a short address, the union jack
g hoisted at the head of the boat. Directly after I had
nenced to speak, Mr Superintendent Edwards made his
arance, and certainly looked most disconsolate when he
d the plan I had adopted to avoid his vigilance. As it was
raining very hard, I made my address a very brief one,
ng the people that I was very glad of the opportunity of
ting the right of free speech, and promising to assert it
when I next visited Devonport. I was cheered several
s notwithstanding the still descending torrent. Mr Edwards,
had nearly captured the cab containing my wife, had
r his command no less than twenty-eight policemen besides
ector Bryant, and the Mayor was prepared with the Riot
but all their precautions were set at naught, and the
of open-air propaganda was victoriously asserted. Mr
rintendent Edwards, with scarcely bottled up ire and indig-
n, endeavoured to find a victim in the licensed waterman,
even here he was defeated, as Captain Trenaman had taken
wn crew."

Bradlaugh concluded his account by thanking the friends
had helped him "and the bold Trenamans, father and son,
commanded under me my first marine endeavour at Free-
ght propaganda." Immediately after the conclusion of the
proceedings Mr Bradlaugh wrote a letter to Superintendent
rds demanding that he should publish an apology in certain
s and pay £10 to the Devon and Cornwall Hospital, £10
e Stoke Female Orphan Asylum, and his (Mr Bradlaugh's)
sses' expenses; but the messenger who delivered the letter
nformed by Edwards that he would take no notice of the
unication, but would consign it to the wastepaper basket.
ct, all the written reply that Edwards did make was of the
st and curtest; it consisted merely of these words: "I beg

to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning." A such a letter, my father put the matter into the hands of solicitor, who laid it before counsel for advice, with the r that legal proceedings were commenced against Mr Edwards assault and false imprisonment.

A little later at a meeting of the Devonport Town Council Watch Committee reported that they had instructed the T Clerk to take measures for Mr Edwards' defence, and asked Council's approval of what they had done. After consider discussion twenty-eight persons voted for the adoption of report and two against. The names of those voting were forn taken down, and it is rather curious to find that at least members of the Council who voted that the Town of Devon should undertake the expense and conduct of the defence of Police Superintendent, had sat upon the Bench and dec against him without troubling my father to go through the w of his case. In their capacity as magistrates they were comp by the evidence to find him wrong: as Town Councillors allowed their prejudices full scope, and voted that the boroug Devonport should find money to support the Superintender his defence of what they themselves had agreed were wron acts.

The case against Mr Superintendent Edwards came on at Devon Lammas Assizes at Exeter, before Mr Baron Channel Monday, July 29th. The reports * say that

"the Court was crowded, great interest being excited in the Many ladies were present, and nearly the whole of the briefless barr on the circuit seemed roused from their ordinary drowsy dulness something like life and activity. The case lasted from ten in the noon until nine in the evening, and was tried before a special jury

Unfortunately, Mr Bradlaugh made one great and irrepa blunder. Instead of conducting the case himself, he all himself to be persuaded into briefing counsel, Mr Robert Co Q.C., M.P., and Mr Cole. The nature of this blunder, an importance before a special jury in a cathedral city, may be rea by reading a few words of comment from a hostile leader o case which appeared in the *Western Morning News* for July

* *National Reformer*, the *Western Morning News*, and *Western Mercury*.

's journal, which was so unfriendly towards my father's cause
o aver that the devout Christian looked "to the State to keep
Queen's highway free from Atheist lecturers and infidel
pagandists," nevertheless stated in the most distinct fashion
t "the counsel for the plaintiff was far more anxious to assert
own orthodoxy than his client's rights." And with this
nion I think most people will agree who read the Counsel's
ech for the defence; not, however, that I intend to give the
ole of Mr Collier's speech, because it is at once too long, and it
s over ground with which we are already familiar; still, I will
te a few of his expressions to prove that I am not judging
too hardly. Almost in the opening words of his speech Mr
ier said: "I am informed that Mr Bradlaugh desired to deliver
cture or a sermon—I hardly know which." This was pure
varication, as the utmost pains had been taken to give Mr
ier the whole facts of the case. A little later he stated:—

Mr Bradlaugh belonged to a Society called the 'Secular Society.'
I have never heard of the Society until this, nor did I ever hear
Iconoclast' before. . . . . I really don't know what their [the
larists'] tenets are, but I believe they are connected in some way
the Unitarians."

his assertion was so monstrous that it immediately brough
n a letter of repudiation from the Rev. Henry Knott,
tarian Minister of Plymouth; although, to do this gentleman
ce, he said he believed that the Secularists were themselves
ich too honest to wish to identify themselves with a body of
stians who have frequently opposed them in fair and open
roversy." Mr Collier then wrote a letter to the Rev. Henry
tt in reply, regretting that he had misrepresented the Uni-
ns, and saying further:—

As to the 'Secularists,' I had never heard of them until I had received
brief in 'Bradlaugh *v.* Edwards.' I have since ascertained, how-
that they are a considerable sect; so much so, that I wonder that
I not heard of them. *I was informed that a portion of them was
cted with the Unitarians*, and therefore supposed that a portion of
acknowledged the Divine origin of Christianity; *if I was mis
med*, I am very sorry for it."

he italics are mine; and if Mr Collier meant to imply that he
ved this information from his client or his attorney—the only

persons from whom he should have received information bearing the conduct of this case—he still further dishonoured himself, beca the utmost candour was shown him in laying the facts before h and most assuredly no such statement as that quoted could h been made to him by sane men who knew the facts.

But to return to Mr Collier's speech. I will give just two m quotations, and then leave it:—

"I should be extremely sorry," he said, "if I were understood, the advocate of Mr Bradlaugh or anybody else, as for one mom defending any circulation, either by printing or by word of mouth anything libellous, seditious, or blasphemous. . . . . If Mr Bradla had been permitted to preach, and if he had preached anyth improper, blasphemous, or seditious, I should not have complained the superintendent; on the contrary, I should praise him if he had ta the proper measures for bringing him before a court of justice."

"I will conclude," he further said, "with this remark, that I can help thinking that if the doctrines of this Secular Society, or any ot Society, are preached, which you and I and all of us may think p nicious, by far the best thing is to let them alone. 'Truth is great will prevail,' and we need not fear that the foundation of our relig will be shaken by a thousand Bradlaughs; and I cannot think of a thing so pernicious and likely to prevent that very object we seek accomplish, and to elevate persons such as these from obscurity i fame, as by making them unjustly martyrs. I cannot help think that the superintendent of the police, although acting from the v best motives, was acting with very great haste and indiscretion."

If Mr Collier had been briefed by the other side also, he co hardly have made a more equivocal speech; and it will be ea understood how much it was likely to prejudice both the ju and jury against a man whose opinions were so well known, who had made no pretence of concealing them. The defence m every effort to avail themselves of the *odium theologicum* whe came to Mr Bradlaugh's turn to take his place in the witness-b Mr Montagu Smith, Q.C., counsel for the defence, wished cross-examine Mr Bradlaugh on some former lectures in which expressed his disbelief in the Bible; Mr Collier objected; Smith persisted; Baron Channell then allowed the question, tak note of Mr Collier's objection; Mr Smith again put his quest and my father replied: "I object to answer that question on ground that if I answer it in the affirmative it will subject m a criminal prosecution." Then came a little scene, which will st

se who have been in the law courts with Mr Bradlaugh as by means unfamiliar:—

His Lordship then asked for the Act of Parliament, and
The Plaintiff immediately replied: It is the 53rd William III.
hbold recites the statute.
His Lordship and the learned counsel were then engaged in finding and after having spent some time in vain, the plaintiff asked for a , and on its being presented to him, he immediately found the ıte in question, which he handed to his lordship. The learned e then read it to the counsel, and said, this statute only applies to e educated in or making profession of Christianity. In answer to uestion,
The Plaintiff said: I was educated according to the Church of land.
His Lordship: I allow the objection, witness claims exemption, and entitled to it."

ix times Mr Montagu Smith put similar questions to Mr llaugh, and six times Mr Bradlaugh answered him in the same ls. In his summing-up the judge, Mr Baron Channell, seemed rmined not to be outdone by Mr Collier in evoking the ious prejudices of the jury. From Mr Smith, for the defence, conduct was in some degree pardonable, even if not altogether ccordance with ordinary un-Christian notions of strict honour; in Mr Collier, counsel for the plaintiff, and Mr Baron nnell, presiding over what was supposed to be a Court of ice, it was unpardonable. His Lordship regretted "that the titution of the plaintiff's mind was such as to render him le to believe in those great truths which afforded so much ort and satisfaction to others; the notion of going about delivering lectures on those views he considered fraught with hief and calculated to produce the greatest possible evil," e he further enlarged upon the "wickedness of disseminating opinions."
ter the summing-up of this just judge the jury gave a verdict ne plaintiff, with one farthing damages. The evidence was so g, and some of the witnesses for the defence were so extrava- and unsatisfactory, that in spite of their prejudices the jury not do other than decide in Mr Bradlaugh's favour; but they t as grudgingly as they could, and recorded their animus in 'damages" they awarded. On the following morning Mr

Baron Channell carried this a step further, and when Mr Col made the formal application for the plaintiff's costs he refused certify.

In spite of all the prejudice roused against him, Mr Bradla met with considerable sympathy from the press, from foes* as as friends.

* The *Western Times* (Exeter, August 3rd), *a hostile paper*, said: " plaintiff certainly established his case, and the verdict was on the face ridiculous." "The religious feelings of the jury neutralized the spirit of law by the ridiculous 'damages' which they awarded for his wrongs."

The *Morning Star* (August 2nd) had a most indignant article, condemn such a verdict "as a flagrant denial and mockery of justice." The *Brad Review* was courageously outspoken, and urged that a new trial shoul moved for.

In a leaderette the *Weekly Dispatch* (August 4th) thought that this De shire dealing was altogether a scene for Spain rather than for England, condemned Mr Collier's conduct of the case. In the following *Publicola* had a long article on the proceedings, in which he deplored " such an institution as that of trial by jury, to which we are indebte magnificent assertions of political right and freedom, which, gene speaking, is a safeguard against social injury, should, by the con described, become a portion of the machinery of persecution."

Punch (August 10th) joined in its voice, and published a flippant articl "A Short Way with Secularists," in which it tells the story of the seizu "that fellow Bradlaugh, who calls himself Iconoclast," and hailed with delight the advent of the "orthodox reaction." Said *Punch*, "The m trates becoming judges of controversy, and the policemen forcing decrees, the office of justice of the peace will become a holy office ind and the constabulary will rise into familiars of a British Inquisition."

Not the least remarkable article appeared in the Catholic *Tablet* August 3rd. It speaks of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr Bradlaug "frightful persecution," and says: "His legal rights have been violate the police, and a jury of British Protestants have refused him redress, bec his interpretation of the Scriptures is different from theirs. Either th religious persecution or there is no such thing."

In 1861 the English Roman Catholics regarded Mr Bradlaugh as a and (to them) harmless unit, and they affected to espouse his cause weapon against their deadly enemies, the Protestants. What a chang less than twenty years to the time when "Henry Edward, Cardinal-A bishop," and Prince of the Church of Rome, thought it necessary, his own powerful hand, to write protest after protest in the *Nineteenth tury*, against Mr Bradlaugh being allowed to take his seat in the Com House at Westminster! What a change from 1861 to 1882, when this great prelate thought it necessary to pay a formal visit in solemn state t town of Northampton itself to use his mighty influence to turn the ele against "this poor Secular Iconoclast," as the *Tablet* once called him.

Mr Bradlaugh was not the man to remain content with such an satisfactory verdict, and accordingly he moved for a new trial. e motion was heard in the Court of Common Pleas, West- ıster, on November 4th and 5th of the same year, before Lord Chief Justice, Sir William Erle, and the Justices lliams, Byles, and Keating. Mr Bradlaugh asked for a new l on the grounds of misdirection, improper rejection of dence tendered by the plaintiff, improper reception of evidence dered by the defendant; and that the verdict was a perverse and against evidence. After reciting the course of the trial at ter, he pointed out that in that trial he "laboured under a ble disadvantage, not only in having all the jury selected from county [of Devon], where there was great feeling existing in matter, but that they were selected from among men who had ay the costs in the action,* and who would have to pay further ages and costs if in my favour, which a verdict of the jury ld have given me."

fter a lengthy discussion, in which all the judges took active , the Lord Chief Justice said that they would consult other Channell" before they gave their answer.

udgment was given the following day. The rule was refused, the plaintiff insulted. Said Lord Chief Justice Erle—

I know not in the least what are the opinions of the plaintiff that as bent upon publishing; all that I am certain of is that there are ions which are most pernicious. There are opinions which are w a crime, and which every man ought—that is, every man of d sense and generally esteemed of sound sense, would generally lder to be wrong. I do not know what these opinions are, but there uch opinions. If the plaintiff wanted to use his liberty for the ose of disseminating opinions which were in reality of that per- us description, and the defendant prevented him from doing that h might be a very pernicious act to those who heard him, and if the ıate I have mentioned be the true one, might be a matter he might wards deeply regret, it might be that the jury thought the act of isonment of the plaintiff under such circumstances was in reality n injury for which a large money compensation ought to be paid, n the contrary was an act which in its real substantial result was ficial to the plaintiff, and so the nominal wrong would be abund- compensated by the small sum given." †

* This refers to the decision of the Devonport Town Council.

† Shorthand report.

The other judges concurred with their leader, Mr Just Keating making a yet further addition to the remarkable record intolerant utterances in this case.

"I think," said he, "that questions should be put within a certain lir to the witness as to his opinion and belief, and that it is right the ju should have an opportunity of judging either from his answer or fr his refusal to answer—should have an opportunity to form their o sentiment of the credibility to be attached to it [the evidence]."

This judgment, and even more the bigotry apparent throughc the judgment, was a great blow to Mr Bradlaugh, and he appeal against the decision. The appeal came on before the very sa four judges on the following Friday (November 8). In spite his most eloquent pleading—in which he was repeatedly int rupted by the Lord Chief Justice—the rule was refused; the L Chief Justice kept religiously (I use the word advisedly) to already expressed opinion that a witness "is by implication d credited by his refusal to answer;" and that he could see "intentional violation of right;" he further clinched the mat by saying that "in the present instance there is nothing whi could induce me to interfere."

These proceedings did their work in helping to form pub opinion in favour of free speech, but they cost my father seve hundreds of pounds, and burdened him with a debt which to long to clear off.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"KILL THE INFIDEL."

the month of January, 1861, Mr Stephen Bendall was charged
Mr Nicholas Le Mesurier, a constable of St Peter Port, Guernsey,
h having upon several occasions in the month before distributed
ıted papers calculated to bring the Christian religion into
tempt and ridicule. The Court sentenced Mr Bendall to give
l in the sum of £20 not to distribute any such tracts during
space of twelve months, or in default to be imprisoned for a
night. That the sentence took so lenient a form was doubtless
some measure due to the enlightened remarks of one of the
ıts, a Mr Tupper, who warned his colleagues that they should
"very careful not to countenance persecution on the ground of
gion, for if we entered upon that course we could not tell where
should stop." Whether he did not feel himself altogether
ng enough to oppose the prevailing temper of the bench, or
n whatever reason, Mr Tupper did not propose an acquittal, but
gested the above bail, which the Court after some consultation
pted, with the alternative of a fortnight's imprisonment. The
een's Procureur had asked that Mr Bendall should be imprisoned
a fortnight, "three days in each week solitary and on bread
water, and afterwards to give security in the sum of £50 not
listribute any of the tracts during the next twelve months, or
the island."

his being the state of affairs in the island of Guernsey as to
freedom of opinion, and, moreover, as some of the tracts
ributed appear to have been written by Mr Bradlaugh himself,
not surprising to find the following notice amongst my father's
ure engagements in the next issue of the *National Reformer*:—

ruary 26th, 27th, 28th—Guernsey. Specially to settle the question,
the authorities put in force the laws against blasphemy?"

advertisement was sent to the *Guernsey Mail*, but that paper

not only ostentatiously declined to insert it, but thought fit to ma a public declaration of its own virtue. The subject of the propos "Infidel lectures" was to be an endeavour to prove that the Bil is not a revelation from an all-perfect Deity; and this the edit of the *Guernsey Mail* chose to construe as the admission of t existence of a God; and upon this glaringly false premise he bu quite a series of astonishingly childish arguments in proof of t wickedness of Mr Bradlaugh and Atheists generally. The apparently quite satisfied as to the effect of what he had writte he took it "for granted that, if the Assembly Rooms are really be applied to Infidel purposes, no decent person, rich or poor, or young, will give his countenance or notice their intention sa to dissuade the unwary from lending an ear."

On the Sunday Mr Bradlaugh was lecturing in Sheffield, but left for London by the night train, and arrived at Guernsey Tuesday morning about half-past eight. On the pier Mr Bend was awaiting him with some anxiety.

"His anxiety," Mr Bradlaugh relates, "was partly occasion by the knowledge that some preparations had been made welcome me with a royal salute of rotten eggs. One Christ lady, I was credibly informed, had subscribed for the purpose providing me with this savoury donation." In spite, however, all rumours to the contrary, "the landing was effected with opposition, and I walked into Guernsey without even a wo Many eyes were directed towards me, and greater curiosity co scarcely have been evinced had I been a red-buttoned mandarin a tritailed Pasha." *

My father had already thrown down the gauntlet by circulation of a handbill addressed to the Procureur, to the cle (especially of the Methodist New Connection, who had been ticularly prominent in the proceedings against Mr Bendall), and the Guernsey public. In this handbill he stated his intention lecture on the Bible in the Assembly Rooms, which had b engaged for the 27th and 28th for that purpose, and invited and fair discussion upon his lecture. To this declaration defiance he signed his name and gave his address in full. Bradlaugh's first visit was to the Assembly Rooms, for the prietors had yielded to the virtuous displeasure of the *Guer*

* *National Reformer*, March 9, 1861.

l and the bigoted section of the community, and had with-
vn from their contract without giving any reason. On Mr
dlaugh's application he was informed that the proprietors did
intend to give any reason. No printer would print bills, and
rier would make announcement of the tabooed lectures. These
e small difficulties, however, for which my father was not
gether unprepared, and he had therefore with him bills already
ted; he had the bills, it is true, but now came another
culty—no bill poster would post them! "Under these cir-
stances," he tells us, "Mr Bendall and myself sallied forth,
ed with a pastepot, brush, and ladder, and by the aid of the
n succeeded in affixing our notices to the wall in a manner
h would have done credit to a professional bill-poster." He
addressed letters to the prosecutors in Mr Bendall's case;
e included a Methodist minister, a local preacher, a missionary,
the Harbour Master, Captain Le Mesurier. He also sent
rs to the Bailiff and the ten jurats of the island; and to these
he further sent three of his pamphlets.

That happened on the following days I am fortunately able to
in Mr Bradlaugh's own words, for he gave a vivid description
is adventures in the *National Reformer*. He wrote: "During
Wednesday the excitement increased. On the walls some one
chalked 'Down with the Infidles,' 'Away with the Infidles;'
aps the writer thought that I was a species of musical instru-
, or it may be a Guernsey fashion to spell infidel differently
ourselves. Two immense boards, on which we had affixed a
inent notice of the meeting, were carried off from the doors of
Hotel de l'Europe, and recaptured with some difficulty. Near
nour of the lecture the whole of the street was crowded with
le, but the room was only about half full, the multitude being
rently afraid to enter. . . . Directly I began to speak the
filled, and was soon crowded to excess, as were the bottom of
stairs and the passage. Many had to retire unable to gain
ttance. At the same time that I commenced my lecture a
ic uproar was initiated in the streets; yells, hootings, groan-
were raised which would do credit even to ignorant Wigan
gemen, and at last a battering was commenced against the
ow shutters; so terrible was the din that, after speaking for
y minutes, I determined to endeavour to put an end to it,
asked the persons present to kindly keep their places in the

room while I quelled the riot outside. Many entreated me no
go, assuring me that my personal safety would be endangered;
I thought it best to go, and I went out alone, and found to
disgust that a huge mob, many of whom were respectably dres
were encouraging some lads to break in the shutters with sto
I walked deliberately forward, and the lads ran away from t
work. One stone was thrown which passed near my forehead,
the whole mass of men, women, and children set up a tremend
cry, part groan, part shriek, part yell, which must have laste
least three minutes without the slightest lull. Half deafened
the clamour, I respectfully bowed, and mentally calculated
effect of sea air in strengthening the lungs of these cowards,
actually fell back step by step as I walked alone towards the
Desisting at length from what seemed a futile attempt to quiet
noisy multitude, Mr Bradlaugh returned to the lecture room
resumed his discourse. His attempt at securing peace without
not so wasted as it had at first seemed, for the noise grew less
less, until it ceased altogether. He lectured for an hour and a
and then publicly distributed a hundred of the condemned tr
challenging the island authorities to proceed against him.
going out he found the mob very threatening; they "followed
to my lodgings," he said, "hooting and yelling, and shou
'Kill the Infidel!' 'Murder the Infidel!'"

By the next day the excitement had greatly increased; it
said that the quay porters had been incited to violence, and
tainly several of them were found collected outside the Hote
l'Europe well plied with drink. The narrow street in which
Hotel was situated was crowded by an infuriated mass of per
and Mr Bradlaugh had great difficulty in making his way t
lecture room. His audience was large, and composed of res
able persons, who listened quietly and attentively to his disco
They were, however, only allowed to remain in peace for a
twenty minutes, for at the end of that time the outside mob
came ungovernable, and dashing in the plate glass doors, b
into the house, and for a few moments stopped the proceed
"Several of those, who had been made drunk for the occas
continued my father, "I had great difficulty in expelling from
room; and this difficulty was increased by the addition of h
dozen soldiers who, strange to say, had been provided
passes to enable them to take part in the disturbance. Not

ng, I persevered in my lecture for about half-an-hour longer, gh the exertion required on my part to control the riotous blage was of no ordinary character. The bulk of the respect- ersons seemed highly indignant at the treatment to which subjected, and begged me not to risk my life amongst the l multitude outside. An attempt was now made to turn out s, and considerable damage was done to the chairs and forms. rmined despite all to brave the riot, although shouts of he Infidel,' 'Pitch the Infidel into the sea,' were heard on ide. My size aided me; the mob were as cowardly as they oisy; and none liked to be the first in the projected assault. ldiery now seemed inclined to co-operate in the endeavour r violence, and the consequence might have been serious to cerned had it not been for the shrewdness of Madame the proprietress of the hotel, who, finding it useless to my determination to face the mob, coolly pretended to show better way out of the hotel, and ushered me into a dark and locked me up for a couple of hours until the excitement bsided. On Friday morning I quitted the island by the r Southampton; the pier was crowded, and on my appear- few began to hiss, but ceased the moment I walked towards When the boat began to start, the cowardly fellows (knowing could not then return), headed by and instigated thereto by n Le Mesurier, the Harbour Master, an old gentleman whose nce should have bespoken better conduct, hissed and yelled persistence which would have done credit to a nobler cause." local press endorsed the conduct of the "indignant popula- n their treatment of Mr Bradlaugh by calling it "an act ral justice," but the local authorities made no attempt at tion. In consequence of the damage done to the hall, penses were considerable, and receipts there were none; Mr Bradlaugh wrote later on, this was only one of thirty- tures given in the first six months of the year 1861 in he incurred loss in "extending Freethought propaganda v districts."

CHAPTER XIX.

PROVINCIAL ADVENTURES, 1860-1863.

In addition to the more serious opposition which Mr Brad encountered at such places as Wigan, Devonport, and Gue there were countless smaller "incidents" constantly occu some unpleasant, others merely ludicrous. I have noted a fe these pages; of these, perhaps, the greater number may be th of minor importance, but at least they will serve to show the of reception given to heretical opinions in the provinces fiv thirty years ago.

At Altrincham, one Sunday, early in June 1860, my had engaged to deliver two open-air addresses. Several religious persons openly indulged in the fond wish that it rain hard on Hale Moss; and as if in direct response to prayers, "the lightning flashed, thunder pealed, and th poured down in torrents." The lightning struck a public chimney and did considerable damage generally. The cler of St Margaret's, Altrincham, foolishly hoped that this prove a warning to people to keep away from Infidel le Mr Bradlaugh's comment on this was, that it was "a warning to strike a public-house with electricity to frighten from hearing the address of a teetotal Infidel." In any the "warning" was not a very thoroughgoing one, for the cleared, and in the evening there was a large and att audience. A few months later, Mr Bradlaugh was again ing in Altrincham, and without the help of a single placard persons attended in the afternoon, and rather more in the ev At the end of the evening lecture a police sergeant came f and announced to my father that he was obstructing a tho fare, and must therefore "move on." "Legally he may be said Mr Bradlaugh afterwards, "but if it is a thoroughfare grows upon it; it is almost impassable for horse and ca is a direct route to nowhere. My lecture, however, being

ved to the majesty of the law, as represented by Z 1, and hope that the police will always wait, in like manner, till nclusion of the proceedings before saying 'move on.'"

August "Iconoclast" had arranged to visit the village of . The prospect created great excitement in the district, was further worked up by the *Oldham Standard* inserting of attack but refusing reply; there was even a rumour that would be used to prevent the lectures. No room could be ed, and so the address had to be delivered in the open air. radlaugh had scarcely commenced to speak when a Royton Sergeant called roughly to him to come down :—

NOCLAST: "Why?"

GEANT: "Never you mind why! Come down, or I will ou down."

NOCLAST: "You may try if you like, and one of us may down, but I do not think I shall be that one."

police sergeant was sadly bothered; he tried again; but last quoted legal authorities.

poor policeman then consulted with those about him, and bullying of no avail, at length retired, leaving Iconoclast is audience in possession of the field. It can hardly be "undisturbed" possession however, for the Christians, been unsuccessful in the matter of police interference, a drum and other noise-creating instruments, and posted n some adjacent private ground; but even in this way they to break up the meeting, as they counted without Mr Brad- powerful voice and tenacity of purpose. He persisted to the nd delivered his lecture to a most orderly audience of some rsons. He visited Shaw several times during the next twelve s; but although he was still unable to get a room to speak in, nners of his Christian opponents improved on each occasion. en Mr Bradlaugh was unknown, he often had difficulty in a chairman to preside at his meetings. Sometimes he proceed without one, and sometimes one would be elected e audience. A chairman so elected, however, would nally have comical ideas as to the duties of his position, gard the chair merely as a privileged place, from which he nake hostile comments upon the methods and manner of turer. In such a case the harmony of the meeting was preserved without the assistance of a chairman.

But if it was difficult to get a chairman to preside ov meeting, it was even more difficult in many places to get a h which the meeting could be held. At Sunderland the hal refused to Mr Bradlaugh because it could not be let for " damnable doctrines." In Rochdale the Public Hall, although week-day lectures, was refused for Sunday discourses. The Roc Freethinkers therefore hired the theatre; but the police autho whose functions seemed to include "the cure of souls," inti to the lessee that if he kept to his contract his licence wou in danger. When this was explained to Mr Bradlaugh, he way, and delivered his lectures in the open air; in the morn the Butts to about 3000 persons, in the evening in a larg near Roebuck to a still larger audience. The only result, fore, of this endeavour to shut him out of Rochdale o Sunday, was really to procure for him larger and more inte audiences. In January 1861, Mr Bradlaugh went to Lei Lancashire, where no Freethought speaker had been for t years. The thermometer was below freezing, and the road ice. A menagerie, with real wild beasts who roared and elephant who walked the streets, occupied the thoughts town. But worse than new place, icy weather, or wor menagerie, was the bellman of Leigh. This bellman, wro father sorrowfully, was not "a teetotaller, and had offered u siderable sacrifices to Bacchus. This course of conduct interfered with the clearness of his articulation, and to fill t of my misery he had also to announce the loss of a donkey. T announcements were so jumbled together that little was distin able except the donkey." *

From Leigh Mr Bradlaugh went in the freezing weat Warrington, another place in which no Freethought speak raised his voice for a score or more of years, but where the of the *Warrington Guardian* had been trying to fan some v of hate into the townsfolk. In the issue for January 5t editor announced that there was to be "a most ribald, ignora virulent attack upon the Holy Scriptures," adding further th Bradlaugh had been lecturing in the neighbourhood

"in such a blasphemous manner that the local papers have been unable to report his sayings. Surely Warrington has eno

* C. Bradlaugh in *National Reformer*, Jan. 12, 1861.

ations to ungodliness without any assistance from stipendiary
tetics, or pickers up of a lazy living, who cover with their slime,
oxious reptiles, what they want sense or taste to admire."

was by such attack upon an as yet unheard man that this
ian thought to serve the Omnipotent. From insulting Mr
augh he went on to abuse the lessee of the Warrington
e, who had let the theatre for the lecture, and here his
proved successful; for in consequence of the pressure put
him, the "unfortunate lessee," as my father magnanimously
him, felt compelled to close the theatre. The *Guardian*
hantly announced that the lectures would not be held,
his was somewhat premature. Mr Bradlaugh succeeded
ting a small room in a back street, and fresh placards were
, although it was so late as the night before the lecture.
delivering two lectures to small but attentive audiences,
t Warrington between two and three a.m. for Dumfries,
he thermometer standing at eighteen degrees. There he
ed three days, lecturing each evening, and had fair audiences
pleasant time, notwithstanding that this was the first time
the memory of the "oldest inhabitant" that a Freethought
r had been to Dumfries.*

en his adversaries could find nothing better to say, they
taunt him with earning money by his lectures, and this
was repeated in every variety of elegant language.†
sort of insult was too gross for such people to con-
d to for "the honour of our God." In November 1860,

Barker's lecture (p. 121) was a month or two later.

correspondent to the *Oldham Standard* enjoined upon his fellow
ns that it was their duty "to root out of our establishments every
ocating his principles, for the safety of those committed to our care,
honour of our God. Let us do this and 'Iconoclast,' will fall to the
and never again rise. His object is to live upon the pence of his
hearers, and, after a time, when he has become old and infirm, to
und, and by a recantation of his present teaching worm himself into
able bread as a reclaimed infidel."

North Cheshire Herald, in alluding to some lectures delivered by Mr
gh at Hyde, in the summer of 1861, said:—
justice to 'Iconoclast,' we must say he possesses great oratorical
and he has, so far as the ignorant are concerned, a very pleasing
practising on their gullibility. He is cunning to a degree, but his
ay be seen through without the aid of spectacles. It is evident that

Mr Bradlaugh remarked * that "some one who signs himse in the *Glossop Record*, but who is not a wise head, says I come 'to raise the wind.' He is right. It will probably a severe gale in the Gospel vineyard in Glossop before we done with it."

In the spring of 1861, Mr Bradlaugh spent two days at Bu As here again no hall could be obtained, his lectures had delivered in the open air, with the usual result, that inste having an audience of a few hundred persons, thousands ca listen to his voice.

About the same time, the Market Hall at Chesterfield hired for lectures, and afterwards closed against Mr Bradl The theatre was then taken, but even here Mr Bradlaugh obliged to make his entrance by force. The audiences we usual, orderly and attentive, "notwithstanding the fact th one lecture the authorities suddenly, and without any pre intimation, cut off the gas from the main and plunged the t into total darkness." † The editor of the *Derbyshire Tim* referring to these lectures, exhibited some confusion of idea thought too much fuss had already been made "in the mat that blustering bigot 'Iconoclast,'" and then proceeded to considerable space to him; he thought the Mayor of Chest was wrong in shutting him out of the theatre, but cons he himself was wise in "excluding an Infidel controversy" the paper. "In my heart," he said, "I pity Iconoclast. serious illness would make him a coward." This favourite piece of clap-trap with a certain class of Christian may deceive other Christians—and it is possibly said with intent—for an Atheist it has no meaning. As for this sufficient to say that more than once, more than twice, my consciously found himself face to face with death, and on occasion his mind was perfectly clear and his brain wond acute. He was full of regrets and full of anxiety; but his

---

he means money; for when it is known that he received £5 for usi blasphemous language as would not be uttered by the very lowest 'fallen' class, the fact is indisputable. . . . . We sincerely hope t will change his heart, and that when he is about quitting this su world, he will not be heard exclaiming, as other infidels have done, shall I do to be saved?'"

* In *National Reformer* of that date. † In *National Reformer*, Jun

for his unfinished work; his anxieties were for those
ved no less than for those who loved him, or were dependent
him. For himself, speaking of the near possibility of death
his doctors, he said, "Ah, well, I cannot grumble; I have
the lives of three men; I have burned the candle at both
and the middle as well." He suffered great physical pain,
ne never broke down, and not for a single instant did his
ge waver.

Worksop, at this period, not only could no lecture room be
ned, but the prejudice in the town was so great that no one
sufficient courage to go with Mr Bradlaugh to the place of
ng. It rained all day until close upon the lecture hour, and
he turned out rather disconsolately to find the appointed
Under a lamp he found a bill announcing that that was
pot from which he was expected to speak, and by the bill
was the welcome sight of a Sheffield friend. To this
nce of one he commenced his address, but after a few
es—despite the counter-attractions heralded by the drums of
elling showman—the audience grew in size and in attentive
st. At the close some questions were put, and there was
intelligent conversation upon the subject of the lecture. One
ian, however, who was, for some reason, told that his question
be answered upon the following evening, cried, "Answer it
ht; to-morrow you may be where you ought to be, in

August 1861 Mr Bradlaugh was in Lancashire, and on one
ry Sunday he betook himself to a place known as Boardman's
where it was arranged that he should lecture. He himself
he story of this experience.

n arriving at the place," he says, "I found a little opposition:
policemen and a stout gentleman in black, whose precise
I was unable to ascertain, but who was introduced to me
'Lord's Steward,' forbade the meeting. Their prohibition
ttle effect, and the meeting soon assembled in the field hired
e purpose, and numbered from 1500 to 2000 persons. . . .
Royton] band prefaced the meeting with a march, and then
Biltcliffe, of Stalybridge, was elected chairman. Another
ot was now made; the constabulary had been reinforced, five
ow present, and they came with the farmer from whom the
had been taken, to eject us *vi et armis*. The police began

to talk, but as their oratory is not very inspiring I ordered
to keep quiet until the farmer had spoken.

"FARMER: You must go away from here.

"ICONOCLAST: The field is mine. I decline to go.

"FARMER: It is true I have let you the field, but I fin
must not have it.

"ICONOCLAST: As you have let the field, I am your tenant
occupy it as such. I am sorry to give you trouble, but I d
to go.

"POLICE-OFFICER: Oh, we'll see about that.

"ICONOCLAST: Silence, sir; you and your companions, as
men, have no right here on my ground, except by my permi
If you are disorderly, I shall have you removed." The police
suddenly subdued; from talkers they became listeners, an
meeting proceeded peacefully and satisfactorily.

An advertisement, stating that my father proposed to lect
the Dewsbury Public Hall on February 9th, 1862, provok
extraordinary burst of venom and spite from those who consti
themselves chief defenders of the faith in Dewsbury. The f
ing is the text of a bill posted throughout the town, and is pr
unrivalled as a form of attack:—

"Grand discovery! To be seen to-morrow, Sunday, not one hu
miles from the Public Hall, a fine specimen of the gorilla tribe, st
seven feet six inches in height, imported into England from Sh
the capital of the Hollyhock settlement, in the interior of Afric
brought to this town for public exhibition by Mr Greenfield.
gorilla is said to be one of the finest of its tribe. It presents
front, is impudent in its demeanour, and growls fearfully at the ap
of a debt-collector, magistrate, or any Government officer.
been some time in England under an assumed name, it has acqu
smattering of the language, and will address visitors on the
progress, and future prospects of the gorilla tribe. As the anim
be properly secured, parties need be in no apprehension of dange

Of course, the only effect of this ridiculous insult was to in
the size of the audience, people coming from Huddersfield,
and other places round.

A curious incident happened at Leeds, where Mr Bradlaug
lecturing in August 1862. The subject for the evening a
was, "Were Adam and Eve our first parents?" and Mr Bra
was opposed by a young man who had already offered some

at the afternoon lecture, and had then created a favourable
sion by the pleasant ease and fluency with which he spoke.
stion arose as to a passage in the works of Eusebius to which
radlaugh had referred. The passage, which he read at
t, the young man, who turned out to be a paid preacher
ing to Kirkstall, near Leeds, said was not from Eusebius,
om some other book. On Mr Bradlaugh asking for the
of the book, the young preacher said he had so many books
e could not remember their names, but if Mr Bradlaugh
go home with him at the conclusion of the lecture he would
im the book. This audacious young man must have been
hat dismayed when he found himself taken seriously, for
he lecture Mr Bradlaugh hired a cab and went home with
accompanied by one Christian and one Infidel to see fair
Arrived at Kirkstall, the preacher's "numerous library
d into two modest rows of books on a little table, and after
half an hour's search [he] ended by begging my pardon, and
ing that *he had made a mistake.*" * The Christian who had
to see fair play" was so ashamed that he called upon Mr
ugh on the following evening and reimbursed the cab-hire
the latter had paid. But the "mendacious parsonling" (as
her called him) knew no shame, for at Mr Bradlaugh's next
he again rose and tried to explain away his former conduct
isstatement; he further said that he had consulted with
well read in Eusebius, but none had met with the passage
by Mr Bradlaugh, and to satisfy the audience he had pro-
he volume of Eusebius and brought it with him. "I rather
stily abbreviated his triumph," said Mr Bradlaugh, "by
to the book he brought . . . and by reading from his own
the paragraph which he had so decidedly said was not
The young Christian teacher did not seem to mind in the
ing a second time exposed, for, quite unabashed, he rose
o speak on another subject.

e is one more story which I must tell before quite leaving
ject of these early provincial lecturing experiences, and I
ll it not merely because it presents what my father called
her novel feature," but because with a little addendum
y composed for the purpose it has been made to do duty as
f bulwark of the Christian faith.

---

* C. Bradlaugh in *National Reformer*.

On the second Sunday of December, in the year 1865 Bradlaugh was giving three lectures in the Philosophical Huddersfield, and the subject for the evening was "Le Voltaire." A "very voluble lady," said to be an enthusiast Weaver school, got up after the lecture to offer some opposit if what she said could be dignified by that name! This lad the audience what we may suppose to have been intended awe-inspiring story, but which must, in reality, have been vocative of much mirth. Her son, she said, had once purc half a pound of butter, and brought it home wrapped up in of some work by Voltaire. "The leaf was thrown upon th ere fully read, but the effect was so remarkable," said my f in recounting this incident at the time, "that the son dream saw Voltaire, who appeared with a ball of fire for a hea another ball of fire for a heart. Voltaire, while thus bl informed the lady's son that he, the French infidel, was burni hell, where all Voltairians were sure to join him and sha fate."

This story, albeit rather trifling, is harmless enough, and amusing as it stands, but the unauthorised revised versio cludes by saying that Mr Bradlaugh was quite discomfited b old lady's tale, and went away unable to answer her. I have this used against my father even since his death. Such a devices resorted to by the foolish to convince people of the of Christianity.

CHAPTER XX.

A FREEMASON.

Ir Bradlaugh was very much tied to London after 1862 ount of his business first in a solicitor's office, and then in the ie was unable for a few years to lecture so frequently in the ry. Saturdays and Sundays were almost his only oppor- es for provincial speaking, but these he utilised to the fullest that the claims of his London friends would permit. Quite e proportion of his lectures were given for the pecuniary t of some person or cause in need of help. Very often, too, this period his health gave way. City work for his liveli- writing, lecturing, and debating for his opinions' sake, rushes nce, Italy, or Germany, and night travelling before the days long railway journeys were made easy—were a heavy tax n his strength. And in addition to this, which I might call eneral routine of his life, he had the occasional duty of ling his rights in the Law Courts against both Government and e individuals, and the anxiety of a Parliamentary candidature. ongst those lectures given away was one in August 1862 on masonry," under the auspices of the Reformed Rite of his, for the benefit of the family of a deceased brother . In November of the same year he, as Orator of the Grand *des Philadelphes*, waited upon the Lord Mayor with two as a deputation from their Lodge to present £14 5s. to the f the distressed operatives in Lancashire. Of this sum £9 was tion made in the name of Garibaldi, and the further £5 5s. Lodge of which Garibaldi was a member, as they proudly I have made a special note of these early appearances of Mr ugh in his Masonic capacity, because his having been a Free- has often been called in question, although I have before me ocuments which ought to convince even the most incredulous. st informs "all whom it may concern . . . that our Brother

Charles Bradlaugh, born in Hackney (England), who has
his name in the margin hereof, was regularly received into
masonry and admitted to the third degree in the Grand Lo
the Philadelphs." This certificate is dated from London the
March 1859, and is very much stamped and signed with
signatures (exclusive of Mr Bradlaugh's), with a seal attache
by a blue ribbon. His sponsor for this initiation was his de
venerated friend Simon Bernard.* The second document
possession, also signed with a dozen or more signatures, is a "*di*
de Maître" (diploma of Master) granted by the Grand Ori
France upon the demand of the "R.·. L.·. La Persévérante
or .·. de Paris." This diploma is dated the 15th May 1862.
third is a much later document, and is to the following effect

"Sur la demande presentée par la R. L. Union et Persévérance o.
l'effet d'obtenir un diplôme de Maître pour le F. Charles Bradla
à Londres le 26 7bre, 1833, demeurant à Londres membre reçu d'ho
Le Grand Orient a delivré au F. Charles Bradlaugh le présent di
de Maître.

"Donné a l'O .·. de Paris le 4 Novembre 1884 (E. V.)"

It is signed by M. Cousin, Président du Conseil de l'Ordr
Secretary, officers of the R. L. Union et Persévérance, and o

Mr Bradlaugh belonged also to an English lodge affiliated
Grand Lodge of England. He was received at Tottenham
special request of the Lodge in the early part of the sixties, I b
but I possess none of the usual certificates: these he retur

* Towards the end of November 1862 death claimed him who ha
to my father "friend, tutor, brother." When the exile was bur
Bradlaugh wrote that "the proscribed of all the Nationalities of
mustered round his coffin to do him honour. Italy, Germany,
Poland, Hungary, and France were numerously represented; and lon
of the best and bravest of banished men trod in sadness in the rea
funeral hearse." By the open grave at Kilburn, "amongst the hun
intellectual looking men here might be seen most noticeable the
figure of that most omniscient of political writers, Alexander Herze
the stalwart frame of the escaped Bakunin; here the saddened fea
an old Englishman [Thomas Allsop] who had borne part with hi
political struggles, and who had loved the dead man with the fullest
liness of his most honest nature." At the grave side spoke M. Ta
my father spoke, also Mr G. J. Holyoake, M. Gustave Jourdain, a
M. Felix Pyat, whose fiery sentences were followed by the dull and m
echo of the earth falling upon the coffin lid.

dge when the Prince of Wales was made Past Grand Master. it was announced that the lodges of England were about to r the Prince of Wales "with a dignity he had done nothing ," Mr Bradlaugh addressed to him "a letter from a French, , and English Freemason." This letter was published in the *al Reformer*, and afterwards reissued in pamphlet form. It ead by his Mother Lodge, *La Loge des Philadelphes*, and uch unqualified satisfaction that an address of approval was im from the Lodge. The pamphlet had a very extensive tion, and went through several editions.

March 1874 my father made a fine speech at the annual et at the *Loge des Philadelphes*. It fell to him to speak toast, the "loyal" toast of the Lodge, "To the Oppressed of tions." The oppressed of Italy, of Spain, of France, of d, of Germany, were each separately remembered, and then ied the toast on "To the oppressed of all nations: to the everywhere; to the mothers, who with freer brains would less credulous sons; to the wives, who with fuller thoughts be higher companions through life's journeyings; to the and daughters, who with greater right might work out duty, and with fuller training do more useful work; to , our teacher as well as nurse; our guide as well as child- ; our counsellor as well as drudge. To the oppressed of all s: to those who are oppressed the most in that they know it to the ignorant and contented under wrong, who make sion possible by the passiveness, the inertness of their nce. To the memories of the oppressed in the past, whose —if faggot and lime have left a body to bury—are without save on the monuments of memory, more enduring than , erected in such temples by truer toast-givers than myself. se we drink, sadly and gratefully; to the oppressed of the —to those that struggle that they may win; to those that still, that they may struggle; to the future, that in it there no need to drink this toast."

his time when English Freemasons chose to cast doubts upon lity of Mr Bradlaugh's membership, Freemasons on the ide of the Atlantic welcomed him to their Lodges.

le visiting Boston, Mr Bradlaugh was by special invitation Columbian and Adelphi Lodges present at their Masonic s. The last occasion should almost be looked upon as

historic, as far as the annals of Freemasonry are concerned, it was a special festival in honour of the installation of J B. Smith as Junior Warden of the Adelphi Lodge, South B the first coloured Freemason elected to hold office in any re Lodge. Eight years before * the St Andrew's Lodge had Mr Smith and six other coloured men Freemasons, with the that they should establish a coloured men's Lodge, but the G Lodge of Massachusetts would not issue the warrant. In interval Joshua B. Smith, already a Justice of the Peace elected to the Senate, and joined the Adelphi Lodge, which took this opportunity of showing him honour.

Mr Bradlaugh himself always liked to remember that h a "Free and accepted mason," and the outward and visible si that is to be found in the fact that he almost invariably sel the Masonic Boys' School as the charity to be benefited b money paid as damages for libelling his personal character.

* This was in December 1874.

CHAPTER XXI.

DEBATES 1862–1866.

ptember 1862 Mr Bradlaugh held a six nights' discussion he Rev. W. Barker, a gentleman who had been lecturing Atheism to a Christian Society in Clerkenwell. The was held in the Cowper Street School Rooms, City Road. port I have by me was published by Ward & Co., and was rom the notes of a shorthand writer, and approved by both nts. The first two evenings were controlled by a chairman h speaker, with Mr James Harvey for umpire; but Mr 's impartial judgments gave so much satisfaction that the ur meetings were left entirely under his charge. The nce—on some nights so great that people were turned averaged twelve hundred persons, and it was estimated that sand heard the whole of the debate. Some enthusiastic journeyed long distances, such as from Yorkshire, Lancashire, hire, and Norfolk, to be present. After all expenses were d the surplus of £20 was sent to the Lord Mayor for the hire Relief Fund. The subjects under discussion were:—

re the representations of Deity in the Bible irrational and ry?

Is Secularism, which inculcates the practical sufficiency of , independent of Biblical religion, calculated to lead to the development of the physical, moral, and intellectual nature of

Is the doctrine of Original Sin, as taught in the Bible, theoretijust and practically pernicious?

Does Secularism, which admits the authority of nature alone, ch appeals to reason as the best means of arriving at truth, offer basis for human conduct than Christianity, which rests its claims sumed Divine revelation?

s the plan of Salvation through the Atonement repulsive in its

details, immoral in its tendency, and unworthy of the acceptance
human race?

"VI. Is the doctrine of personal existence after death, and of e
happiness or misery for mankind, fraught with error and injuri
humanity?"

My father, writing during the progress of this debate, des
Mr Barker as a speaker not calculated, so far as he had yet
to excite his audience. "He is," said he, "a robust, happy-lo
man, slightly inclined to go to sleep during his speeches
hardly lively enough in his sallies. He appears to wish to
occasionally, but fears the result of his own blow. Perhaps
debate proceeds he will be more vigorous in his replies, and
piquant in his affirmations."

Mr John Watts spoke of the reverend gentleman in muc
same terms,* paying special tribute to Mr Barker's evident
to fairly represent his opponent's views.

The report of this debate, carried on for six nights, and d
with six separate questions in eighteen speeches a side, makes
a formidable volume of more than two hundred pages. It
it much that is interesting and much that is dull, a little
witty, and more that is weak. It would weary the reade
serve no useful purpose, were I to attempt a representation
arguments used. I will only note that on the sixth an
evening Mr Bradlaugh opened with an impeachment of the m
of the doctrine of a future existence in happiness or in to
the bribe and the penalty of the Christian religion; and
final speech, after briefly reviewing the whole debate, he

* Contrast the delicate words of personal description written by a Cl
in the *Clerkenwell News*: "The manner and appearance of the minis
the Atheist were as much at variance as the Gospel of the one is w
'reasoning' of the other. The one with a kind, affectionate air—a ca
reliance, resulting from faith in a beneficent God and loving Redeem
a fit defender of love and mercy. On the other hand, the Atheist'
stamped him as a low demagogue. He was throughout restless; now
ing his ring, after admiring it himself; now turning with an idio
towards his followers, who certainly resembled Falstaff's recruits in
ance; and throughout conducting himself as a boastful, ill-bred ma
personal appearance did not aid him, for it partook of that animal w
said much to resemble some men. His voice, like the whine of a d
rendered more unpleasant by a spluttering lisp, occasioned by his ina
bring his lower jaw forward enough to meet his protruding upper lip."

sition. Mr Barker, he tells his listening audience, "comes exponent of God's will to man. I come as a student of thought, of the endeavour to know—as a student of the problem of life. I have no revelation; I have no bitter mmunications—no anathemas to hurl upon you; but I have to say: the wide book of humanity lies open before you. its pages over. I can offer you no inducements to come here. it that to be a Freethinker is to be an outlaw, according to aws of England. I admit that to profess your disbelief rs you liable at the present moment to fine and imprisonment enal servitude. I admit that that is the statute law of nd. I admit that if you are free enough to say you are an , your evidence may in a court of justice be rejected, hat so you may be robbed.* I admit we have not wealth ower on our side—power which the Christian Church, gh eighteen centuries of extortion, has managed to get er. But I tell you what we have. We have the pleasant ousness that we make the public conscience and public n step by step with each thought we give out and each good ve do. Our church is not a narrow church, nor narrow , nor Bible sect, but the wide church of humanity, covered steeple, with texts preached from no pulpit, but with each s his own priest, working out his own salvation, and that of lows too—not on his knees, but on his feet, with clenched and nervous brain, fighting wrong and asserting right, and g to make humanity freer."

Monday and Wednesday, the 1st and 3rd of February 1864, radlaugh met Thomas Cooper, the sometime Freethinker, of the "Purgatory of Suicides," and now "Lecturer on Chris-" in debate. This debate had been talked of for nearly years, but although Mr Bradlaugh was eager for the fray per was more reluctant; he affected to despise his junior for t of learning, and several times publicly derided his "ignor- he himself was reputed a scholar, and boasted a know- f fourteen languages. As it was, Mr Cooper himself worded jects to be discussed, and refused to meet my father under *n de guerre* of "Iconoclast." On the first evening Mr

---

was in 1862, before the Evidence Amendment Act, 1869, and Mr h's Oaths Act, 1888.

Cooper was to affirm "the Being of God as the Maker Universe," and on the second "the Being of God as the Governor of the Universe." As the affirmer he had the adv of leading the discussion each night.

The wording of the question put Mr Bradlaugh in a p position: he was "to state the argument on the Negative and as any reasonable person will, I think, clearly see, he coul do this by showing the fallacy of the arguments used by the af He told his audience: "I do not stand here to prove that t no God. If I should undertake to prove such a propos should deserve the ill words of the oft-quoted Psalmist app those who say there is no God. I do not say there is no G I am an Atheist without God. To me the word 'God' conv idea, and it is because the word 'God' to me never expre clear and definite conception . . . . that I am Atheist, . . . word 'God' does not, to my mind, express an eternal, i omnipotent, intelligent, personal conscious being, but is without meaning and no effect other than it derives fr passions and prejudices of those who use it."

This debate should have been of more than ordinary in both disputants were lecturers and debaters of long standi as an exponent of the evidences of Christianity Mr T Cooper's reputation was, I believe, considerable. And si had himself once spoken from the Freethought standpoi more than another, should have been prepared to grapple w difficulties which lay between the Atheist and a belief in G Creator and Moral Governor of the Universe. Having r speeches, I am surprised at the poorness of his arguments, driven to the conclusion that his reputation has been consi overstated—that is to say, his reputation as an expoun Christian doctrines: his language was sometimes abs childish; of his merits as a poet I know nothing. "B. V. some amusing verses* descriptive of Mr Cooper's position down by him in his opening speech, and a writer in the *C Times* for February 3rd related the impression produced on Mr Bradlaugh on the first night:

"Let me do this gentleman justice. He was neither vul arrogantly egotistical. He has a loud, harsh voice. He is tho

* See "Poems, Essays, and Fragments." (A. and H. B. Bonn

in address. His thoughts come to him with admirable orderliness. ical faculty is strong, and his speaking faculty is something nazed at. He combines precision with volubility. He makes nt rhetorically climacteric. In retort, by-play, and insinuation, es very considerable skill. He is an adept in the use of satire. le is sharp, clear, incisive. In short, he is evidently a young somewhat remarkable abilities, who with his present opinions much mischief, but under a holier inspiration would do immense In saying this about him, I am but speaking honest truth. I eady said with what a prejudice against him I went to the hall. nk enough to confess that I found that prejudice to be to a great ased on ignorance of the man. It has been the custom of many n organs to hold the teachers of Atheism up to scorn for ignorance, incapacity, and a wanton indulgence in gross and vulgar blas-. Often enough the representation has been only too faithful; ould be simply an absurd and self-refuting falsehood to charge hese things on Mr Bradlaugh, as far as his behaviour on Monday ould enable one to form an estimate of his character. He used eapons, it is true, but he used them skilfully; he had a most e task, granted, but he came up to it with a manly candour and rough it without resorting to a word, gesture, or glance that was ve of the desire to be unnecessarily offensive."*

e taken this somewhat lengthy extract from the article as frank avowal of a prejudgment of my father, unwarranted real facts as realised by a Christian auditor. And yet it these early years that Mr Bradlaugh is said to have been necessarily offensive" by those who during the last few his life were compelled to own that he was not so bad l. These persons, lacking the generous candour of the n the *Christian Times* of 1864, endeavour to excuse their njustice by saying that, if not coarse and offensive now, he n at one time, and his manners had much improved. This n may serve, to those who still need it, as a hostile con-ry witness in Mr Bradlaugh's favour.

eptember 25th and 26th, 1865, Mr Bradlaugh had yet

---

ite the sharpness—to use no harsher term—of Mr Cooper's words and owards him, my father bore no malice, and showed himself quite orgive and forget. A few months later, hearing that Mr Cooper was traitened circumstances, he expressed his desire to be allowed to e scheme for assisting his old opponent, for he believed him "to have ll-intentioned, warm-hearted man, and one who, as a politician, has work."

another debate with his Swedenborgian antagonist, th
Woodville Woodman. The debate was held in the the
Northampton, which was crowded, numbers of people
unable to obtain admission on the first night. He had a
for a three nights' discussion six weeks later at Keighle
the Rev. Mr Porteous of Glasgow. He was to lect
Liverpool on Sunday, October 29th, and the debate was do
the following Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. (
Saturday the express train in which he was travell
Liverpool ran into some luggage vans between Woodhou
Sheffield, and he was very severely shaken. How seve
did not at once realise, and with his usual disregard of him
insisted upon fulfilling his engagement at Liverpool. A
exertion of delivering three lectures he felt so much wo
the journey to Keighley, followed by three nights' dis
seemed out of the question. He communicated with Mr P
and came home; I have a distinct recollection of see
father come into the house, looking terribly ill. The P
Porteous refused to postpone his engagement; in fact, h
answered Mr Bradlaugh's letter, but insisted on procee
his absence. For the first two nights he "debated" in
grandeur, but on the third night Mr Bradlaugh was rep
by Mr John Watts, who, "at Iconoclast's request," w
Keighley to meet Mr Porteous on one night at leas
committee of the Rev. Mr Porteous paid their champ
of the proceeds, but "*he nevertheless afterwards clain
received from Iconoclast the further sum of* £2 10s.,
expenses, but to make up his 'fee.'"* In June of the f
year Mr Bradlaugh was lecturing at Keighley, and w
arrived there he found the walls of the town and neighb
placarded with a "Challenge to the Image Breaker" f
Porteous. This "challenge" rather prematurely assume
ance on Mr Bradlaugh's part; it was at once accepted,
debate fixed for two or three days later, the 14th and 15t
The subject for the discussion, which was held in the Ten
Hall, was "Is the Bible a divine revelation?" and people
from Burnley, Leeds, Bradford, and outlying distric
judging from a brief report which is all I have to g

* *National Reformer*, June 24th, 1866.

ɔt whether it was much worth a journey to listen to. rteous angrily spoke of my father as

ho, being a lawyer's clerk, had never been trusted with a brief; ɔ, in swollen rhetoric and with blatant voice, had indulged in ements and misrepresentations of the Bible which nothing ıstify." *

ather curious to note, too, that during the evening the Ir Porteous, just as the Rev. Brewin Grant had done on er occasion, strongly complained that Iconoclast looked at ilst he was speaking." †

---

ional Reformer, June 24th, 1866.

ook at me," said Bagheera, and Mowgli looked at him steadily the eyes. The big panther turned his head away in half a

is why," he said, shifting his paw on the leaves, "not even I thee between the eyes, and I was born among men, and I love tle brother. The others they hate thee, because their eyes cannot ne; because thou art wise; because thou hast pulled out thorns from ; because thou art a man!"

Mowgli's Brothers, by Rudyard Kipling.

CHAPTER XXII.

"THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY, TO DO GOOD IS MY RELIGION

A DEMONSTRATION was held in Hyde Park on Sunday afte September 28th, 1862, for the purpose of expressing sym with Garibaldi, and protesting against the occupation of Ro the French troops. The hour announced for the meeti three o'clock, and by that time the *Morning Advertiser* esti that there were between 12,000 and 15,000 persons present. proceedings were, however, very badly managed; no steps wh were taken for keeping order, and, indeed, by three o'clock n the conveners of the meeting had put in an appearance, nor h arrangements whatever been made for a platform for the sp Mr Bradlaugh had been asked to speak, and was, as a ma course, punctually upon the scene. He found a ready platform in a great heap about fourteen yards by nine, and three feet from the ground. About this heap, upon which a few others had posted themselves, the crowd gathered, length Mr Bradlaugh, seeing no signs of the conveners, comm to speak. He was soon stopped by interruptions of every kin to make things a little more regular, a chairman was appo but the chairman had hardly begun to address the people he "was hurled with his friends from their seat of emine a movement which a few Irish roughs had organised in t of them, down amongst the crowd beneath. By rema dexterity, however, the chairman regained his place upo mount." * His efforts to be heard were again unavailin the proceedings rapidly developed into a free fight.

"During one of the lulls in the fighting position of the affai the *Morning Advertiser*, "Mr Bradlaugh proposed a resolution effect that the meeting was of opinion that Garibaldi was fa

* *Morning Advertiser.*

his duty when he fell at Aspromonte, and desired to express its tion of the heroic fortitude he displayed in his hour of trial."

solution was seconded and supported amid general uproar,

it was confidently stated that in the course of the discussion of during one of the encounters for the possession of the platform, npt was made to stab Mr Bradlaugh." *

an assemblage which should have done honour to Garibaldi as to England, for, as the *Advertiser* says, "it was composed lite of the working classes and a large portion of the middle was turned by the Irish Catholics into a fight and a panic for the interference of the police. It is little to be ed at that when Mr Bradlaugh was invited by the Working Committee to attend and speak he hesitated to accept the on, feeling as he did that the conveners were not able to the antagonism of the Irish Catholics which had already ted itself at other meetings. "I have no wish," he rds said, "for immediate martyrdom, and considerably ated my speech when I found that knives were used as nts."

Robert Forder, who was present at the Garibaldi meeting, sends me ving vivid account of what took place on that day:—

afternoon," he relates, "was the first time I had the honour and of speaking to your father. A few of us at Deptford, where I then had had printed a quantity of handbills announcing the debate with W. Barker, then appearing in the *National Reformer*. I gave your e, for which he thanked me. I should like, with your permission, few words as to what took place on that exciting afternoon. The holics had been well whipped up for the occasion, and were there in ost of them dock and bricklayers' labourers, and in the mass totally ed. There were three mounds of earth and stones intended to make roads, each about four feet high, and, so far as I can recollect ty years have gone by, about thirty yards long by eight deep. re about fifty yards apart, and on the middle one were gathered the two women—one of the latter in a red 'jumper,' that was afterwards n fashion as a 'Garibaldi.' The Irish were massed on and around ther mounds, and during the early part of the proceedings contented es with singing a refrain for 'God and Rome.' It was about ten after your father had begun to speak that a signal was given, on udden rush was made upon the meeting. There had not been up to ent any indication whatever that the Irish were armed, but every woman (and there were many women and girls with them) was of a bludgeon of some sort. Their onslaught was furious and

In the winter of 1862 Mr Bradlaugh made a public appe
the Freethinkers of Great Britain to raise money on behalf of
distressed Lancashire operatives. He begged them to "wast
time, but at once in your large workshops and in your s
meetings levy a rate for the reduction of the Lancashire distr
Those who were Freethinkers amongst the destitute in Lancas
were of course relieved by the General Relief Committee,
naturally they were excluded from the various charitable un
takings carried out by committees belonging to different denom
tions. As the relief afforded by the General Committee and
Board of Guardians only averaged 1s. 8½d. per head weekly, it
be seen how greatly dependent the distressed were upon the e
help of these other committees. A touching little story of Chris
charity *versus* principle in rags was taken by Mr T. S. Oates,
Secretary to the Lancashire Secular Union Special Distress F
from the *Rochdale Observer* of Dec. 13th, and was, he said, a
sample of what frequently happened. A benevolent lady belon
to Middleton, on making her usual charitable round, entered one
a house in Parkfield, where she found "poverty in its worst sha
The father of the family was in rags, and the lady told the
that if he would come to her house that evening she would
him other clothes. The man, of course, was overjoyed, but v

---

brutal, and for a time successful. They carried the mound in a few min
but the blood upon many of our friends aroused such a feeling of indigna
that in a time less than it takes me to write it the mound was stormed
the Piccadilly side, and again captured by us. There were in the
about a dozen Grenadier Guardsmen, who were ardent admirers of Garil
and there were quite fifty others, possibly passive spectators. The fo
formed two deep, and with their walking-sticks rushed down the m
into the mass of the yelling Irish. The effect was electrical. Their com
in the crowd raised a sudden shout, and in ten minutes the Irish w
full retreat, throwing away their sticks to escape the indignation o
people they had so wantonly and brutally attacked. Many were cap
by the police, and I clearly remember the constables gathering up
bludgeons, and making bundles of them with their belts. It must b
fessed that no quarter was given, and scores of them got severely ma
Cardinal Wiseman referred to the brutality of the infidel mob in a pa
a few days after, in which he used the term 'lambs' to describe
religious ruffians. *Punch*, the next week, 'caught on' to this word, a
its weekly cartoon depicted this mob of Irish assailing a public meetin
the heading of 'Cardinal Wiseman's Lambs.' "

s told that after he had the clothes he would be expected to
church, and if he did not do so the clothes were to be
ed, his joy was considerably cooled down. Then it was said

making her statement, the lady left to make further inquiries
e cases of distress, leaving the man of poverty to reflect on the
ade to him. After a short consideration he commenced looking
insightly apparel, and then muttered to himself: 'Yo mun poo
ough a bit longer, owd friends; it'll do noan to pop mi conscience
ute of cloas!'"

father did not preach without practising, although to me it
vellous how, with his own struggle for existence, he always
a way to help others in their struggles. But this winter it
pecially hard: several times he was called away to the Con-
and several times his health broke down, until he was so
he had to give up editing his paper, and for some months
o obliged to give up lecturing. Nevertheless, he contrived
an engagement he had made to lecture for the Relief Fund
chester on Feb. 1, 1863, in which he paid the whole of
n expenses, and so was able to hand £10 over to the
rer. Later on in the year he was lecturing again on behalf
same object.

ost concurrently with his efforts to raise money for
hire, he was making eloquent appeals for funds to aid
against her oppressors, and when he had somewhat
ed his health he addressed meetings on behalf of the
ing Poles. He spoke at Plumstead, Deptford, and Cleve-
all, at Birmingham and Sheffield, where the fire and passion
speeches evoked the utmost enthusiasm; at Halifax, where
walked eight and ten miles in the drenching rain to hear
nd at other places the details of which are not recorded.
la Polonia" was a cry which, twenty years ago, found "a
hising echo from every freeman in Europe, from every
heart in the civilised world;" and my father was behind
n the warmth of his sympathy, or in the activity he
ed to give it practical effect.

her, with all this public work, was he unmindful or un-
l for kindnesses shown himself personally; and so he never
the debt he owed his early friend, Mr Jones, who now in

consequence of old age and infirmities was reduced to ext
poverty. In the November of this same year he gave the la
his annual lectures for the benefit of his staunch old friend.
this occasion, too, Mr Bendall, the lessee of the Hall of Sci
gave the use of the hall—as indeed he frequently did, ofte
considerable inconvenience to himself—and the proceeds of
lecture and subscriptions amounted to upwards of £8, of w
the greater part served to pay the funeral expenses of the l
old man, who, contemporary with Thomas Paine, had played
part in the struggles for a free press, particularly in those w
we associate with the names of men like Richard Carlile, Wo
and Hone.

In March 1864 occurred the great inundation at Sheffield; a
the valleys of the Loxley and the Don all was ruin and desola
Whole rows of houses, mills, and bridges were carried away,
huge trees were torn up by the force of the rushing water. M
lives were lost, and those who escaped with life lost every
they possessed save the garments in which they escaped. M
funds were started for the relief of those so suddenly r
destitute, and Mr Bradlaugh was not slow in offering his help
Sheffield man, writing at the time, said that the quality of pra
sympathy was one possessed by Mr Bradlaugh "in a pre-emi
degree, and it is a trait in his character which will add lustr
his name, and form a rich gem in the wreath which shall ador
memory long after he shall have laid his honoured head in
silent tomb. . . . His large, generous heart is never inser
to the sounds of human distress; and accordingly no soone
he hear of the Sheffield catastrophe than he at once volunt
his services towards the relief of the sufferers." *

I have mentioned these cases with the idea of showing
wide and how ready were my father's sympathies. To give m
help was no easy matter to him: he could not write a chequ
say, "Put my name down for this sum or for that;" he coul
even give by denying himself some little luxury: every p
he gave had to be specially earned for that purpose, but

* He gave two lectures in the Mechanics' Institute (lent to the Freet
for this occasion), and the proceeds, £8 11s. 4d., were handed over
fund. "No lecturer gave more to the needy than Iconoclast," sa
Austin Holyoake.

standing this, real distress rarely appealed to him in
.*

nable to do so much provincial lecturing in consequence of demands made upon his time by his business, Mr Bradlaugh yet often to be found during the latter part of 1865 at the Hall cience, City Road; but in the early part of 1866 he was away aly so much, sometimes for weeks together, that he could do little lecturing. The proceeds of these winter lectures at the Hall of Science were to go to the Hall of Science Company, h he was then actively projecting. The lease of the City Road expired early in 1866, and the renewal had been refused. It proposed to lease or purchase a suitable building, or a site of on which to build a lecture-hall and rooms for classes for ar instruction, etc. To aid in providing funds for this pur- it was Mr Bradlaugh's desire to purchase one hundred shares f the proceeds of his lectures, and to that end he devoted the e of his profits on each occasion that he lectured at the Hall cience.

One of the latest letters he ever wrote, bearing date Jan. 12, 1891, him always the same. He says: "I am extremely sorry to read your , but I have, unfortunately, no means whatever except what I earn from day with my tongue and pen. If the Committee think it wise, I will e for the benefit of such a fund."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REFORM LEAGUE, 1866–1868.

In 1866 the National Reform League was proving itself an tremely active organisation. Mr Edmund Beales was its hono President, and Mr George Howell the Secretary. Mr Bradla was one of its Vice-Presidents, and he had, oddly enough, amo his colleagues the Rev. W. H. Bonner, the father of his fu son-in-law. Mr Bonner had been, and was until his deat 1869, a Lecturer for the Peace Society, and was then a V President and Lecturer of the Reform League. They wo together with the greatest cordiality, and Mr Bradlaugh on occasion wrote that he wished there were more clergymen the Rev. Mr Bonner. My father took part in most of the m ings of the League which were held in London and in man those held in the provinces, and his value as an advocate was ap ciated by men opposed to the Reform Bill—then before Parlia —as well as by those on his own side who were not blinded bigotry.

On May 21st a great demonstration in support of the Bill held upon Primrose Hill, and was addressed by Mr Beales, Cremer, Colonel Dickson, Mr Lucraft, and others. Mr Bradl moved the second resolution, and his eloquence so impressed reporter to the *Standard* that that gentleman, who had assu come "to scoff," remained, if not "to pray," yet to give and re a reluctant admiration. The leader which appeared in the *dard* for the following day was intended to he humor descriptive of the proceedings without too fine a regard for f and in it we find the following notice of Mr Bradlaugh an speech, which the writer said was frequently and enthusiasti applauded:

"At length, however, a young gentleman—by the name, we be of Bradlaugh—sprang into the chair, and for the moment awaken

wind-chilled throng a faint thrill of something like enthusiasm. rst, judging from the cast of his countenance and from a certain kle in his eye as he adjusted himself to his task, we anticipated a ledly comic address. But the event soon showed that we were aken, and the speaker, admirably as his face was adapted for oses of comedy, was himself terribly in earnest; so earnest, indeed, so thoroughly *d'accord* with his audience, that he soon woke them om the lethargy in which they had remained ever since the first entleman had begun to read to them the unpublished proofs of next ing's *Star*, and set them crying 'Hear, hear,' 'That's so,' 'Hurray,' vn with the Peers,' 'Shame, shame,' and so on. Bearing in mind lood-red banner and the *bonnet rouge*, it is needless to say that the h of this energetic gentleman—who, be it observed, spoke really mely well—consisted simply of a furious onslaught upon English utions in general, and upon Government and the House of Lords rticular. He would like to see that wretched institution that ned upon the life-blood of the English people swept away for ; and here the Reformers cried 'Hear, hear,' and applauded with and hand. And that was what things were tending to; that was this Bill really meant; and he differed from their worthy president o had apparently been endeavouring to persuade the meeting to that convenient little Liberal fib that the present Bill had really ng democratic about it—in being ready and willing to take his as a supporter of the Government measure upon the ground that democratic, and that its real effect would be to sweep away the e expensive machinery of the constitution, Government itself ded. All this, of course, everybody knew before, but it is not Liberal Reformer who is bold enough to say it. . . . . The er concluded with a significant reminder that on this occasion were allowed to meet undisturbed, because they met in support of vernment measure, but that their normal condition—he did not ormal, but that was the meaning of it—was one of opposition to overnment, and that he might have to call upon them to meet here ewhere, or even under the walls of the sham Parliament at West- er, when the whole strength of Government would be put forth event the meeting, and when the English people would rise in might," etc.

e sarcasm and humour of the foregoing make it no easy r to pick out the scattered grains of truth: nevertheless, we gather from it that the boldness, earnestness, and eloquence " young gentleman by the name, we believe, of Bradlaugh," his much—it made an unusual impression upon his Tory er.

At a great gathering * held in Trafalgar Square on the 2n
July, my father was one of the speakers. Lord Russell and
Gladstone had resigned from the Ministry, and Lord Derby
been "sent for." Parliament stood adjourned until July 5th,
the Reform League held this meeting prior to the reassemblin
the House to protest against the proposed Derby administra
and to deplore the retirement of Mr Gladstone and Lord Rus
There was unusual excitement about this meeting, for Sir Ric
Mayne had first of all intimated that it would not be allowe
take place. He, however, met with such a strenuous outburs
condemnation that for the moment he was checked, and witho
his prohibition. By this time Mr Bradlaugh's popularity
London was becoming very great, and in the *Times'* notice of
meeting it is remarked that he was the chief favourite, and
"the mass soon commenced clamouring" for him.

The Derby Cabinet, as every one is aware, was formed
Disraeli † in Gladstone's place as Chancellor of the Exchequer,
with the formation of the new Cabinet all immediate hopes of
passing of any real measure of Reform were abandoned, alth
the League continued its work with untiring energy. An utte
of Mr Bradlaugh's on the chief point in the programme of Re
then advocated, viz. extension of the Suffrage, is worth repe
here, as it indicates a line of conduct which Mr Bradlaugh hi
pursued and enjoined upon others in regard to other matte
Reform than the Suffrage. He would always seek and work
thorough and complete measure; but if he could not get all th
asked for, rather than have nothing, and thus leave matters i
bad state in which he found them, he would take what ame
tions he could get *without ceasing to aim at ultimately winnin*
whole. He had, at the time of which I am writing, occasi
allude to a little pamphlet published in 1838. He remarked:

"The author says well when he tells you, 'Demand univ
Suffrage;' but I am not quite sure that he is right in sa

* The number of persons present was variously estimated at from
to "upwards of 60,000."

† Mr Bradlaugh commented somewhat epigrammatically: "The
Hon. Benjamin Disraeli is perhaps the man best fitted to be in oppositio
the least fitted to govern amongst our prominent men. His waistcoat
been brilliant, but his Parliamentary measures cannot always succe
compare with the result of his tailor's skill."

no less than your full demand.' He is right in declaring uffrage a natural right, and therefore undoubtedly all our on should be based on this principle; but I am not of n that the extension of the Suffrage to a portion of the ng or middle classes necessarily makes them enemies to unenfranchised brethren. Each step in the Reform move- whether theological, social, or political, is educational in its even beyond the circle in which the step is taken. My would be: Seek justice; but refuse no point which may be ed, for each concession gives you additional means and h to enforce your claim. The people are growing stronger ore worthy every day; but there are, alas! even yet in this y hundreds of thousands who are intellectually too weak for, parently hardly worthy of, enfranchisement. Our mission ducate them to strength and worthiness, to strip off the badge vitude they wear, to teach them that labour's rights and are as honourable and onerous as the rights and duties of althiest employer of labour, and that the labourer—if honest ue to his manhood—has a higher patent of nobility than was ven by yellow parchment or crumbling seal."

Tories had declared that the people themselves did not ny extension of the suffrage, and spoke sneeringly of the and indifference of the working classes towards any e of enfranchisement. Determined to show they were not tic, working men in London and the provinces held meeting eeting. The one in Trafalgar Square was followed three later by that famous gathering in Hyde Park, when the s "came down." This meeting was announced for Monday, 2nd, but a few days before the time arrived Sir Richard posted a notification on the park gates forbidding the g to take place; and this time Sir Richard Mayne held to hibition. The Council of the National Reform League met 20th specially to consider this police order; Mr Beales, the nt, stated the case as impartially as possible, and put the ifficulties before the Council. Mr Bradlaugh moved that nstanding the police notice of prohibition the meeting be d in. Mr Cremer and others opposed the resolution, but was put it was carried by a large majority. Mr Bradlaugh nself entirely under the direction of Mr Beales, and it was d that at the given time the leaders of the demonstration

should appear at the Marble Arch and demand admission in
park; if this was refused, having made their protest, they
separate into divisions and proceed quietly by different ro
Trafalgar Square.

When the time came, procession after procession marc
orderly fashion to the park gates, and the meeting became
magnificent one, composed as it was mainly of respectable w
men, thoroughly earnest in their desire for Reform. The
not all Londoners either; there were representative men fr
provinces, from Yorkshire, Lancashire, Plymouth, and othe
men who had travelled many miles and undergone much
to take part in the forbidden demonstration. From a brief
of the meeting which Mr Bradlaugh wrote for the *N*
Reformer, it appears that Mr Beales and the committee r
the Marble Arch Gates shortly after seven o'clock, and
their vehicles they went together to the police at the
demand admission. "The police, however, meant mischie
mounted man, 'V. 32,' backed his horse right on to Mr
and myself, and the example being followed by another m
policeman, some confusion was created, and this was eviden
result desired by the police. The truncheons were all o
some rough intimations given to those in front that misch
meant." On his demand being made and refused, Mr Bea
his colleagues turned, as had been arranged, to lead the r
by different routes to Trafalgar Square. Mr Bradlaugh's d
turned down Park Lane, but some of those on the outside
irritated by the behaviour of the police, made an attack up
railings of the Park. Having read numerous accounts
episode, I should judge that the first railings fell partly accid
through the enormous pressure of the moving crowd, an
partly torn up in anger. When a few rails had given w
idea of gaining ingress to the park in that manner spread t
the crowd like a flash of light, and in a few minutes many
of railings were upon the ground and the people leaping ex
over them. Mr Bradlaugh, strenuously adhering to the prog
of his leader to carry the meeting to Trafalgar Square, set
to the difficult task of restraining the wild tumult and pre
the mass from destroying the railings and forcing an entry.
a little, although not before he himself had been knocked
he was successful, and his column resumed its orderly and p

h to Trafalgar Square, "whence, after much speechifying, we ent home." The *Times* remarked that in his efforts to nt a breach of the peace "Mr Bradlaugh got considerably ed . . . . falling under the suspicion of being a government It is little to be wondered at that the people hardly knew l from foe, for the confusion and excitement were so great they were for a moment bewildered. The police, said the *ing Star*,

out with their truncheons like savages who, having been under rary control, were now at full liberty to break heads and cut open to their hearts' content. It mattered not to them whether the per had actively exerted himself to force an entrance, or whether l been merely hurled in the irresistible crush of those who pressed d. Wherever there was a skull to fracture, they did their best to re it; everybody was in their eyes an enemy to whom no mercy be shown. The mob was at first stunned by the vigour of the t, but presently turned upon the aggressors and repaid blows with kind—in the end inflicting as much punishment as they received."

y case the police attempt to prevent the people entering the was futile, for although the more orderly passed on to the nted meeting-place, in the course of half-an-hour many nds gained admission through the openings made in the gs. At length, the police confessing themselves powerless, ilitary were called out and marched through the park. Lord , in the House of Lords, asserted that altogether not less 1400 yards of railings were pulled down, and complained of the injury done to the flower-beds and other "property Crown;" but on this head a rather remarkable statement was by Mr Cowper, M.P., formerly First Commissioner of the s, who expressed himself against holding public meetings in ark. Mr Cowper said that when the crowd (composed, ing to the *Times*, of "London roughs") had

l down the railings and made good their entrance to the Park, bstained from injuring the flowers, and even in the heat and of the disturbance, they frequently went round along the grass ot to tread upon the flower-beds and borders."

ll their prohibitions and precautions to prevent the people olding orderly meeting and giving public expression to their n, backed too as they were by police and soldiers, the ment could only feebly say in the House that the measures

they had taken had prevented "some part of the contempl proceedings from taking place." They might also have truthf added that these same measures had also brought about destruction of the Park railings, and numerous broken he "proceedings" which were not "contemplated," at least, by conveners of the meeting.

A week later, before the excitement had time to cool do another great meeting was held in the Agricultural Hall, a have often heard my father say he had never seen gath together in any building so many men as found their way the Agricultural Hall on that occasion. He reckoned there n have been upwards of 25,000 persons present, without coun those who came and went away in despair at not being able to s hear on the outskirts of so large a crowd. The great difficulty s to have been to hear the speakers, and with such a vast assembly not surprising to find that many of them could only be hear those nearest to the platform. Mr Bradlaugh himself felt impossible it was to make every one hear. He moved the se resolution, praying the House of Commons to institute an inq into the conduct of Sir Richard Mayne and his subordinate Hyde Park on the previous Monday, and wound up what *Times* describes as a "telling speech," with his favourite q tion from Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy."

One of the results of this week of disturbance was the arre several "good men and true," amongst whom was Mr Ni whose recent death his friends and co-workers have good reas mourn. On the evening of July 25th Mr Bradlaugh was sudd summoned to Bow Street; some member of the Reform Le Council was reported to be under arrest. When he reache police station he found Mr Nieass, who had been seized by police in the Strand on a charge of inciting the people to r ance, whereas, as it was afterwards proved, he had been persua them to disperse, and but for Mr Bradlaugh's pertinacity, Mr N would have been, as others actually were, locked up all nigh spite of the fact that good bail was offered.

The Reform movement seem to grow and spread thr England with marvellous rapidity. The great meetings in Lo found their echo in great meetings in the provinces. As Bradlaugh was not possessed of any mysterious power of red cating himself, he was not of course present at all these gather

ugh he somehow (I hardly know how) contrived to make to attend a goodly number. On the first day of September, 00 persons met at short notice on Brandon Hill, Bristol, Beales and Mr Bradlaugh attending as a deputation from on. I find it noted* that Mr Bradlaugh was much applauded g his address, and that he sat down amidst long and continued ing and waving of hats. In the *Bristol Times and Mirror* is a letter about the meeting from "A Man in the Crowd," among much that was hostile and absurd he wrote: "The h that told more than any other on Brandon Hill was that of es Bradlaugh, Esq., and it was the best portion of it that ppreciated; . . . . his exhortation to men to be manly carried earers along with him. . . . . Nothing was listened to Mr Bradlaugh had finished." In a day or so, however, the people of Bristol began to realise who this eloquent man was had so moved that great crowd, and two days later he was ed to in the *Times and Mirror* in most abusive and scurrilous , whilst the *Wiltshire County Mirror* tried to work upon magination of its more timid readers by drawing a lurid e of what was likely to happen if the Reformers were phant: "Mr Beales is not a professed infidel, we believe, e are persuaded that his religious convictions and feelings f a very indiarubber kind. . . . . Let these two gentlemen Bradlaugh and Mr G. J. Holyoake] have their way, and there be an end to the institution of marriage, and communism all its abominations would be established amongst us." a too fertile imagination has carried a man thus far it is lt to see why he should not put even a little more colour on brush; as it was, his statements only frightened "old ladies" uline and feminine), and so served the purpose of political, us, or social intriguers. In this case it was the political iers who were specially served, for it was considered a notion to associate Mr Beales—and through him the cause form—with "Infidelity," the abolition of "the institution rriage," and the "abominations" of Communism. The deas well mixed together by not over-scrupulous writers, such a fine jumble that the ignorant and pious could not distinguish the one from the other.

* The *Bristol Daily Post*.

In London, during the autumn and winter, Mr Bradlaugh s for the Reform League at Chelsea, Cleveland Hall, Batte Pimlico, South Lambeth, the Pavilion Theatre, Whitechapel many other places, but the note we found struck in the *Wilt County Mirror* reverberated with such force that at length father said that he was not sure whether "the course taken b cowardly respectable press in denouncing the movement a infidel one, may not render it wiser for me to leave the plat advocacy of Reform at the large gatherings to men whose reli or irreligious views are not so well known as my own." But a few weeks later he was re-elected upon the Executive o Reform League, he resolved to allow no sneer at his cree influence him; no slander to make him hesitate, but to do his whatever that best might be, to aid in winning the battle

"between Tory obstructiveness and the advancing masses; be vested interests and human happiness; between pensioned and sa lordlings and landowners' off-shoots on the one hand, and the b handed bread-winner on the other." "The people must wi said.

Yes, "the people must win"—in the end; but complete ma suffrage is not ours yet, and universal suffrage is still far off. people must win," but Oh how long the winning; and alas cost to the victors.

In October Mr Bradlaugh was speaking for the Leag Northampton. I wonder whether there are Northampton who still remember that Reform demonstration held in their in the autumn of sixty-six, when they carried out their progr in the pelting, pitiless rain, just as "cheerily and as steadfas though it had been sunshine and a clear sky." Do they reme the procession, I wonder, when men and women marched th the incessant downpour, the women as earnest as the And the meetings in the Corn Exchange and the Mech Institute, where Mr Bradlaugh's speeches were received with applause by an enthusiastic audience? There was a meeting Town Hall too, to which he went at Col. Dickson's invit though on arriving it was only to find that the Town Hal reserved for the "respectable great guns," and therefore the no room for him on that platform. But other times, other cu and many a time has the Northampton Town Hall rung wi

since that wet October day twenty-eight years ago, when, proud to intrude," he went away slighted and scorned.

eat spontaneity and heartiness met him at Luton, which, ugh a small town in a small county, gave us great welcome," Mr Bradlaugh. It had been arranged that a conference of ates (amongst whom were Mr Beales and Mr Bradlaugh, enting London) should be held previous to the Town Hall ng, at Messrs Willis & Co.'s factory, but, much to the ment of the delegates, when they reached the factory gates found a meeting of several thousand persons collected there ut call or summons; the gathering was such as "no living ad ever seen in that still increasing town." * Every one was ious to hear the speakers from London and elsewhere that nference of delegates was abandoned, and a public meeting once held in Park Square, an open space in the centre of wn. The *Mercury* devoted a little leader to this Reform stration at Luton, in which it said that

> erse and argumentative speech of Mr Bradlaugh roused the feelings thousands assembled to their highest pitch, and as he put the case rm in a clear light he was most enthusiastically applauded."*

the course of his address, which was interrupted again and by the cheering of his audience, he felt it incumbent upon o deny that these meetings partook of the character of al force demonstrations. Hundreds of thousands of working he pointed out, had assembled and kept their own order when the police in their officiousness had failed to preserve his denial was made necessary by the attitude taken up e Tories and weak Liberals who began to be frightened e growth of popular opinion as exhibited in these great rderly outdoor and indoor meetings which were taking very week in London and the provinces. In order to hide ear of *opinion* they began to pretend fear of physical force, y dint of crying "Wolf" often and loudly they did not elief into disbelief like the boy in the story, but reversed rocess, and were at length believed by men who ought

---

lford Mercury of November 24th.

Morning Star (London) of November 22nd also notes the enthusiasm d by Mr Bradlaugh's "animated speech."

to have known a great deal better. Take, for example, Ma
Arnold, who a year or so later made a wholly unprovoked
upon Mr Bradlaugh, speaking of him as "Mr Bradlaugh
Iconoclast, who seems to be almost for baptizing us all in
and fire into his new social dispensation;" and again,
Bradlaugh is evidently capable, if he had his head given
of running us all into great dangers and confusion."*
pious journals were of course always and increasingly al
at the growing popular influence of the hated and de
Atheist, and tried their best to counteract it, each accordi
its lights. The most common way was to decry him: th
was not "endowed with superior attainments," nor had he
faculty or power of teaching other men." And after devot
column or so to showing how mean were his intellectual p
the Christian critic would then proceed in the like amiable f
to decry Mr Bradlaugh's personal appearance.

Just about this time Mr Bradlaugh expressed himself u
small matter which will strike a chord in the memories of
of those who took part in meetings with him. I mean
at processions. He said he was glad to note "a strong disp
on the part of the Executive [of the Reform League] to
the use of bands of music in our future processions. Ten tho
men tramping seriously along the streets towards Westm
will be unmistakable evidence of our earnestness." T
the first public expression of his feeling on this subjec
I have come across, but there will still be many who can
how much Mr Bradlaugh objected to a serious procession
accompanied by flying flags and a beating drum. A gala m
on a Northumberland or Durham moor was one thing, bu
proceeding together in orderly fashion to soberly demand a
or strenuously protest against a wrong was another. But
like noise and merriment, even when they are very mu
earnest, and my father often had to submit to the band a
banner, although in his heart he wished them well at home.

He generously determined that his lectures should n
the League one farthing. True, his Freethought friends
him as much as lay in their power, but they were poor, a

* Essay in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1868, reprinted in book form as "
and Anarchy."

ands upon their purses many, so that at the end of the year 6 he found that in work for the League he had spent out of own pocket £30 in mere travelling and hotel expenses.

t the quarterly election of officers in December 1866 Mr llaugh was again elected upon the Executive, and he appealed is friends to show renewed activity in the time of hard work ch he felt lay before them. On February 11th (1867) the gue held two mass meetings, one in the afternoon at Trafalgar are, and one in the evening at the Agricultural Hall. The falgar Square meeting was, if possible, "more complete, more rly, and more resolute" than any previous one. Mr Baxter gley and Mr Bradlaugh were appointed "deputy marshals;" were mounted, and wore tri-coloured scarves and armlets ave my father's now). It was their special duty to see that r was kept, and their office was no sinecure; for although the body was entirely orderly, still on the outskirts there was ir sprinkling of people who had come "to see the fun," and bent on seeing it, even if they had to make it for themselves. form of creating "fun" was the snatching off hats and wing them into the fountain basins; another was throwing es from above on to the crowd below. This dangerous amuse- was checked by Mr Bradlaugh, who, singling out a young w who had thrown a stone from the front of the National ery, rode his horse right up the steps in pursuit. The young escaped amongst his companions, but Mr Bradlaugh's energy ed that form of "fun." That poor little brown horse! ould be difficult to say which was the more tired, horse or , before they parted company that day; the horse was l—as I have heard my father say—for the weight it had arry, and my father had not crossed a horse since he left army in 1853. For six and a half hours they kept together, and both must have been heartily glad when reached the Agricultural Hall, and the little brown horse home to his stall and his supper whilst Mr Bradlaugh went e to speak.*

---

n a general "damnatory" description of the demonstration given from ub window," which appeared in the *Times* of February 12th, there is a ture of Mr Bradlaugh, spiteful in intent, but amusing and really sting if one looks between the would-be scornful words. We are told a dapper youth, mounted on a brown horse, exerted himself to make up

The day wound up with the meeting in the Agricultural H which was addressed by professors, clergymen, and member Parliament, Irishmen, Scotchmen, and men like Ernest Jo directly representing the working men. Never was there su wonderful sight as this gathering. At the previous Agricult Hall meeting "the vast hall presented a surging mass of hu beings without form or coherence;" this time it was a solid b of thousands upon thousands of citizens with faces all anxio upturned towards the platform. I know not whether it arranged that Mr Bradlaugh should be one of the speakers or but in any case he was called for again and again by the audie and in response made a brief but earnest speech.

At the next quarterly meeting of the Reform League he re-elected on the Executive by a vote of five-sixths of t present, although he had made a grave declaration to the Co "that events were possible which would necessitate hol meetings under conditions forbidden by Act of Parliament, that he, having determined if needful to resist the Governm decision as to Hyde Park, did not desire to remain on the Exec of a body whom he might injure by a policy too advanced."

The storm of abuse now broke over Mr Bradlaugh's head in force—always with intent to damage the Reform League, fo enemies had not yet taken the measure of his power and portions. For the moment he was merely considered as a we

---

for the shortcomings of the public force, and was a host in himself. H evidently a man in authority, and acted in close connection with the R magnates, whose carriages stopped the way before our doors. He raise whip as freely as if it had been a constable's truncheon or gendarme's sword, and apostrophised, or—why should I not say the word—bullie crowd in a tone and with manners which would have done an alguazil's good. The sovereign people put up with the man's arrogance with incr meekness and patience, and allowed itself to be marshalled hithe thither as if the Queen's highway were the Leaguers' special property a public were mere intruders."

The "Club" man was evidently irritated that these same people w Hyde Park had refused to obey a police proclamation backed by a free the truncheon and display of the bayonet, yet implicitly obeyed the " mounted on a brown horse" whose only authority was derived from th the people bore him. The sneer as to "tone" and "manners" is not noticing; you cannot issue commands to tens of thousands in Tr Square in the same gentle tone in which you can ask for the salt to be across the dinner-table.

e used unscrupulously, and pointed with lies. In this method arfare the *Saturday Review** at one bound took a front place. *Standard* on the 11th of March reprinted from it the article, ho are the Leaguers?" from which journals all over the try took their lead. It was in this article of the *Saturday ew* that Mr Bradlaugh is made responsible for the story of the natical Monkeys" written by Charles Southwell (who probably ed it from some old fable), and rewritten from memory by Adams, who sent it to the *National Reformer*, where it was ished on February 17, 1867. This story was reproduced in a lred shapes, and of course my father was said to be the author l of them, a proof, asserted these veracious ones, of his utter avity. I have noted a letter of Mr Bradlaugh's, written in , in which he asked to deny the story for at least "the redth time;" but denial was of little use; the lie sown by the *rday Review* in March 1867, like most other ill weeds, e apace, and was even repeated so late as two years ago. king in Trafalgar Square on March 11th, where as usual he 'loudly called for," † he said those who were carrying on the gle had not entered into it without counting the cost, and, dent in their own strength and manhood, they were determined gaining their rights. He compared the people with a stless wave," and warned those who should dare "to stem tide." The *Weekly Dispatch* jeered at "the figurative laugh" for this speech, and, trying in its turn to injure the m League, suggested that the demonstrations were more me to the thieves than to any other class of metropolitan y. Others, like the *Sunday Times*, struck with the determination and confident purpose betokened in such a speech, chose erpret it to mean physical force, and said—

he Reform Leaguers throughout the country are beginning to talk n and must be watched. 'Iconoclast,' who, but for his disposition olence, would be altogether too vulgar for notice, systematically ens violation of the law, and defiance of the powers that be."

e *Sunday Times* then went on, in the same paragraph, to in terms of reprobation of "a person" who, at some meeting wcastle, urged that an attempt should be made to win the athies of the army, so that in the event of "a collision" the

* March 9th, 1867. † *Times*, March 12th, 1867.

people and the army would be on the same side. The remark
an unnamed person at some meeting at which Mr Bradlaugh
not even present, were thus used as though he were respon
for them.

Lord Derby's Government began to be frightened at the p
bilities evoked by its own fears and the determined persisten
the League. Special reporters were sent to the meetings in o
to verify speeches for the purposes of a prosecution, a co
which merely made the speakers more stern and more outspo
In May it was resolved to hold another mass meeting in H
Park: the Reform League leaders were convinced that they
the law on their side, and they meant to insist on their ri
Mr Edmund Beales issued an address to the men of Lon
calling upon them to meet the Council of the League in Hyde
on Monday evening, May 6th. "Come," he said, "as l
peaceful, and orderly citizens, enemies of all riot and tumult,
unalterably fixed and resolved in demanding and insisting
what you are entitled to. If time presses, stay not to for
processions, but come straight from your work, come wit
bands and banners." On the same evening that Mr B
address was read over to the Council of the League, an "adv
tion" from the Government was served upon the deleg
warning all persons "to abstain from attending, aiding, or ta
part in any such meeting, or from entering the Park with a
to attend, aid, or take part in such meeting."

Much pressure was put upon Mr Beales to prevent the me
from being held, but he, knowing that he and his colleagues
in the right, and *knowing that the Government knew it also*, pers
in the determination arrived at, after due deliberation, by
Council. The Government reluctantly, and at the last mom
that is, in the issue of the *Times* for May 6th—acknowledged
they had no power to eject the demonstrators from the
Having decided that they had not the law on their side,
Derby, snatching at a straw, thought the Park regulations
help them, and sent a message to the League in the afternoo
the meeting would be prohibited; and there was a talk o
secuting for trespass each person who had received the noti
prohibition. But all this "tall talk" was absolutely wi
effect: 200,000 persons went to the Park. Mr Bradlaugh wa
of the first to enter, and Platform No. 8 was a "very

ntre of attraction, for this was the scene of Mr Bradlaugh's atory."*

Mr Bradlaugh was, as I said, re-elected on the Executive of the ague on the full understanding that he had determined to resist e Government decision as to Hyde Park. During the spring- ne he lectured week after week in London and the provinces, t only bearing his own expenses, but on one occasion, at least, ually paying for tickets for his wife and friends. On May 6th, e demonstration maintaining the right of the people to meet in e people's park was held, in spite of Lord Derby's opposition and ohibition. On the following day, May 7th, Mr Bradlaugh ndered his resignation as vice-president and member of the uncil and the Executive of the Reform League; he took this urse "in order to deprive the enemies of reform of the pretext attack on the League afforded by my irreligion, and to save ne of the friends of the League from the pain of having their mes associated with my own." Especially Mr Bradlaugh praises honourable and straightforward conduct of Mr Beales, but eply regrets that he (Mr Beales) should have felt it necessary blicly to disclaim responsibility for his sayings, and hopes that resignation will relieve him from pain. The League only epted Mr Bradlaugh's resignation, as far as it related to the ecutive Council; he continued a Vice-President of the League m its foundation to the end, but after this date he rarely peared upon its platforms. If there should be trouble, and his vices were desired, he said, he was ready to do his duty; other- ie he preferred to remain aloof. Now, mark the generosity of opponents! Finding he did not appear as frequently as before the Reform platform, they began to circulate every reason for abstention save the true one—his honourable desire to aid the se of Reform even to the extent of self-effacement, since his secutors made that necessary. The *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1868 said:

Mr Bradlaugh, who furnished the *Saturday Reviewers* with an itional sting to articles in which his name was coupled with Mr les', avowed Atheistical views, but they met with so little favour t he had to leave the Committee of the Reform Association because rought discredit on the cause."

Mr Bradlaugh in reply asked if it was true his views found "little

* The *Standard*, May 7th.

favour," and answering his own question said, "Let the audien crowding the theatre at Huddersfield, the circus at Grimsby, t theatre at Northampton, the halls in London, Dublin, Newcast Ashton, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, and Bradford—let th enthusiastic audiences reply." And, in conclusion, he printed t letter from Mr Beales in reply to his resignation, which he h received in the previous May, but now for the first time ma public.

"4 STONE'S BUILDINGS, LINCOLN'S INN,
17*th May* 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Pray excuse my not having sooner answered, noticed, your letter of the 7th inst. to me, tendering your resignation a member of the Executive of the Reform League, and asking that yo name may be erased from the list of the Council and Vice-Presider I really have been in such a whirl of occupation since receiving yo letter that it was not in my power sooner to write to you, as I wish Meanwhile you have, I believe, received through Mr Cooper and oth intimation that the Executive were unwilling to accept your resig tion, and lose your services. In that unwillingness I concur, whils avail myself of this opportunity of communicating to you with utmost openness and frankness, and with very sincere regard, feelings in the matter. I have already expressed in public my str sense of the services you have rendered to the League by your abil and good sense, and of the invariable fidelity, delicacy, and admira taste with which you have studiously abstained from uttering a w at our meetings that could offend the religious scruples of the m sensitive or fastidious Christian. At the same time that your known published opinions on these matters (I do not allude to the subjec the *Saturday Review's* savage attack, which was not, I believe, fr your pen) have injured the League with many in a moral and pecuni point of view must, I am afraid, be admitted, though I doubt whet such injury has outweighed the aid you have rendered to the League your oratorical power and talent. At all events, I am not disposed allow the evil to have outweighed the good. You say that the cond of the Press in constantly coupling your name with mine has given pain. Well, it has, but not quite from the cause you suppose. I des from my soul the base motives of the writers in thus coupling names together, and it would only make me more strongly tender to the hand of friendship. But I do feel great pain at the thought man of your undoubted ability, and, I believe, purity of purp and high honesty, being in such a position from your antagonism Christianity as to make men imagine that they could pain or injure or the League by thus coupling our names together.

"C. BRADLAUGH. "E. BEALES

Mr George Howell, the Secretary, had also written expressing his
p regret at my father's resignation, and testifying to the kindly
sideration shown himself, and to the earnest and powerful
ocacy and support given to the objects of the League.
Probably in consequence of the form taken by these aspersions
Bradlaugh was again elected on the Executive Council in
ember 1868.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROVINCIAL LECTURING, 1866-1869.

I WILL take up once more the story of my father's lectur experiences in the provinces by telling of the Mayor's attempt prevent the delivery of some lectures he had agreed to give Liverpool, in the middle of October 1866. The subjects to dealt with were: "The Pentateuch: without it Christianity nothing; with it, Humanity is impossible;" "The Twe Apostles," and "Kings, Lords, and Commons." The b announcing these particulars were posted all over the town, seem to have much alarmed the Mayor. This gentleman wa Methodist, and held such peculiar ideas concerning the duties chief magistrate of so important a place as Liverpool that preferred, for example, attending a Scripture Readers' tea-p rather than the banquet given to the layers of the Atlantic Ca at which he was expected. It can be easily understood that s a Mayor would be greatly disturbed by the possibility of atheistic criticism of the Pentateuch and the twelve Apostles. great was his perturbation that he consulted with the C Constable, Major Greig, with the result that the latter sent subordinates to the lessee of the theatre to explain to him tha must close his doors against the wicked "Iconoclast." The les hesitating, was carried before the Chief Constable himself, v speaking with all the majesty of his office, told him that lectures could not be allowed. On Saturday night (13th Octobe Mr Bradlaugh's agent, Mr Cowan, called upon the lessee for keys, but was informed that he had been ordered not to permit meetings to be held. Poor lessee! between the upper and nether millstone he got very little peace. Mr Cowan, considerable discussion, took him, late at night though it wa Mr Bradlaugh. Mr Bradlaugh had gone to bed, but got u

* The lectures were announced for the following day.

summons, and all three went to the Chief Constable's, but hing was to be done there at that time of night. In the morning lessee accepted Mr Bradlaugh's written indemnity against all sequence, and my father was permitted to lecture unmolested, ough he and his friends were much diverted to find detectives, ice, and magistrates amongst the audience.

A fortnight later Mr Bradlaugh was due in Glasgow, and on his to Scotland made a little halt at Newcastle. For some weeks a clergyman, the Rev. David King, sufficiently well known in ain circles, had been playing the braggart in the north of land. All, and nothing short of all, the "Infidels" were afraid im; none dare meet him in debate—if he had modestly stopped hat, there would have been little harm done, but to his boasts added gross slanders of Freethinkers, both living and dead, vidually and in the mass. My father went up north at the t moment, for on Saturday, 27th October, this Mr D. King was ounced to lecture at Bedlington on Secularists and their ersions; the Newcastle Freethinkers, who were highly indig-, asked Mr Bradlaugh to break his journey to Scotland in r to come and give the reverend slanderer a lesson, and this he ed to do. "The news of Iconoclast's coming had spread wildfire," said Elijah Copeland in a report he wrote at the ; * and since then I have heard from a Northumberland nd how swiftly the tidings spread from man to man, and from ge to village, that Iconoclast was coming to teach David King tle truth and modesty. The excitement was so great that the ure Hall at Bedlington was hardly opened before it was full— the hour came, and no Iconoclast. David King commenced address—full as usual of boasts of himself and insults to larists. Time sped on lightning wings; every moment nsified the anxiety, every movement, every outside sound eased the excitement. To many Mr Bradlaugh was known by fame, and if a fresh person came into the hall the question, that he?" was eagerly whispered round the room, only to be ered by those better informed with a reluctant shake of the . A little man sitting on the platform attracted some tion. "Could *that* be the redoubtable Iconoclast?" asked of the anxious ones; no one seemed to know the stranger,

* *National Reformer.*

and at last the feeling grew so intense that some one put
question directly to the unknown man on the platform, and w
out surprise he received the obvious answer. The lecture
nearing its close, and as all danger of the threatened opposit
seemed passing away the lecturer's language grew more and m
unrestrained. When, hark! what was that? A noise outside
many feet, a loud determined knock, the door thrown o
impetuously, letting in a flood of fresh cold air, and with it
almost-despaired-of Iconoclast, who was greeted with deafen
cheers. When the real man came, no one had any doubt as
his identity—he was recognised at once by all. David Ki
tone changed directly, and when the time for discussion came
Bradlaugh gave the lesson he had come to teach, to the unboun
delight and satisfaction of all the Freethinkers present. After
discussion came the return drive of twelve or fourteen miles in
cold and the rain to Newcastle, which was reached at two in
morning. While my father snatched a couple of hours' sl
some of his friends sat and watched in order to rouse him for
Scotch express, which passed through Newcastle about five o'cl
Arrived at Edinburgh, my father found he had twenty minutes
wait, so he thought he would get some breakfast, but "alas!"
he, "it was Sunday morning, and starvation takes precedence
damnation in the *unco guid* city. Instead of drinking hot co
I had to shiver in the cold, admiring the backs of the tum
down-looking houses in the high "toon" for want of be
occupation. I arrived in Glasgow just one hour before the t
fixed for the morning lecture—dirty, weary, hungry, thirsty,
sleepy." *

After the evening lecture Mr Bradlaugh had to hurry from
platform of the Eclectic Hall to catch the train which steamed
of Glasgow at twenty minutes to nine, so that he might b
time for Monday morning's business in the city, having spent
nights out of bed, travelled about 900 miles, and spoke
Bedlington and three times in Glasgow in less than forty-e
hours.

Four weeks from the day of his Glasgow lectures,† my fa
was arrested at Huddersfield. Two accounts of this were g
in the *National Reformer*, one from the pen of Mr Bradlaugh,

* *National Reformer*, November 4 (1866).

† On November 25 (1866).

from that of a gentleman who was with him the greater part
ne time. It was a case of "the Devonport blunder" being
ated by 'the Religious Party of Huddersfield."
ne Philosophical Hall, which for some little time previously
been used as a theatre, had been duly taken for "three
res by Iconoclast;" there was a written agreement, the
sit paid, and a harmonium taken by the Huddersfield Free-
ght Society into the Hall. Placards announcing the subjects
ne lectures ("Temperance," "Reform," and "The Twelve
tles") and the name of the lecturer were posted more than a
ight beforehand throughout the town and upon the hall
. On Saturday, at the eleventh hour, the proprietor, Mr
on Price, secretly urged by persons too cowardly to appear
selves—at least, so it was rumoured—resolved that the
res should not take place, and on Sunday morning Mr
laugh "found the doors of the building locked and barred,
he police authorities on the alert. I tried," he tells us, "to
admittance, but the wooden barriers were far stronger than
noulders, and after bruising myself more than the doors, and
ng in the rain for about forty minutes, while some sort of
bar was vainly searched for, I returned very disconsolate to
dgings. Several members of the Huddersfield Society begged
lecture in Senior's schoolroom, but I positively refused;
were friends in from the country for miles round who could
e contained in so small a meeting-place. The Yorkshire
y was roused, and a dozen volunteers started to open the door;
lowed, and came in time to twist a crowbar into curious
s, and be arrested by the police and lodged in the station.
st I was ordered into a cell; my money, watch and chain,
toothpick, and other dangerous weapons being taken from
As, however, since Devonport, where the lock-up was damp,
ect to cells on principle, I gently argued the matter, and
ately the presiding authority announced that I should be let
I could get a magistrate to become bail. This was not very
ble, and looked like being locked up for two whole days,
o good friends not only started to arrange with some local
rate about bail, but actually succeeded. During the time
ere absent I had, however, effected my own release from
y without any bail at all. . . . . When the charge was
d by Superintendent Hannan, who, I am bound to say,

behaved in a most gentleman-like and courteous manner, I a
discussed the matter, and ultimately the stage-manager said
would find bail if I would agree not to lecture. This I indigna
refused. I came to lecture, and I meant to lecture; and a
many *pour parlers*, I walked out of custody without any o
condition than my word of honour to appear before the magistr
to answer the charge on the following Tuesday. The news sp
like wildfire, and I had an enormous audience, crowding
theatre from floor to ceiling, the chiefs of the police honourin
with their presence."

People had come from far and near to hear him
ture—from Dewsbury, Bradford, Leeds, Halifax, Manches
and elsewhere, and great was the dismay when it was found
the Hall doors were closed against them. When it was kn
that he would not lecture in the schoolroom, and he
determined to make an effort to force the doors, volunteers for
work immediately stepped forward; they begged him "to k
out of action" until the doors were down; but to look on wh
others got into trouble never came easy to my father. So
took a crowbar and helped with the rest, and the twisted iron
preserved in triumph by some Huddersfield friends until a
years ago. They attacked the pit and gallery door in Bull and Mo
Street, and their united exertions soon threw it open to the cr
impatiently waiting to enter. The Police Office was next
to the Philosophical Hall, so the police were able to watch
proceedings with little trouble to themselves. When they arre
Mr Bradlaugh, so great was the indignation of the crowd that
even threatened to rescue him by main force, and guards of p
were hastily put at all weak places. It was, however, Mr B
laugh himself who relieved the fears of his captors. He se
message to his friends, asking them to leave peacefully and wit
disorder, assuring them that he would be all right. In compli
with his request the people who thronged the hall quietly
persed, only one person remaining behind to keep possessio
the theatre. Messrs Armitage and Mitchell rushed off in a ca
find a magistrate liberal enough to become bail for the impris
Atheist, and during their absence—on what seemed an impos
errand—Mr Bradlaugh sent word from the police-station to
committee that he would lecture at half-past six. This mes
was received with the wildest enthusiasm, but since Mr Bradl

still in the hands of the police and it was then four o'clock, it ed, on reflection, highly improbable. But the first messenger rapidly followed by a second, bringing word that "Iconoclast" free once more. On his appearance on the platform of the osophical Hall at the appointed time the enthusiasm and ement were unbounded, and his lecture on "Reform" was to have been "one of the most splendid and eloquent he had lelivered."

n the following Tuesday Mr Bradlaugh had to appear before Huddersfield magistrates. Though there were five upon the h—only two, G. Armitage, Esq., and S. W. Haigh, Esq.— l the case. Naturally enough, the Court was densely crowded, many were unable to obtain admission. Mr Nehemiah oyd prosecuted. This attorney was defined as "a gentleman ding to Act of Parliament," though it does not appear that ad any other claim to the title. In the case against Mr laugh he conducted himself with such effrontery and coarse- as to make it more than ever evident that Acts of Parliament their limitations. My father was charged with doing damage e door of the Huddersfield Theatre to the amount of twenty- shillings: after this charge was read another charge of itting a breach of the peace was brought forward. Mr laugh suggested that each charge should be gone into ately: Mr Learoyd would have them taken together, and magistrates decided in his favour. The case for the prosecu- was opened and witnesses called. Mr Bradlaugh raised an tion to the jurisdiction of the Court, and after some argument ome further examination of witnesses, the magistrates retired nsider the point. After an interval of ten minutes they ned, having decided in Mr Bradlaugh's favour that they had risdiction. Mr Learoyd then, with unblushing effrontery, d to proceed with the second charge—the breach of the ; but he had elected at the outset to take both charges ner, and by that he was compelled to abide. The decision of magistrates was greeted with instant applause, which was of rebuked by the Court. The case was reported at length by *Huddersfield Examiner* and the *Huddersfield Chronicle*, and l for Mr Bradlaugh many friends in Huddersfield and the nding districts. And thus for once was bigotry frustrated.

the following Sunday Mr Bradlaugh was lecturing at New-

castle, and many people, women as well as men, came in distance of fifteen and twenty miles to hear him. One man told how h had come thirty-eight miles "to get a grip" of my father's hand Two days after this he was at Northampton, where he foun himself becoming quite "respectable," and, "to the horror of th saints and my own surprise," he said, he was permitted the use o the Mechanics' Institute for his discourses. A week or so lat he was lecturing in the great Free Trade Hall, Manchester, o behalf of the widow and family of his late colleague, John Watt He gave himself no rest in body or mind, nor did he seem to rela the strain for a moment. The old year closed, and 1867 opene with a course of lectures at the City Road Hall, at one of whic by the by, it is interesting to note that Mr Bradlaugh defende Mr Gladstone from an attack made upon his sincerity of purpos "believing him to be the most able and honest statesman who the people have on their side."

Notwithstanding all his lecturing, the great quantity of litera work he was then engaged upon, the Reform Demonstrations, an harassing private business, Mr Bradlaugh yet found time in th spring of 1867 to engage in a six nights' debate with the Re J. M'Cann, M.A., curate of St Paul's, Huddersfield. The di cussion was arranged to take place in the theatre, or Philosophic Hall, which had been forcibly closed against the Freethinkers on a few months before. The preliminaries to the debate were little ominous: in the first place Mr Bradlaugh was obliged agree to the terms dictated by his religious antagonist (or h committee), otherwise there would have been no discussion; an above and beyond this the Rev. Mr M'Cann "refused to debate the name Iconoclast be used, and therefore it will be Charl Bradlaugh who answers for the shortcomings of Iconoclast, desp the injury in business caused by the wide publicity recently giv to the name and thus repeated." *

The debate arose out of some "Anti-Secularist lectures" whi Mr M'Cann had been delivering in Huddersfield, presumabl inspired thereto by the sensation caused by the theatre episode the previous November. The subjects of these lectures were to discussed for six nights, three hours each night, Mr Bradlau attacking and Mr M'Cann defending. Mr M'Cann, who was

* C. Bradlaugh in *National Reformer*, March 1867.

Irishman, and who from the active part he was taking in the Literary and Scientific Society and other institutions of the town, was regarded as a "rising young man," rather disappointed many of the Freethinkers after the first two nights' discussion. Immovably confident in the ability of their own representative, they were anxious to see him meet someone worthy of his steel. Mr Bradlaugh's opinion, expressed at the conclusion of the six nights, was that Mr M'Cann was a fluent, ready speaker, honest and earnest, although no great debater.*

The year 1868 was a terribly busy one: the Irish question (of which I will speak later), the first Government prosecution of the *National Reformer*, and his first Parliamentary candidature for Northampton, kept my father constantly hard at work. During the year he lectured frequently in London, besides visiting Grimsby, Bedlington, Newcastle, Hull, West Bromwich, Birmingham, Kettering, Northampton, Huddersfield, Bradford, Sheffield, Ashton, Manchester, Bury, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Keighley, Sunderland, Plymouth, and other towns.

At Huddersfield he was always welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm, although some of the inhabitants still seemed determined to resist his visits. As the theatre was too small to accommodate all his auditors, the Huddersfield Committee took the circus for some addresses which he had arranged to deliver in the town in March. The Improvement Commissioners, however, eager to imitate the conduct of Mr Morton Price of a year and a half before, drew back from their agreement to let. Then a curious thing happened. When he was aware of the behaviour of the Commissioners, Mr Morton Price himself offered the Huddersfield Freethinkers the use of the theatre; and not only did he let it to them, but he gave a special advertisement of the meetings. The advertisement was so peculiarly and significantly worded that I reproduce it:

"Theatre Royal, Huddersfield.

"Mr Morton Price begs to inform the nobility, gentry, and general public of Huddersfield that, finding his efforts to preserve his theatre from Atheism and Profanity *so appreciative and remunerative*, he has let the said theatre for a series of lectures by Mr Bradlaugh, the 'Iconoclast,' on Sunday next, March 15th, 1868."

In connection with the Manchester lectures also an amusing

* No verbatim report of this discussion was ever published.

incident took place. It may be remembered that a man name William Murphy was about this time lecturing in different par of England on behalf of the Protestant Church in Ireland, an his conduct had been so strange, and his language so inflammator that in the north he had been the cause of some very serious "N Popery" riots. In Manchester he was arrested, and his lecture practically prohibited. My father going to Manchester just aft this prohibition, it occurred to certain good Christians that th might perhaps be turned to account against him. Consequentl when he arrived in Manchester on the Saturday night (Septemb 5th) prior to his Sunday lectures, he found all kinds of rumours i circulation, friends even telling him that there were warrants ou for his arrest. This was much exaggerated, and what really ha happened was this: On the Friday, at the City Police Cour before the stipendiary magistrate, Mr Fowler, an application ha been made by Mr Bennett, solicitor, for proceedings to be take against Mr Charles Bradlaugh, then announced to deliver a seri of lectures in the Free Trade Hall on Sunday. "The swor information of a respectable householder, living in Boundar Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock," was forthcoming that the lectur could not take place "without giving rise to a breach of the peace There was no contention that any overt acts of violence had ev been committed on account of these lectures; nevertheless, "th respectable householder"—whose name was afterwards stated to b Smith—thought they ought to be prohibited, "as in the case Mr Murphy." Mr Fowler argued the cases were very differen and suggested that Mr Bennett should look up his law, and the if he thought his position satisfactory, he could attend on th following morning with his witnesses. So much, indeed, M Bradlaugh had gathered from the London papers read on h journey northwards. Arrived at his journey's end, he was still suspense as to what had happened that day, and the friends wh met the train could not set his anxieties at rest. However, fro an evening paper he learned that Mr Bennett had not found an further support in law for his application, which the magistra told him must consequently fail. He said further:

"You say this case is similar to that of William Murphy, whose ca was heard in this Court on Tuesday last. But it appears to me ve different. We must be very careful indeed as magistrates not to inte fere in any way with the freedom of discussion, and in no way by t

lecision of Tuesday, as far as I can see, have we done so. In the case before us on Tuesday it was proved on oath that William Murphy was about to deliver a series of lectures, which he had already given in other towns, where, from his own conduct, and the threatening attitude he assumed by producing a revolver, and other acts, very serious riots had arisen, followed by great destruction of property and even danger to life; and from what was proved before us as to what had already taken place in this city since the announcement of these lectures, it appeared there was every probability of the same thing occurring here. To prevent this—exercising the power which as magistrates, in my opinion, we undoubtedly have—we called upon the defendant, William Murphy, to enter upon his recognisances for his good behaviour; you mark the words, 'good behaviour,' Mr Bennett. That, of course, includes keeping the peace; and under similar circumstances to those proved before us, we should certainly do the same whether the defendant was Roman Catholic, Protestant, or of any other denomination. Now, I think you have entirely failed to show in the application you made yesterday that any such result has ensued, or is likely to ensue, from the lectures about to be given by the person against whom you apply. Therefore the application is refused."

The upshot of this application at the Police Court was a wide advertisement of the lectures, an intense excitement, and anxiety to hear the lecturer. The *Saturday Review*, true to the feelings of bitter animosity which it cherished against Mr Bradlaugh, thought that

> it might perhaps be plausibly argued that the same reasons which weighed with them [the magistrates] when they refused to restrain Mr Iconoclast Bradlaugh from attacking and insulting all religions, might also have influenced them when they were asked to restrain Murphy from insulting one form of the Christian faith."

The *Saturday Review* elsewhere spoke of Manchester as having been "the theatre of riots" in consequence of Murphy's behaviour and of the "savage brutality" exhibited. No sort of disturbance could be alleged as resulting from Mr Bradlaugh's lectures, but anything was "plausible" to the *Saturday Review* as against him.

Of course this rushing about from city to city, and several hours' speaking in crowded halls sandwiched in between the long railway journeys, meant a great physical strain.

In February my father tells how he had travelled on the previous Saturday in a tremendous storm to Morpeth for Bedlington, arriving at Morpeth (five or six miles from Bedlington) at the very hour at which he ought to have been on the platform. "A

rapid wash while horses were being got ready; no time for te and off we sped to our destination, where we found the litt hall crowded with an eager and appreciative audience, some whom had walked many miles to be present." A midnig return drive with storm most furiously raging, and then to Ne castle, where three lectures were delivered on the Sunday. "I forty-eight hours I travelled nearly 630 miles, delivered fo lectures, and came back to that daily toil for that life-subsisten which is so hard to win. I need hardly add that the me travelling expenses on such a journey swallow up all profit derivab from the lectures." The Glasgow and Edinburgh lectures in t beginning of August meant "one thousand miles and four lectur in two days and three nights, and back to business by ten Monday." At the end of August another visit to Newcast meant "another six hundred miles and three lectures in one d and a half and two nights, following upon no less than three ope air addresses at Northampton."

In the following year my father continued to do a great deal of pu lic speaking. His home troubles were growing greater, and his bus ness life in the city was daily becoming more difficult, but this seem only to make him toil the harder in that cause of religious and po tical progress which lay so near his heart. At the new Hall Science, 142 Old Street, which had just been leased in the interes of the Freethought party, Mr Bradlaugh delivered in the ye upwards of forty lectures, for none of which he received a sing penny, devoting the whole of the proceeds towards paying t debt upon the building. He did not allow any one month pass without giving one or more Sundays to the New Hall. lectured several times also at the hall in Cleveland Street; and the latter part of the year, for the most part, he visited thirty more provincial towns, at many of which he gave three discour on the Sunday. In 1869 also Mr Bradlaugh took part in examination into alleged spiritualistic phenomena held by t London Dialectical Society, but without any satisfactory resul Undoubtedly the chief event of the year for him was his fi defeat of the Government in their prosecution of the *Natio Reformer*, and through this the repeal of the odious Security la He was involved in another law-suit, which, as we shall see lat led to the amending of the laws relating to evidence.

Matters went rather more smoothly with my father's provinc

cturing this year; no town seemed to be sufficiently encouraged
the course of affairs in Devonport and Huddersfield to follow
eir example very closely. But still he met with some rebuff. For
stance, when he was at Blyth on April 3rd, the innkeepers there
ere all so pious that none would give him food or shelter. April
d was a Saturday, not a Sunday, so there was not even the
me excuse of keeping the Sabbath Day holy by refusing to
rbour an Atheist. The people of Blyth who undertook to
ovide for the creature comforts of the inhabitants and visitors
ust have been bigoted to the last degree, for in the week before
r Bradlaugh's visit, a coffee-house keeper had refused to supply
th tea some persons who were rash enough to admit that they
d attended Mrs Law's lectures. Happily, such churlish bigotry
as by no means universal, for the Blyth Lecture Hall was so
owded when Mr Bradlaugh arrived that he had to gain
mittance through a back window. He afterwards related how
one hearty fellow and two or three Unitarians volunteered to give
a night's shelter, but I was unaware of this until I had made
arrangements for a midnight walk in the dark to Bedlington
der escort of half a dozen stalwart fellows." This is the occa-
n to which Mr Thomas Burt referred in his article in the
imitive Methodist Quarterly Review for July 1891. Mr Burt
ere says that all the ordinary halls and schoolrooms were refused
Mr Bradlaugh, but that a gentleman, Mr Richard Fynes, who
d recently purchased a chapel, and was a true lover of free
eech, granted the use of his building to the Bedlington Secular
ciety. Mr Burt, who had gone from curiosity to hear Mr
adlaugh, at the close of the meeting asked him and some friends
me to supper. His people were rather horror-stricken, but,
th true courtesy, allowed nothing of it to appear to their guest,
d the supper passed off quite smoothly, Mr Bradlaugh making
nself very agreeable. It is rather curious that Mr Burt had no
a how *àpropos* his hospitality was. It was not until after he
d given his invitation that he learned that in all Blyth there
s no place of refreshment that would open its doors to the
heist.

But unfortunately it was not only to Mr Bradlaugh himself
t violence was used or threatened: those who attended his
tures or who were suspected of sympathising with his opinions
metimes ran considerable risk. For instance, he had been

lecturing at Portsmouth on Monday, May 10th, on the Iri
Church and the Land Question, and his lecture created consid
able excitement in the town. Shortly afterwards a "convert
clown" was holding forth on Portsea Common, and a man s
pected to be in sympathy with Mr Bradlaugh stayed to liste
The converted one frequently addressed the new-comer as
"unhappy infidel animal," and so worked upon his pious listen
that in the end they turned upon the "infidel," who was "hiss
hooted, kicked, cuffed, and knocked about so unmercifully th
he sought protection" in flight. The whole brutal mob p
sued and overtook him, "his clothes were almost torn fr
him, and but for the assistance of several passers-by—some
whom also received rough treatment—he would probably ha
been killed." *

True, everywhere he went my father met with hate and scor
yet everywhere he went he also met with a trust and love such
falls to the lot of few men to know. The hate and scorn pas
over him, scarce leaving a trace, but the love and trust went de
into his heart, making up, as he said, for "many disappointmen
At Keighley "two veterans, one eighty and one seventy-thr
walked eleven miles to hear me lecture; and at Shipley anot
greeted me, seventy-six years old, asking for one more grip of
hand before he died."† On Mr Bradlaugh's return journey fr
Yorkshire, at every station between Leeds and Keighley men a
women came to bid him good-bye; from a dozen districts rou
they came, "old faces and young ones, men, women, a
smiling girls," and he was moved to the utmost depths of
nature to see how their love for him grew with his ev
visit.

Summer or winter, fair weather or foul, people would co
many and many a mile to hear him speak. At Over Darw
where he had some fine meetings that October, he found that so
of the poor folk had come in from a distance of "twenty-th
miles; many had come ten to sixteen miles, some walking stea
over the 'tops' through the mist and rain, and having to le
home as early as six in the morning in order to get to us;

* *West Sussex Gazette*, June 24th. And *these* are the people who affec
believe in Mr Bradlaugh's violence and coarseness! "Even so ye outwa
appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniqui

† C. Bradlaugh, in *National Reformer*, July 1869.

urdy old man declaring that he never missed when I was within renty-five miles of his home."*

I should like also to note here the open-mindedness shown about is time by a Catholic priest at Seghill. Mr Bradlaugh was to ture in the colliery schoolroom on "The Land, the People, and e Coming Struggle," but almost at the last moment the authori- s would have none of such a wicked man. Upon hearing this a atholic priest named Father O'Dyer allowed the lecture to take ace in his chapel at Annitsford, and he himself took the chair. r Bradlaugh, of course, greatly appreciated this unlooked-for kind- ss on the part of Father O'Dyer, though in his surprise at such wonted conduct he might humorously comment "the age of racles has recommenced."

In December Mr Bradlaugh was in Lancashire—one Saturday at iddleton, the next day at Bury, where considerable excitement d been created by the burning of the *National Reformer* in the ry Reform Club by one of the members; on Monday at crington, where the lecture was followed by a three hours' ive in the night across country, over bad and slippery roads, to eston to catch the London train. At Preston the station was ked up, but Mr Bradlaugh managed to get inside the porters' om, where there was happily a fire, by which he dozed until the in was due. "Then six hours' rail in the frosty night, and ck to city work for Tuesday morning. Who will buy our hopric?" he asked. But to this there was no reply.

---

* Of these Darwen lectures all the Preston papers gave long reports. The nservative *Preston Herald* thought that "the burning words of eulogium Mr Gladstone] that fell from the lips of the clever advocate" laid Mr dlaugh "open to the suspicion of having accepted a retainer and a brief n the astute statesman"! About 1200 persons attended each lecture, and "quiet village of Darwen was rendered as throng as a fair" by the influx people from so many of the surrounding villages.

CHAPTER XXV.

IRELAND.

I AM now come to a point in my father's history at which I m
confess my utter inability to give anything like a just account
his work. All I can do—in spite of great time and labour alm
fruitlessly spent in following up the slenderest clues—is to relat
few facts which must not be taken as a complete story, but mer
as indicating others of greater importance. The reason for
ignorance will be found in Mr Bradlaugh's own words written
1873:—

"My sympathy with Ireland and open advocacy of justice
the Irish nearly brought me into serious trouble. Some who w
afterwards indicted as the chiefs of the so-called Fenian movem
came to me for advice. So much I see others have written,
the rest of this portion of my autobiography I may write so
day. At present there are men not out of danger whom carel
words might imperil, and as regards myself I shall not be guilty
the folly of printing language which a Government might
against me." *

That "some day" of which he wrote never came; and to-day
know little more of what help he gave to the chiefs of the "
called Fenian movement" than we did in 1873. There is, howe
one man still living—perhaps there are two, but of the secon
am not quite sure—who could if he chose throw considerable li
upon this period; but this person I have been unable to rea
From the time when, by sending the 7th Dragoon Guards
Ireland, the English Government was kind enough to afford
newly enlisted Private Bradlaugh an opportunity of studying t
unfortunate country from within, and by sending him on dut
evictions to bring him face to face with the suffering her wretc

* *Autobiography.*

easantry had to endure—from that time (in the early fifties) until is death, English misgovernment of Ireland and the condition of he Irish people occupied a very prominent place in his thoughts. Between 1866 and 1868, while Ireland was in a state of agitation nd insurrection, he frequently brought the subject of her grievnces before his English audiences: articles on the Irish land uestion and the English in Ireland appeared in the *National Reformer*, and he himself took the Irish question as a frequent heme for his lectures. "Englishmen," he would say, "have long een eloquent on the wrongs of Poland and other down-trodden ations, insisting on their right to govern themselves; but they ave been singularly unmindful of their Irish brethren. Advocacy f the claims of Poland showed a love of liberty and freedom. dvocacy for Ireland spelled treason. The three great curses of reland were her beggars, her bogs, and her barracks. The reclaimng of the millions of acres of bogland, now waste, with proper ecurity for tenants, would diminish the beggars; and as bogs and eggars decreased, contentment would increase, and Government ould be deprived of all excuse for the retention of an armed orce." Talking in this strain, he would strive to win English ympathy for Ireland. At meeting after meeting he pointed out he evils of our Irish legislation, and won the thanks of Irishmen or his "outspoken language."

The Fenian Brotherhood, was, as we know, a secret association, ounded and framed by James Stephens, for the establishment of n Irish Republic. That the association was a secret one was the ault of the English Government, since it forbade all open and rderly meetings; and the more open agitation was suppressed, the ronger grew the Fenian movement. Some of the Fenian leaders, mongst whom were Colonel Kelly and General Cluseret, came to Ir Bradlaugh for legal advice; and one of the results of the any consultations held at Sunderland Villa was the framing of he following proclamation, which was published in the *Times* for Iarch 8th, 1867, at the end of two or three columns of excited counts of the Fenian rising in Ireland:—

"I. R.—Proclamation!—The Irish People to the World.

"We have suffered centuries of outrage, enforced poverty, and bitter isery. Our rights and liberties have been trampled on by an alien istocracy, who, treating us as foes, usurped our lands, and drew away om our unfortunate country all material riches. The real owners of

the soil were removed to make room for cattle, and driven across t ocean to seek the means of living and the political rights denied them at home; while our men of thought and action were condemn to loss of life and liberty. But we never lost the memory and ho of a national existence. We appealed in vain to the reason and sen of justice of the dominant powers. Our mildest remonstrances we met with sneers and contempt. Our appeals to arms were alwa unsuccessful. To-day, having no honourable alternative left, we agi appeal to force as our last resource. We accept the conditions of appe manfully deeming it better to die in the struggle for freedom than continue an existence of utter serfdom. All men are born with equ rights, and in associating together to protect one another and sha public burdens, justice demands that such associations should rest up a basis which maintains equality instead of destroying it. We therefo declare that, unable longer to endure the curse of monarchical gover ment, we aim at founding a republic, based on universal suffrage, whi shall secure to all the intrinsic value of their labour. The soil Ireland, at present in the possession of an oligarchy, belongs to us, t Irish people, and to us it must be restored. We declare also in favour absolute liberty of conscience, and the complete separation of Chur and State. We appeal to the Highest Tribunal for evidence of justice of our cause. History bears testimony to the intensity of o sufferings, and we declare, in the face of our brethren, that we inte no war against the people of England; our war is against the aristocra locusts, whether English or Irish, who have eaten the verdure of o fields—against the aristocratic leeches who drain alike our blood a theirs. Republicans of the entire world, our cause is your cause. O enemy is your enemy. Let your hearts be with us. As for you, wo men of England, it is not only your hearts we wish, but your arm Remember the starvation and degradation brought to your firesides the oppression of labour. Remember the past, look well to the futu and avenge yourselves by giving liberty to your children in the coni struggle for human freedom. *Herewith we proclaim the Irish Republi*

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT."

This proclamation was printed by Colonel Kelly,* who obtain possession of some printing works at Islington, and in one nig

* Headingley, p. 105.

t up this famous manifesto. Mr J. M. Davidson says that the cument was drawn by Mr Bradlaugh's hand.* Mr Adolphe Headingley † says that "the informers Massey and Corydon in eir evidence insist that Bradlaugh himself drew up the pro- amation." In spite of a very considerable search I have not yet en able to find the words used by Massey or Corydon; but on is point, at least, I am able to quote the highest authority—my her himself. I was talking to him in his study one day, and in e course of our conversation he pulled down a thick green lume—an Irish history—and opening it, put his finger upon this oclamation. "They say I wrote that," he said with a smile. And did you?" I asked. He then told me that the draft of the oclamation, as it left his study after being approved, *was* in his ndwriting; but that when he saw it in print he found that it d been altered after leaving his hands. Unfortunately, I did not over it with him to ask where it had been altered; but rds written by him in January 1868 throw a little light on the tter. He then said:

"I am against the present establishment of a republic in Ireland, cause, although I regard republicanism as the best form of vernment possible, I nevertheless think that the people of gland and of Ireland are yet too much wanting in true dignity d independence, and too ignorant of their political rights and ies, to at present make good republicans. We are growing dually towards the point of republican government; but it is , I think, the question of to-day. A forcible separation of land from England would not unnaturally be resisted by the er to her last drop of blood and treasure; and I do not believe t the Irish party are either strong enough or sufficiently united give even a colour of probability to the supposition of a cessful revolution." ‡

Again, "I do not believe in an enduring revolution to be effected revolvers; . . . . I do not believe in a lasting republic to be ned by pike aid." ‡

Hence from Mr Bradlaugh's own words, written in January 8, it will be seen that he could not possibly have joined in the clamation of a force-established republic in March 1867.

Weekly Dispatch, November 16, 1879. † Headingley, p. 104.
‡ Pamphlet on the Irish Question.

Throughout the year (1867) the country was in a very distur state. The Fenians were numerous, but inefficiently organis they made isolated attacks on police barracks in Ireland, attempted to seize Chester Castle, which contained a consider store of arms. In September Kelly and Deasy were arreste Manchester, and on the 18th of that month they were resc while being moved with a number of other prisoners in the po van from the police court to the city jail. This rescue was desti to cost a number of lives, commencing with that of poor Serge Brett, whose death was followed, on the 23rd of November, by execution of the three patriots, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. several months from the time of the Manchester rescue our h was watched, back and front, night and day, and two policeme uniform were stationed at Park Railway Station to scrutinis the passengers who alighted there. I hardly know in what l my father regarded this surveillance, but I do not think he have taken it very much to heart; we children looked upo sometimes as a great distinction and sometimes as a capital j and we must to some extent have reflected the mood of elders—not that I mean that Mr Bradlaugh was silly enoug regard this unremitting attention on the part of the police "distinction," but that we could not so have felt it had he even a little troubled by it.

Just before the trial of the Manchester Martyrs, Mr Bradl wrote a short but most eloquent plea for Ireland. He conclu it by urgently entreating:

"Before it be too late, before more blood shall stain the pag our present history, before we exasperate and arouse bitter an sities, let us try and do justice to our sister land. Abolish and for all the land laws, which in their iniquitous operation ruined her peasantry. Sweep away the leech-like Church w has sucked her vitality, and has given her back no word eve comfort in her degradation. Turn her barracks into flax n encourage a spirit of independence in her citizens, restore to people the protection of the law so that they may speak wit fear of arrest, and beg them to plainly and boldly state grievances. Let a Commission of the best and wisest amo Irishmen, with some of our highest English judges added, solemnly to hear all complaints, and let us honestly legislate, for the punishment of the discontented, but to remove the ca

he discontent. It is not the Fenians who have depopulated and's strength and increased her misery. It is not the Fenians have evicted tenants by the score. It is not the Fenians who e checked cultivation. Those who have caused the wrong at t should frame the remedy."*

Then came November and the sentence of death upon the four who had taken part in the rescue of Deasy and Kelly at nchester. Despite the bitter weather that followed, thousands people assembled at Clerkenwell Green to memorialize the ernment to pardon the condemned men. Mr Bradlaugh spoke he meetings held there, and at Cambridge Hall, Newman et. But such meetings were of no avail. Englishmen were c-stricken, and sought to protect their own lives by taking r people's. Eloquence, justice, right are pointless weapons n used to combat blind fear.

ard upon the "Manchester Sacrifice"—December 13th—wed the Clerkenwell explosion, by which four persons killed and about forty men, women, and children were red, in a mad attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Prison rder to rescue Burke and Casey, who were then on their

his dastardly crime was a shock to all true friends of Ireland, as the crime of the Phœnix Park murders was fourteen years . Mr Bradlaugh wrote in the *National Reformer* a most earnest pathetic denunciation of the outrage. He wrote it with the ciousness that he might lose many friends by the declaration he had been "and even yet am favourable to the Irish Cause, h will be regarded by a large majority as most intimately ected with this fearfully mad crime." The Committee of the Republican Brotherhood also, I believe, hastened to protest st and repudiate the outrage.

the same issue of his paper, Mr Bradlaugh had an article on rish Crisis, in which he laid stress upon his opinion that "it erly impossible to hope for improvement in the general con- of Ireland until the relations of landlord and tenant in Ire- are completely altered." In January 1868 he published an on "the Irish Question," which he afterwards issued as a

* *National Reformer*, October 20.

pamphlet.* In this he dealt with four methods which had put forward as giving a "fair prospect of solution for the difficulty." These were (1) Separation of Ireland from Engl the people deciding their own form of government by (2) "Stamping out" the rebellious spirit by force; (3) A Com sion of Inquiry into Irish grievances having extensive powe amnesty, to act immediately, and to be followed by the redr of all *bona fide* grievances; (4) Political enfranchisement of Ire or a separate legislature. The first two methods, which he cussed at some length, he rejected as "impracticable and objec able"; the third course he favoured strongly; and the main culty to the fourth seems to have been the existing suffrage separate legislature, he observed, had been advocated by " very thoughtful writers, some able politicians, and some me extraordinary genius." He wound up his essay with an appeal appeal to the Government and an appeal to the Irish Repub party. To both he pleaded for "forbearance, for mercy humanity." The Irish Republican party he specially and in eloquent language entreated to "repress all violence—to chec physical vengeance."

Ireland was now more than ever the subject of Mr Bradla advocacy, and in connection with it there occurred on the 17 January (1868) a rather curious incident. A gentleman—perh ought not to mention his name—who was a correspondent and f of my father's, belonged to a Quaker family, and was at the p of which I write a member of the Society of Friends, althou subsequently resigned his membership. He belonged also discussion society connected with the Friends' Institute, Bis gate Street. A debate was arranged upon the Irish question Mr ———, knowing how interested Mr Bradlaugh was in subject, wrote inviting him to come to the meeting. This

* When he republished this as a pamphlet it was read by Mr Glad who wrote to him the following autograph letter:—

"11 CARLTON TERR
July 17, 1868.

"DEAR SIR,—I have read your pamphlet with much interest, an many important parts of it I cordially agree.—I remain, Dear Sir, you faithfully and obediently, W. E. GLADST

"Mr C. BRADLAUGH."

This letter is still in my possession.

ing to me says: "He did come, and by a curious coincidence I elected to the chair. Your father spoke, and quite delighted Quakers with his earnestness and eloquence. They did not, ever, know who the stranger was, but they pressed him to nd the adjourned meeting; he said he would, and come forti- with facts and statistics." My father was extremely gratified he courtesy shown him, and the permission given him as a nger to speak for double the usual time. At the same time he very awkward at receiving the cheers, congratulations, and ial compliments, because he feared that they would hardly been so freely accorded if his "real name and wicked acter had been generally known there." His fears were fully fied, as Mr ———'s letter to me shows. He goes on to say:

After the meeting was over and your father had shaken hands with and gone, the members crowded round me to inquire who the uent visitor was. When they found it was the, at that time, rious Iconoclast, you may imagine their feelings were of a mixed And I got into disgrace for introducing him. That I did not l, and I secretly enjoyed their confusion. However, the result was the Secretary of the Society was ordered to write to your father tell him he was not required to attend again."

Mr Bradlaugh actually did receive a letter officially inviting *not* to attend their next meeting on the Irish question.

February the formation of an "Ireland Society" was unced in the *National Reformer*. This was an effort to Englishmen together with the aim of forming "a sounder ic opinion" on Irish matters, but I doubt whether it met the success the idea deserved. It had specially for its ts (1) The abolition of the Irish State Church; (2) A onious settlement of the land question; (3) Education for oor in Ireland; (4) Atonement for English oppression by raging Irish Industries. At Leeds, at Sheffield, at New- e, Mr Bradlaugh spoke to his audiences on the subject of nd until they were moved to tears by his pictures of the hed condition of the unhappy Irish people. At Newcastle, rm-hearted Irish Catholic stepped upon the platform and his earnest thanks "to the orator" for expressing the senti- s held by all true Irishmen,* and the audience from end to

* *National Reformer*, Feb. 16, 1868.

end rose cheering and waving their hats. At Ashton-under in April he spoke to an audience of 5000 persons, and rem them that the Irish question might equally be called the E question, as it affected England as well as Ireland. Previ this lecture there were rumours of violence, and threats "a life and limb," and the town was in a state of extreme excite a strong police force were mustered, and one magistrate at the meeting with the Riot Act ready in his pocket! A score or so of Orangemen managed to get into the hall and c considerable disorder at the outset, but they reckoned w chairman or speaker. The chairman, J. M. Balieff, Esq. despite the outcry raised against Mr Bradlaugh on account views on religion, had yet the moral courage to support h his political opinions. The Orangemen opened up with a of hisses and groans, which was responded to by the of Ireland with excited cheering. This went on for minutes, but was quickly quieted when the chairman rese stated that if it were necessary he should stay there all nig he was quite determined that Mr Bradlaugh should state his At the conclusion of the lecture Mr Balieff publicly rebuk bigotry which, unable to answer Mr Bradlaugh's political adv assailed him for his speculative opinions. Amongst other my father went to Huddersfield to speak on the Irish qu My sister and I were in Huddersfield at the time stayin some friends, and we, of course went to the lecture, whi held in the theatre on Saturday, the 25th of April. This first lecture of my father's that I distinctly remember. been present at very many before, but of those I have on vaguest recollections. The one at Huddersfield stands a complete picture in my memory. A stormy day, followe stormy night with strong wind and rain, had not prevent earnest Yorkshire folks from coming to hear "the lad" (so often called him), and the theatre was full of eager, symp faces when we went upon the platform. Mr Woodhead to chair, and we, my sister and I, sat a little to the back of th where I remember we were much troubled by the cold blowing round the "wings." So vivid is the memory seems almost as though I could recall the very words my uttered, and the tones of his voice—now earnest, now impas at one time severely rebuking, at another ardently plead

ely narrating. Or there was some joke or amusing anecdote, and udience—who a moment before had been brushing away their openly or surreptitiously, each according to his temperament w with one consent burst into hearty laughter. There was old man in the front row, who with ear-trumpet to ear ined eagerly bent forward throughout the whole lecture, so lling was he to lose a single word. I was just ten years hen, and it seemed a revelation to me; for the first time I felt realised something of my father's power over men.

spite of fears entertained for his safety as a suspected man ing a disturbed country during the suspension of the *Habeas us* Act, on the 18th of March Mr Bradlaugh was lecturing in in under the auspices of the Irish Reform League. It was atrick's day, and "an enthusiastic barrister" whom he knew e him about in his carriage. He wrote home that he heard and play "'God save the **Queen**,' and the populace acknowd it with a mixed sort of hiss and groan, which I believe is l 'keening.'" The lecture was delivered at the Mechanics' tute, the hall was crammed to its utmost capacity, and lengthy ts of the speech appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* and *in Evening Post*. At the conclusion an address was presented r Bradlaugh as some testimony of Irish appreciation of his nterested and sincere devotion to our country's cause." The ss reads: "We can but offer you our best thanks and est admiration, and tender you the unaffected aud sincere of warm Irish hearts, thus proving that Irishmen are never sible to kindness," etc. By the light of later events, what irony all this seems! The "sincere love of warm Irish s" looked much more like hate and malice in the years of radlaugh's Parliamentary struggle. However, it was doubtnonest at the moment, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed gst the Dublin audience when the address was formally read presented. The proceedings were orderly and unanimous ghout; nevertheless when the meeting separated they found front of the building occupied by a detachment of police ering about a hundred men; inspectors in attendance took ames and addresses of those who had taken any prominent in the business of the evening; while the rank and file nised the faces of the audience. The Dublin correspondent Irish Catholic paper published in London indulged in a

tirade of abuse against Mr Bradlaugh, whom he described as hired agent of the English Reform League, the Atheist Bradlau but he only aroused a host of defenders, whose defence, sin was unable to answer, he affected to despise.

When the turn of Elections in 1868 brought Mr Gladston power, Mr Bradlaugh applied at the Treasury for the withdra the warrant out against General Cluseret for his arrest on the c of treason-felony, but this clemency was refused.* Witl subsidence of the Fenian agitation and the relief anticipat the Disestablishment of the Irish Church there was less an immediate need to Ireland for Mr Bradlaugh's activity, and 1870 ushered in the Franco-Prussian War, his energies turned for the time in another and more instantly pr direction.

* Headingley, p. 107.

CHAPTER XXVI

NORTHAMPTON, 1868.

ERE is, I think, not the least doubt that very early in my father's he began to nurse dreams of one day playing his part in the slature of his country, and indeed it is currently reported in rthampton that as early as 1859 he spoke to some friends there his wish to represent that borough in Parliament. As I have exact evidence that Mr Bradlaugh went to the town before that r, I think the report puts the date a little too early, but in any e I do not find that the idea took any definite shape in his d until about the end of 1865 or early in the following year. 1867 it is clear that the possibility of his candidature was ised even by those outside the circle of his personal friends, in the spring of that year we find a sarcastic prognosis of the sible results of the extended franchise in a West of England er, in which the writer says: "Mr Bradlaugh would perhaps e the Government of India from the hands of Sir Stafford rthcote, his intelligence being not less, and his catholicity in gious matters making him a more acceptable ruler to the 'mild' shrewd Hindoo." In place of the Government of India Mr dlaugh was destined to take other things of not quite so pleasant ature from the hands of Sir Stafford Northcote, although it is ier curious that the *Western Times* should have selected in jest appointment which would have afforded him so much scope for d and useful work.

ome time before anything definite had been said as to my er's candidature at the forthcoming elections in 1868, it was rded as so much of a certainty that people began spontaneously ubscribe towards his election expenses. In June he notified friends through the *National Reformer* that he would shortly ounce the name of the borough to which he proposed to offer self, and at the same time he would issue his address. This

was done within the next few days, in the midst of the bu
and anxiety of the Government prosecution of the *Reformer*.

My father was well known in Northampton. Since he
there to lecture on the invitation of Mr Gurney and Mr Ship
he had, as we have seen, many times visited the town, and
opinions on political, social, and religious questions were thorou
well understood. As his address forms a sort of landmar
Mr Bradlaugh's views on many of these important subjects,
of which are still hotly discussed, and most of which still aw
satisfactory solution, I give it exactly as he issued it.

"*To the present and future electors of the borough of Northampton:*

"In seeking your suffrages for the new Parliament, I am encou
by the very warm feeling exhibited in my favour by so many o
inhabitants of your borough, and by the consciousness that my
efforts may have helped in some slight degree to hasten the assemb
a Parliament elected by a more widely extended franchise than
deemed possible two years ago.

"If you should honour me by electing me as one of your repres
tives, I shall give an independent support in the new Parliame
that party of which Mr Gladstone will probably be chosen leader;
is to say, I shall support it as far as its policy and action prove cons
with the endeavour to attain the following objects, which I hold
essential to the progress of the nation:—

"1. A system of compulsory National Education, by which the
shall secure to each child the opportunity of acquiring at leas
rudiments of a sound English education preparatory to the comm
ment of the mere struggle for bread.

"2. A change in our land laws, commencing with the abolition
laws of primogeniture and entail; diminishing the enormous
expenses attending the transfer of land, and giving greater security
actual cultivation of the soil for improvements made upon it.

"3. A thorough change in our extravagant system of national ex
iture, so that our public departments may cease to be refug
destitute members of so-called noble families.

"4. Such a change in the present system of taxation that for the
the greater pressure of imperial taxes may bear upon those wh
previously accumulated wealth and large tracts of devised lan
not so much upon those who increase the wealth of the nation by
daily labour.

"5. An improvement of the enactments relating to capital and l
so that employer and employed may stand equal before the la
establishment of conciliation courts for the settlement of trade dis
and the abolition of the jurisdiction in these matters of the
magistracy.

6. A complete separation of the Church from the State, including in the removal of the Bishops from the position they at present py as legislators in the House of Lords.

7. A provision by which minorities may be fairly represented in legislative chambers.

8. The abolition of all disabilities and disqualifications consequent the holding or rejection of any particular speculative opinion.

9. A change in the practice of creating new peerages; limiting the creations to life peerages, and these only to be given as rewards great national services; peers habitually absent from Parliament e deprived of all legislative privileges, and the right of voting by y in any case to be abolished.

10. The abolition as a governing class of the old Whig party, which long since ceased to play any useful part in our public policy. ism represents obstructiveness to Radical progress, but it represents hostility. Whiggism is hypocritical; while professing to be al, it never initiates a good measure or hinders a bad one. I am vour of the establishment of a National party which shall destroy ystem of government by aristocratic families, and give the members ie community born poorest fair play in their endeavour to become smen and leaders, if they have genius and honesty enough to le them to a foremost place.

In order that my competitors shall not have the right to objec I unfairly put them to the expense of a contest, I am willing to d a meeting of the inhabitants of your borough, at which Mr in and Lord Henley shall be present, and to be governed by the ion voted at such a meeting as to whether or not I persist in my idature.

In asking your support I pledge myself, in the event of a contest, to through to the last moment of the Poll a fair and honest fight. ould give me special pleasure to be returned as the colleague of Gilpin, whom I believe to be a thoroughly honest and earnest sentative; and if you elect me I shall do my best in the House of mons for the general enfranchisement and elevation of the people e United Kingdom. CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

underland Villa, Northumberland Park, Tottenham."

the above address as it appears in the pages of the *National rmer* for July 5, paragraphs 7 and 9 are lightly struck igh in pencil by my father's hand, but whether these pencil s have any significance I am not prepared to say. His ideas reform of the House of Lords certainly went very much er, in later years at least, than those indicated in the ninth graph. He believed in a single Legislative Chamber and

considered two unnecessary, but as a rule he disliked any sud abolition of old-established customs, and therefore in adv ing reforms of the House of Lords, he put forward such as w lead gradually and naturally to its discontinuance as a Hous hereditary legislators.

This address was read in Northampton to a large audienc the last Sunday in June. Two days later, at a public meetin about four thousand persons held in the Market Square, a was taken as to Mr Bradlaugh's candidature, and only one h was lifted against it.

The issue of this address and the subsequent public mee produced a considerable flutter in the political dovecot Northampton. A great outcry was raised at Mr Bradlau unheard-of audacity in putting himself forward without recei the usual requisition, but, as he calmly explained at a meetin the Northampton theatre a few weeks later, he had for two y intended to become a candidate for Parliament, and had determ to offer himself to any body of men wherever he thought he h fair chance of success. He believed Northampton was that p and in putting himself forward without formal invitation he not think he had imperilled either his own dignity or that of electors. The *Northampton Mercury*, * the local Whig p affected the utmost scorn for his candidature, saying that he "no more chance of being elected member for Northampton he has of being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury." "*verrons*" was Mr Bradlaugh's only comment upon this declara which was afterwards taken up and repeated by different pape a sort of *bon mot*.

But the disdain of the Northampton Whigs was well bala by the enthusiasm of the Northampton working-men. They t themselves into the work of the election contest, from the outset, with the utmost zeal and ardour; they delivered address by hand at every house in Northampton—and the was all done gratuitously. And so with all the elections in w my father took part: he had neither paid agents nor paid vassers; he had no paid speakers (beyond, in some cases, o pocket expenses) and few paid clerks; all such work was f and eagerly volunteered. Nor were the women less ardent

* July 4th.

e men. They soon decided upon his election colours, and at the nclusion of a meeting held by him in the theatre in the middle July, they presented him with a rosette made of mauve, white, d green ribbons, a combination unique amongst election colours, erwards generally identified with Mr Bradlaugh and loved for sake. Some of these same rosettes fashioned and worn at this ction in 1868 were cast into the grave at Brookwood in 1891, d some others, which their owners had carefully treasured for six-l-twenty years, were worn for the last time on the 25th June 94, when the statue of Mr Bradlaugh was unveiled in the town ose name will be for ever associated with his own.

Amongst those who came to speak for him the first place must given to George Odger, who was himself trying to win a seat Chelsea. Besides Mr Odger there were the Rev. J. K. Applebee, stin Holyoake, R. A. Cooper, E. Truelove, C. Watts, and ers, and everywhere the meetings were large and enthusiastic. or men—freethinkers and radicals—throughout the country vied help in this election; but men in Edinburgh and men in ncashire could neither vote nor canvass, so they resolved to e aid in money. Long and costly was the candidature; the ctions did not come off until November, and thus the campaign tinued over five months. Some of the northern towns leavoured to raise a regular monthly subscription, some a ekly one, and soon long lists appeared in the columns of the *tional Reformer*, long lists made up mostly of small sums, threepences or sixpences, or shillings; sums of £1 and over e rare, and seldom indeed was there such a heavy donation £10, Mr Bradlaugh's supporters being, with scarcely an eption, poor working men. At the end of August John art Mill drew upon himself a hailstorm of abuse by sending) to Mr Austin Holyoake, secretary of the Election Fund, with following letter:—

"Avignon, August 28th, 1868.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose a subscription of £10 to the fund for defraying expenses of Mr Bradlaugh's election to the House of Commons. I o in the confidence that Mr Bradlaugh would not contest any place re by so doing he would risk the return of a Tory in the room supporter of Mr Gladstone, and of the disendowment of the Irish rch.—I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully, J. S. MILL.

AUSTIN HOLYOAKE, Esq."

Much capital was made out of the assertion that Mr Bradlau was trying to divide the Liberal vote at Northampton, and let in a Tory, but it was an assertion entirely without foundati Over and over again he stated that it was Lord Henley's * s that he was trying to win, and that rather than risk the los of it to a Tory he was prepared to submit to a decision of a t meeting of the electors. At that time there were 5,729 elect on the register, and of these as many as 3,400 were new vot so extensively had the new Act affected the voting power the single borough of Northampton. Mr Bradlaugh's offer be governed by the decision of a public meeting of the electo was entirely ignored. "It was in vain," says the writer of little *Souvenir* book issued on the occasion of the unveil of my father's statue at Northampton, "it was in vain t Mr Bradlaugh offered to abide by any fair test that might devised to settle beforehand which of the two Liberal candida in the field should go to the poll." A test ballot had b taken at Manchester to decide the claims of Ernest Jo "If, however," continued the writer of the *Souvenir*, " Manchester method were unacceptable, Mr Bradlaugh was pared to agree to any other form of gauging the opinion the constituency that was equally just to him" and to Lord Hen But the Whigs seemed afraid to put it "to the touch," and father's address was rapidly followed by one signed jointly Charles Gilpin and Lord Henley. The Tories followed siderably later with two candidates, Messrs Merewether Lendrick, and later still came a sixth candidate, Dr F. R. I well known as a Temperance advocate. Why he came it little difficult to say, for before coming he wrote my father he was not hostile to him; and he publicly declared that i were elected in Mr Gilpin's place, he would at once resig that gentleman's favour. Mr Bradlaugh therefore asked as it was impossible that both could win Lord Henley's "to at once consent to adopt some course which will a division of the Radical strength." At his first meeting am ments were carried in Mr Bradlaugh's favour, but Dr Lees pers right up to the last day, and abandoned his candida "only on the day of the poll, when it was too late to pre

* The sitting members were Charles Gilpin and Lord Henley.

arly five hundred electors recording their votes on his be-
lf."*

During the whole time, from the end of June to mid-November,
r Bradlaugh was of course constantly addressing meetings from
e end to the other of the constituency, and it is rather curious
note that in one of his earliest speeches he shadowed forth
hat really happened to him twenty years later. At the con-
usion of an address delivered in the theatre on the 16th of July
the subject of "Capital and Labour and Trades Unions," some
e asked him whether if he were delegated to the House of
ommons he could "guarantee to enact laws that should satisfy
l Trades Unions and the public generally." "Certainly not,"
as the reply; "I daresay I should give as much dissatisfaction to
ades Unionists as anybody. But that would not be my fault.
should act honestly, and if the Trades Unionists were the bulk
my constituency, and they thought I acted in contravention of
y programme, I should resign my trust into their hands." And
hen Mr Bradlaugh did act thus honestly in the matter of the
mployers' Liability Bill in 1889, the Trades Unions were exceed-
gly dissatisfied with him, and were for the most part very bitter
gainst him.

In a very short time the Northampton election became the
bject of discussion everywhere, and the press from one end of
ngland to the other had some sort of comment to make upon it
-hostile to Mr Bradlaugh, of course. The *Daily Telegraph*, then
ofessing Liberal views, was one of the earliest to raise the *odium
eologicum* against him;† it speculated in pious dismay as to
what outrage on good taste and on the conscientious convictions
his fellow-citizens 'Iconoclast' may not attempt in the wider
rcle to which he seeks admittance," and held up its Jewish
nds in holy horror in imagining the possibilities of a time
when Englishmen will revile the sublime moralities of the New
stament." My father challenged Mr Levy, the editor, to give
instance of any such "outrage" committed by him, adding,
I do more than this; the Government have, out of the public
nds, paid for shorthand notes of several of my speeches since
65. These notes still exist; I know in some cases the actual

* *Souvenir.*
† *Daily Telegraph*, August 3, 1868.

professional reporters employed, and I dare the publication these notes."

The cowardly insinuations of the *Daily Telegraph* were prin as a placard and posted all over the town, where they produ the strongest excitement and bitterness. This placard was quic followed by another of bright green, conveying a message fr "The Irish Reform League to the Irishmen and friends of Irel in Northampton." Northampton was entreated to return to I liament "a man like Charles Bradlaugh, who advocated the ca of Ireland with pen and tongue when such advocacy was unpopu if not dangerous." Irishmen in Dublin appealed to Irishmen Northampton not to deserve the reproach of the defeat of s a man. "We, the Reformers of Ireland, gladly and hear recommend him: by his works in the cause of Reform we kn him; as a politician we endorse him; . . . we believe him to true, we have faith in his political honesty, in his undaun perseverance, and in his desire to elevate the downtrodden in land and in his own." *

In September one of the newly enfranchised electors wrot Mr John Bright for his advice as to the casting of his "mai vote," and received from Mr Bright the following letter in reply

"Rochdale, September 17, 186

"DEAR SIR,—I cannot interfere in your election matters, but I answer the question you put to me.

"I do not think you can improve the representation of your bor by changing your members. I think Lord Henley and Mr Gi worthy of your support.—I am, yours truly, JOHN BRIGH

"MR THOMAS JAMES, Northampton."

---

* In October Mr Keevil, chairman of the Irish Reform League, wrote t to Northampton. "Our members," he said, "consist of every denomin of Christians, and although we regret that Mr Bradlaugh does not belie matters of religion as we do, and probably Mr Bradlaugh also regrets we are not of the same religious opinions as himself, yet we do not t such controversial matters can hinder his usefulness for the people's wo the House of Commons. We in Ireland have had special opportuniti knowing the value of Mr Bradlaugh's works. . . . The field of Mr Bradla early labours was Ireland; the Lecture Hall in French Street, Dublin the arena of his triumphs, and the people soon recognised in him a cham Private Bradlaugh was well known in County Cork many years ago as a who would maintain the oppressed tenants against the injustice of landlordism."

When Mr Bradlaugh saw this letter, which was given the est publicity, he wrote Mr Bright as follows :—

"23 Great St. Helen's, London, E.C.
"September 19, 1868.

SIR,—I feel some difficulty in intruding myself upon you ; but as have taken a step in the Northampton election which I regard as udicial to my interests, you will pardon my trying to set the matter t. At the end of June I issued the address of which I enclose you py ; the only other address issued is that of the sitting members will see in my address that I offered to submit my claims to the sion of an aggregate meeting, which offer has been entirely egarded by Lord Henley. Whether or not Lord Henley is worthy he support of the electors is a query to which a large proportion of inhabitants of Northampton have already responded ; they declare he is not. As to whether I shall make a better member, I here no other remark than that through my life I have actively striven dvance the cause of Reform ; while Viscount Henley has often ouraged and hindered effort, and has only voted in obedience to rresistible pressure of public opinion. That you should support Mr rles Gilpin with the weight of your great influence is natural, but you should bolster up tumbling Whiggism as represented by Lord ley I confess surprises me. Mr Gilpin's name has been associated working member in many highly valuable social and political rms. Lord Henley's activity has been nearly limited to the ention of compulsory education, the advocacy of increased expendi- for fortifications, and general care for landed interests.—Yours obediently, CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P.

P.S.—I shall take the liberty of printing this letter and any reply may forward me."

o my father's letter Mr Bright made answer that he had ven an honest reply to a simple question, with no suspicion he should be considered as taking sides with any party in contest, adding some remarks as to his regard for past services a tried fidelity, without any further definite opinion on Lord ey's fitness. But if Mr Bright did not suspect that he should onsidered as taking sides—and my father loyally accepted his ment—other people took a different view of the matter, and etter was freely used against Mr Bradlaugh. The *Spectator* of opinion that Mr Bright had succeeded "in more than ralising the effect of Mr J. S. Mill's very injudicious and pected testimonial to Mr Bradlaugh's (Iconoclast's) claims as

candidate for Northampton;" whilst the *Saturday Review* sidered that if this letter saved Northampton "from the disc of electing Mr Bradlaugh," Mr Bright would have done the bor "valuable service."

Finding that this letter had been such a success, the W next addressed themselves to Mr Gladstone, asking him i endorsed the opinion expressed by Mr Bright. Mr Glads promptly replied in these terms:—

"Hawarden, N.W., Sept. 25, 18

"SIR,—While I am very unwilling to do or say anything that c be construed into interference in any election, I cannot refu consider the question you have put to me. Having for many yea in Parliament with Lord Henley and Mr Gilpin, I have always sidered both these gentlemen entitled to respect and confiden upright and highly intelligent men, cordially attached to the Li party.—I remain, Sir, your faithful servant, W. E. GLADSTO

"I send this answer to you individually, and I should not wish be published unless you find that your brother-electors wish to the purport of it."

I confess that I cannot understand the object of the posts for it must be manifest to the meanest intelligence immediately it transpired that an elector had received a comm cation from Mr Gladstone upon the subject of the represen of the constituency, all the rest would be wild with curiosity know the purport of it." As a matter of course, it was read a next meeting of the Liberal Association, and then reproduc the public press.

In striving to win Lord Henley's seat, Mr Bradlaugh ha only Lord Henley, and Mr Bright, and Mr Gladstone fig against him, but also Mr Gilpin, whose seat he was most an not to imperil. Mr Gilpin, although personally very friend my father, felt in honour bound to support his colleague, repeatedly stated at meeting after meeting: "Infinitely woul rather go back to London the rejected of Northampton than b man who had deserted a friend in order to get another in." was this by any means all that he had to contend against; h actively against him nearly the whole of the press of England Scotland, and no terms seemed too vile or slander too mean t to injure him. Of all the newspapers circulating throughou

ited Kingdom, there were not more than three or four—of ich the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* was one—who dared to say nuch as a kindly word of him or of his candidature.

n the town of Northampton itself the opposition of the ıigs and the Tories grew so bitter and was carried to h an excess that in October it was found necessary to n a society for the purpose of aiding working men o lost their employment through their support of Mr dlaugh.

Dr F. R. Lees started a personal house-to-house canvass; this followed by the joint canvass of Henley and Gilpin—under- en at the urgent request of Lord Henley, for Mr Gilpin publicly lared it to be a practice which ought not to be encouraged—and n came my father's canvass. Much as he disliked it, he felt ged in this case to do as the other candidates were doing; he ed an address, however, in which he said: "I desire to put on ord my formal protest against the system of house-to-house vassing, in which I only take part in obedience to the wish of General Committee, and because all my opponents having rted to it, some might think me slighting them if I abstained. old with Mr Gilpin that the system is a bad one. In vassing, I do not come to beg your vote; if you need such a able personal appeal, I prefer not having your support. I e to you that, seeing me, you may question me if you desire, that you who cannot be present at the meetings may have the ortunity of better knowing my principles."

he canvassing in those days of open voting was even harder k than it is to-day; but Mr Bradlaugh was gallantly supported a number of warm friends, amongst whom he was proud to e the veteran Thomas Allsop, and there was also much that inspiring in coming face to face with the ardour and enthusi- of the Northampton Radical working men. But if there was h to inspire, there was likewise sometimes much to sadden; in ral instances a voter's wife answered that her husband "must to his bread," and one threw an ominous light upon the lty liable to be paid for a conscientious vote by saying that husband "had lost his situation last election, and this time would take care that he voted as his employer wished." My er, in the course of his canvass also, as might be expected, met instances of "bitter and coarse fanaticism," which must have

been peculiarly unpleasant in the somewhat defenceless positi a candidate making a personal canvass.

At a great town's meeting, held for the purpose of hearin expression of their political views and an account of their pol action from the borough members, Mr Bradlaugh's comm sent a deputation to ask whether their candidate would be h They were told that he would be refused admission; he atte and was refused admission, but his friends carried him in. report before me says that "Mr Gilpin, on appearing o platform, shook hands with Mr Bradlaugh and with Dr Lord Henley, supported chiefly by his legal advisers and friends, shook hands with nobody, but shook himself whe groans echoed through the building." The four candi addressed the meeting, but the uproar during Lord He speech was so great that he could scarcely be heard, an proceedings terminated with "three cheers for Bradlaugh."

As the weeks flew on, fiercer and fiercer grew the fight. Lord's Day Rest Association came to the aid of the Northa Whigs and Tories, and posted the town with placards he "Do not vote for Charles Bradlaugh unless you wish to los Sunday rest;" other candidates for other constituencies r to the rescue. Mr Giffard, Q.C.—now Lord Halsbury, th Tory candidate for Cardiff, and the all-time bitter enemy Bradlaugh—said, with that fine regard for accuracy for whi has ever been distinguished: "Mr Bradlaugh was the a author of a work so blasphemous that one or two borough refused to have anything to do with him."* Mr Charles C M.P., also betrayed a similar inclination towards fiction. public meeting in Sandwich he related that he had been

"told by the hon. member for Northampton (Mr Gilpin) that th whose name you have heard to-night, Mr Bradlaugh, stood Market Place of Northampton, and taking his watch from his said: 'It wants so many minutes to so-and-so. I will give y minutes, and I call on your God, if he is your God, to strike m in this Market Place.' (Loud cries of 'Shame, shame.') That Bradlaugh, the man to whom Mr Mill sends his £10 to supp

* The latter part of this myth, at least, seems to have gained crede in July of this year (1894) Mr Courtney is reported to have said at that "Mr Bradlaugh had to try constituency after constituency bec could not get a majority in any particular place."

dature. Can you conceive anything more wretched? Do you
if a man of that kind were to come into this town (A voice: 'Turn
out') you would not turn him out?—you would kick him out!"

will be seen when I come to deal fully with this subject,
Capper was not absolutely the first to have the doubtful
ur of reviving this ancient "watch" story, and applying it to
Bradlaugh, and it is hardly necessary to say of so honourable
n as Mr Gilpin that, when my father saw him on the matter,
dignantly denied that he had ever said anything of the kind.
e *Primitive Methodist** jubilantly remarked that "Icono-
has been made to wince lately by the reproduction of his
shed opinions—very inconvenient to him at this time." My
r's comment on this was that, "as a matter of fact, Mr
laugh's published opinions are about the only things which
not been reproduced. His opponents prefer quoting the
ons of others, or else drawing on their imaginations."
e *Saturday Review* delighted in an attack on Mr Bradlaugh
nerely for its own sake, but even more as a means of injuring
Mill. I have not heard that John Stuart Mill ever expressed
east regret for his donation, but had he done so there would
been small cause for wonder, for he had to pay a heavy
ty for his generosity. It was used against him everywhere,
is own defeat at Westminster was by many persons attributed
e outcry raised about his subscription towards my father's
on expenses. Even the mighty *Times* was not too mighty to
its voice, saying that the countenance Mr Mill had given
noclast" had given great offence to the middle classes. The
f the name "Iconoclast" was quite gratuitous, for Mr Mill did
end his cheque to assist in the work of "Iconoclast," the
ist lecturer; he sent it for the use of Charles Bradlaugh, the
al politician.

will be a matter of interest to those connected with the
ment against compulsory vaccination to know that during
ourse of this election contest Mr Bradlaugh attended a
ng in the Town Hall called by the Anti-Compulsory
nation League, and that, while expressing "no opinion as to
eory of vaccination," in view of the many objections urged

---

e article on "Electioneering Rowdies," October 1868, in which, with
delicacy, it speaks of Mr Bradlaugh as "impudent."

against the practice, he promised to support a demand for a
Commission for full investigation of the facts. The grov
opinion is so gradual that, although indeed there was a
Committee in 1871, it was twenty years before the Comm
was actually appointed, and then, as every one will rem
Mr Bradlaugh was himself nominated to sit upon it.

On the tenth of November, a week before the polling d
mother, my grandfather (Mr A. Hooper), and we three cl
went to Northampton to attend a special tea-party given
Corn Exchange, and I have a most vivid recollection
enthusiasm then displayed. The time of our expected
having become known, hundreds of people, with banc
banners, came to meet us quite of their own accord, and wl
returned to take the train back to London it seemed
childish imagination as though the whole town must have
out, for the streets were thronged from end to end with m
women cheering, singing the new song, "Bradlaugh for
ampton,"* laughing and crying in a veritable intoxica
excitement, until the moisture stood in my father's own eye

On the Monday after, ten thousand people were gathered
market square to witness the nomination of the six cand
The hustings, or, as I find it was sometimes called, the
hutch," was unusually large. It was built seventy feet
order to allow ten feet to each candidate and his supporte
ten feet for the Mayor and the Corporation officials. The
Mr J. M. Vernon, opened the proceedings with a speech,
was followed by the proposer and seconder of each can
Mr Bradlaugh was proposed by Mr Councillor Gurne
seconded by Mr Dunkley. When these twelve speech
come to an end, it fell to the candidates to address the e
In the course of his speech Mr Gilpin alluded to the con
that had been made against him for standing by Lord
"Now," said he, "I want to do justice to a gentleman who
on this platform. Mr Bradlaugh never made that complain
could honour the 'chivalry,' as he was pleased to call it,
he knew I could not have a selfish motive to serve in doi

* This song was written by a young shoemaker named James Wil
was set to music by another poor but gifted man, John Lowry. Poo
died early, but his song became a sort of war-cry in Northampton, and
long in the hearts of his fellow-townsmen.

The Mayor, in calling upon Mr Bradlaugh to address the ly waiting crowd, said: "Let me say that I have had the ctunity of witnessing the conduct of Mr Bradlaugh in pre- ng himself to this constituency. He has acted in the most emanly way towards me, and I hope he can say in return that e acted in the same manner towards him."

hen all the speaking was over, and every one had had his ," the Mayor took a show of hands for the various candidates, declared the result to be in favour of Mr Gilpin and Mr laugh, a statement which was received with the utmost siasm.

d yet my father was beaten: crowds did not always mean s; and so, in spite of grand meetings, in spite of popular siasm, he was beaten. His partial canvass resulted in promises 00 votes, whereas only 1086 were recorded for him, so that at ast moment 500 at least failed to give their votes as they romised. In his *Autobiography* * he himself says: "I was n; but this is scarcely wonderful. I had all the journals in nd except three against me. Every idle or virulent tale folly could distort or calumny invent was used against me." e poll took place on Tuesday the 17th of November, and was lly declared by the Mayor from the hustings in the market e on Wednesday at eleven o'clock.

e figures were:—

C. Gilpin	2632
Lord Henley	2105
C. G. Merewether	1625
W. E. Lendrick	1378
C. Bradlaugh	1086
Dr F. R. Lees	485 †

ge 28.

ese were the figures given in *National Reformer*, November 22, 1868. *Northampton Mercury* of that week gives them rather differently, and *Souvenir* brought out in June 1894 again differently. They give the poll ws:—

	Mercury.	*Souvenir.*
Gilpin	2691	2623
Henley	2154	2111
Merewether	1634	1631
Lendrick	1396	1374
Bradlaugh	1086	1069
Lees	492	492

After the public declaration of the poll the various cand
were supposed to "return thanks" for the support given the
three only—Mr Gilpin, Lord Henley, and Mr Bradlaugh—ap
on the hustings. Mr Gilpin in a short speech said: "I
to Mr Bradlaugh, and I say to him that since I met h
Northampton I have had prejudices removed in reference t
self, and I say unreservedly, when I observed the peace o
town, after the exciting scenes that we have had, I feel,
should not be an honest man if I did not acknowledge i
owing to Mr Bradlaugh having used his influence to obta
These generous words of Mr Gilpin's were received with
cheering, and when it came to the Mayor's turn to speak he too
"I feel it my duty to acknowledge my obligations to Mr Brad
because he not merely endorsed the sentiments I uttered
from the balcony of his hotel he backed them up by all the
of argument he possesses in urging you to comply with my
I knew the appeal that was being made to you was made
the most exciting circumstances, and I felt the way in wh
was conducted might leave an impression on the people
country for a long time to come."

Charles Gilpin did more than speak favourably of Mr Bra
from Northampton platforms. A day or two after the elec
wrote to the *Morning Star*:—

"Sir,—I observe that several papers continue to reflect in
terms on the candidature of Mr Bradlaugh at Northampton, a
not of course for me to defend him; but I think it should be
that at the declaration of the poll, the Mayor publicly thanked
his successful efforts to preserve peace and good order in the
during an unusually exciting contest, and from my own obse
I can fully endorse the observations of the Mayor.—I am, sir
truly, Charles Gi

"November 20."

Mr Gilpin, moreover, undeterred by the furious onslaugh
upon John Stuart Mill, sent a donation of £10 towa
Bradlaugh's election expenses, and in the March before he
recommended Mr Pickering Perry, his own agent, to vote f

The extracts from Mr Gilpin's and the Mayor's speeches
taken from the *Northampton Mercury*, a paper then tho
hostile to Mr Bradlaugh, and I confess to a feeling of sha

* Praying that there should be no breach of the peace.

ıould be necessary at this time of day to thus bring forward
nesses to character"; yet, while there are many now willing
ɔncede that my father was in his later years an honourable,
ɐerate, law-abiding, and even "distinguished" man, they add
he was not all this in his early years: then he was coarse,
nt, and vulgar. If the word of the Mayor of Northampton
868 counts for anything, and if the manly testimony of one
Torthampton's most honoured members, the Quaker Charles
in, has any weight, men will find that they must still further
e their opinion of Charles Bradlaugh, and admit that the
ge has been in themselves and not in him, that the qualities
grant for him in 1890 were his in 1868, and from the very
t of his career. There was no greater change in him than
s to us all through the mellowing touch of time; in truth,
hanged less than would most men, and in spite of being a
cal and Reformer of a very advanced type, he was in many
extremely conservative. He clung to old friends, to old
s, and to precedent. He formed his opinions not hastily
yet rapidly, and after due deliberation, deliberation which
ded a really marvellous power of putting both sides of the
ion before himself and others. His judgment once formed,
vas extremely slow to alter it, and a course of action once
ed upon, he was rarely if ever diverted from it.

y father left Northampton, followed to the station by such an
nous crowd of sorrowing men and women that his defeat
grander than many a victory; he could never, he said, forget
whose hot tears dropped on his hands on the day he left
ɔorough, and as he wrote those words we may be sure that
own tears dimmed his eyes and blurred the page. Hard as
to opposition, he was acutely sensitive to every token of
ion or kindly feeling.

t there were more to rejoice over his defeat than to sorrow
t. The Rev. Thomas Arnold, addressing an audience of
hampton men, said, regardless of his own blasphemy, that
had shown that "they would not be servants of the man
trampled on their God and their Saviour;" and the Rev. A.
ell, who a few years later found more kindly things to say of
ather, speaking at Dundee, "thanked God that Mr Bradlaugh
ɔeen so signally defeated."

CHAPTER XXVII.

SOUTHWARK ELECTION, 1869.

ABOUT a year after the General Election the appointmer Mr Layard as ambassador at Madrid created a vacancy at So wark, and a number of working men electors immediately a Mr Bradlaugh to become a candidate for that borough. Mee were summoned for the purpose of proposing his name, a committee was formed with a view of promoting his election, a very active committee it proved to be. At a crowded mee convened by forty of the "chiefs of the Liberal Party," hel the middle of November, six names of possible representa were brought forward—Mr Milner Gibson, Sir Francis Ly Sir Sydney Waterlow, Sir John Thwaites, and Mr Odger. "forty chiefs" did not propose Mr Bradlaugh, whose name however received with great cheering, when it was propose way of amendment by Mr Hearn, a Southwark Radical. A later a meeting was held to decide upon a candidate to be supp by the working-class electors of the borough, and this me both Mr Odger and Mr Bradlaugh were invited to attend. room engaged for the purpose was soon full to overflowing, an length the speakers adjourned to the balcony in front of house and addressed the crowd of three thousand people gregated in the road below. Mr Odger was unable to c and after Mr Bradlaugh had addressed the meeting a resol in his favour was passed by "an overwhelming majority."* said that although he was there at the earnest invitatio several working men, he was not to be regarded as a cand until he had issued his address. If Mr Odger came defi before the constituency and was pledged to go to the poll, he sh not contest the borough himself. He wished to see Mr G Odger in Parliament, and he believed that he would b admirable representative.

* *Daily News.*

part from any question of Mr Odger's possible candidature, ather had another reason for hesitating before incurring such y expenses as the contest of Southwark would entail: the hampton election, in spite of the long subscription lists made om slender purses, had left him heavily burdened with debt. ugust (1869) he wrote that he had still £250 of borrowed y to repay; by November this had become reduced, though then there was still £100 "due to a friend at Norwich, and to another friend in Huddersfield." A debt of £120 will a mere bagatelle to a rich man, who will pay more for a handsome hat takes his fancy, and ten times as much for a thorough- horse; to a poor man, however, a debt of £120 is a mill- . And for that matter, if this debt had been the only one, ather would soon have repaid it, but he was hampered on all

Being so encumbered, he naturally felt bound "to exercise caution in contracting further liabilities for election purposes, ially as the large portion of the funds for such a struggle l probably be provided by my working friends throughout Jnited Kingdom, whose subscriptions I have no right to except with the certainty of fighting a creditable if not a ssful fight."

wever, at the end of November all hesitation on my father's vas brought to an end by the receipt of the following letter Mr Odger:—

EAR MR BRADLAUGH,—I have decided on going to the poll. I see the Southwark Committee this evening (November 29th), and the declaration to-morrow.

hanking you for your manly and straightforward conduct,—I n, yours truly, GEO. ODGER.

High Street, Bloomsbury."

der these circumstances my father at once announced that ould not seek the suffrages of the Southwark electors. He ed Mr Odger had a better chance of being supported by "who would be afraid of returning one whom the *Daily raph* had described as an English 'irreconcilable,'" although, as nkly said, he made no disguise of his wish to be in Parliament, f his intention to be there as soon as possible. He earnestly ted all his friends in the borough to give their unreserved rt to George Odger, who was a real representative man.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITIGATION, 1867-1871.

Mr Bradlaugh took part in so many law-suits during his life people have hurriedly jumped at conclusions, and condemned as a "litigious" man. They have not troubled to consider circumstances of the different suits; it was sufficient that Bradlaugh took part in them, and that at once stamped him litigious. Now, as a matter of fact, it will be found that large number of cases he figured as *defendant* in the action where he was plaintiff I think it must be admitted that it rarely without sufficient cause. Although many years const libelled, he seldom brought an action for libel; there were in such actions, all of which will be found mentioned in this After he had engaged a hall for lectures, it was no uncon thing for the proprietor to break his contract; and if it was a gross case this occasionally resulted in a suit, but much frequently he accepted the situation, trusting to time to wear prejudices against him.

In each of the four cases I am now about to speak o Bradlaugh was the plaintiff. The first was an action a purely out of his business as a financial agent, and would little interest now were it not for the terms of the Chancellor's judgment. The second also arose in the cou business, but was greatly complicated by the oath question. third was a libel case; while the fourth was against the M Town Hall Company for breach of contract.

In January 1867 the case of the English Joint Stock (Limited) and Charles Bradlaugh was heard in the Co Chancery before Vice-Chancellor Wood. Mr Bradlaugh cl to be admitted as a creditor against the Bank, then in of winding up, for £12,350, or for such less sum as the might think just and reasonable, in consideration of his negotiated a purchase for the Bank of the banking busin

essrs Harvey & Hudson of Norwich for the sum of £210,000. ıe sum thus claimed was the one agreed to be paid him by the neral manager of the Bank. The Court decided against him r reasons not necessary to enter fully upon here, and the Vice-ıancellor's judgment was reported at considerable length in the *mes* of the following day. The extracts given here are based on the shorthand notes of the case. Vice-Chancellor Wood mmenced his judgment by referring to "the great ability with ıich Mr Bradlaugh had argued his case;" and after dealing with e arguments at some length, said that he regretted to come to e conclusion that there was no completed agreement which could enforced, "as Mr Bradlaugh—to whom he gave implicit credit to everything stated by him on his own recollection—had no ubt been put to very great trouble and anxiety, but in deciding ainst his present claim he would not be shut out from obtaining at he could for his services on a *quantum meruit*. The costs of e summons would be reserved until the result of such an plication should have been ascertained. The question had been ued with extreme ability by Mr Bradlaugh, and he could not ssibly have been assisted better by whatever counsel he could ve retained than he had been by his own advocacy. He had t it in the clearest and most concise manner possible, and the urt had been much assisted by the whole of his argument. He d very fairly produced every document that he knew anything ut, or which he thought could throw any light upon the nsaction." The Vice-Chancellor repeated that he gave unfeigned dit to everything that Mr Bradlaugh had said; he did not try exaggerate or to improve upon his case; and he was sorry—ause he had no doubt that Mr Bradlaugh had had great trouble d anxiety in the matter—he was sorry that he must decide ainst him on his claim.

These words of Vice-Chancellor Wood's are specially valuable; t, as showing a judge's appreciation of Mr Bradlaugh's legal lity even when he was arguing a case which concerned an inary business matter only, and was neither directly or irectly a defence of those principles of liberty of speech, of ss, or of conscience which were so close to his heart; and t, as a tribute to that calm and well-balanced temperament ch even as a young man of thirty-three enabled him to state case so manifestly without gloss or exaggeration.

Later in the same year (1867) my father commenced a
against a gentleman named De Rin. This case went thr
various Courts, and although the subject in dispute was r
a private matter, the peculiar course taken by the defen
resulted in a public benefit, viz. the extension of the Evid
Amendment Act of 1869. The suit, begun in 1867, was
finally disposed of until 1870, but during these years the
issue of the competency of an Atheist to give evidence invo
so much fighting that my father actually lost about fifteen hun
pounds before it was decided in his favour.

As endorser of three bills of exchange, Mr Bradlaugh bro
an action against Mr De Rin as acceptor of the same. The
were drawn in Brussels, and sent for acceptance to the defen
in England; he accepted, and afterwards endorsed them
legal gentleman named Gallet, who in turn endorsed then
France to Mr Bradlaugh. The action was brought by the l
to enable him to realise the bills in this country, and
heard before Mr Justice Montague Smith and a common j
in the Court of Common Pleas, in December 1867. Mr Lu
Smith was counsel for the plaintiff; Mr D. Keane, Q.C.,
Mr Wood were for the defendant.

When Mr Bradlaugh entered the witness-box Mr K
interposed, saying: "I have a most painful duty to perf
and that is to object to the witness being sworn on accoun
his being an Atheist and holding notoriously Atheistic opinio
Mr Keane repeated that he felt it an extremely painful d
but that he had no discretion in the matter; he had instruc
to take this objection, and therefore he must take in. He ad
"At the same time I must say that I have met Mr Bradl
several times on business, and have never seen any conduct o
part unbecoming a gentleman."

Mr Justice Smith: "You have power, Mr Keane, to w
the objection. Sometimes it is material to make the obje
considering the matters in issue. But in the present ca
it so? I consider this a case in which the objection had b
be waived."

As counsel against Mr Bradlaugh in the Devonport
Mr Montague Smith, Q.C., had himself examined Mr Bradl
upon his opinions, but this he considered altogether a diff
matter; this was purely a commercial transaction.

Mr Bradlaugh stated that he was ready to affirm or to give idence upon oath, and after a short discussion Mr Justice iith said that he should take it upon himself to allow him affirm; but Mr Keane again interposed, urging that he would t be competent to do so. Mr Bradlaugh then made his unsel formally tender him as a witness, but after some con-rsation Mr Keane agreed to admit the facts which Mr Bradlaugh s to prove. It was then contended that the endorsement was t valid according to the law of France, but ultimately the rdict was given for the plaintiff, with leave to the defendant move the verdict for him on the objections he had raised.

Mr De Rin accordingly moved the Court of Common Pleas, l in July 1868 the Court granted a rule absolute to enter the rdict for the defendant, on the ground that the endorsement l not confer on the plaintiff the right of suing on the bills in s country. Mr Bradlaugh appealed against this decision to e Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Appeal suggested an quiry as to the fact whether the endorsed bills came into Bradlaugh's possession by post in England or whether they re handed to him in France, and Mr S. Prentice, Q.C., was minated as a referee to ascertain the fact. When the case ne on appeal before Mr Justice Lush in October 1868, in the chequer Chamber, bail had to be given for costs, and Mr stin Holyoake was tendered as such bail, but Mr Wood, unsel for the defendant De Rin, objected to Mr Holyoake as ; competent to take the oath. "I am known to be a Free-nker," wrote Austin Holyoake, with just indignation, "and is therefore competent for any solicitor or barrister to openly ult me by calling in question my ability to speak the th."

After a very long delay, in December 1869 the case came ore Mr Prentice to ascertain, as I have said, whether the bills re delivered to Mr Bradlaugh in England or in France. Once re Mr Bradlaugh presented himself as a witness, to prove ir delivery to him in England, and once more, despite the sing of the Evidence Amendment Act in the previous August, evidence was objected to. Mr Bradlaugh appeared in person, Mr Wood, who had been counsel for the defendant at the ring before Mr Justice Lush, again appeared for him. On Bradlaugh tendering himself as witness, Mr Wood—who, like

his predecessor Mr Keane, said that, acting under special instr
tions, he took a course which gave him considerable pain—ask
him: "Do you believe in God?"

Mr Bradlaugh's objection to answer this question was follow
by a long discussion, at the end of which Mr Prentice held that
was bound to answer. Again Mr Wood put the question: "Do y
believe in God?"

Mr Bradlaugh: "I do not; that is, I do not believe in any be
independent of the universe, governing or ruling it."

Mr Prentice: "Do you believe in a future state of rewards a
punishments?"

Mr Bradlaugh: "After death, certainly not."

"Then," said Mr Prentice, "I must refuse your evidence."

A day or so later my father, undaunted, carried his case be
Mr Justice Brett at Judges' Chambers, and asked for an orde
compel Mr Prentice to take his evidence; but Mr Justice B
held, although with some doubt, that Mr Prentice was
authorised by the Act of Parliament to administer the alterna
declaration.* The Judge added that Mr Bradlaugh ought to h
liberty to apply to the Court against the decision, and endo
his judgment with the opinion that it was "a fit case to go be
the full court."

A few days after this refusal of Mr Prentice to hear
evidence, and Mr Justice Brett's confirmation of this refusal,
Bradlaugh was called as a witness in the Central Criminal C
to prove the signature of Dr Shorthouse of the *Sporting Time*
an action for libel brought by Sir Joseph Hawley. On
objecting to take the oath he was readily permitted to give
evidence upon affirmation. Such was the confusion in which
law of evidence was left after the passing of the Evid
Amendment Act of 1869. A witness perfectly competent to

* The Evidence Amendment Act 1869 (32 and 33 Vict. c. 68) en
"that if any person called to give evidence in any court, whether in a
or criminal proceeding, shall object to take an oath, or shall be object
as incompetent to take an oath, such person shall, if the presiding jud
satisfied that the taking of the oath would have no binding effect upo
conscience, make the promise and declaration the form of which is cont
in the same section." Mr Prentice, as arbitrator, did not consider him
"presiding judge" within the meaning of the Act, and was not the
qualified to satisfy himself as to the state of a witness's conscience.

ence in one Court was incompetent in another, or else it was
atter of doubt whether he was competent or not.

n January 1870 Mr Bradlaugh carried his case before Lord
f Justice Bovill and Justices Keating, Brett, and Montague
h, in the Court of Common Pleas; but after half-an-hour's
ment the Judges refused to hear him on the ground that he
not moving on affidavit. "That is," said Mr Bradlaugh, "I
sent back to be sworn as to the refusal of my testimony before
uld be allowed to argue that I was not liable to take the oath,
before I could be allowed to claim that I had, notwith-
ding, the right to give evidence." A very pretty tangle of
radiction!

e then proceeded to satisfy all conventions by swearing
davits could not then be affirmed) that Mr Prentice did not
ider him competent to give evidence on oath, nor himself
petent to receive the evidence on affirmation. Mr Bradlaugh
rned two days later to the Court of Common Pleas and asked
"Mr Prentice be directed to take the evidence of Mr Charles
laugh on the fact to be stated in a special case." After a very
argument the Court decided that it had no power to give
tions to an arbitrator.

though no more advanced than when he first brought his
n in the winter of 1867, Mr Bradlaugh did not even yet
air, but determined to carry his case to the highest possible
tribunal. Pending the final decision of the law, petitions
got up all over the country and sent into Parliament, praying
further amendment of the Act.

n the 7th of February the case was mentioned at the Sittings
rror; but although there were seven judges present, Lord
f Baron Kelly refused to proceed with it in the absence of the
Chief Justice. He said that the case was one "of the
est possible importance, not only in this country, but through-
ll Europe; it was therefore of importance that the Court
d be so constituted as to insure general satisfaction with its
ion. The Lord Chief Justice Cockburn had been present
an argument on part of the case had been heard; it would be
able, therefore, that the case should stand over until the
gs in Error after the next term."

consequence of this, it was not until the 16th of May that
ng-drawn-out proceedings in this suit—involving at the outset

a simple business transaction, but now including far wider iss
entered upon their final stage. For more than two years j
had been persistently perverted from its course, and used a
tool of fraud, but now at length matters wore a different a
The case was heard in the Court of Exchequer Chamber,
Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Lord Chief Baron Kelly, Ju
Blackburn, Mellor, and Lush, and Barons Channell and Cl
The Court was unanimous in its decision that the endorse
entitled to sue, and that the verdict must be entered fo
Bradlaugh. The Lord Chief Justice remarked that the defe
had no merits at all in the case; he had relied upon this "
what unrighteous" defence, and the judgment now given wa
accordance with the good sense and justice and equity i
case."

So, in the end, my father won his suit, but the victory wa
costly. The judgment of the Court of Exchequer did not
him to recover any of the expenses he had incurred in fi
the oath question. Upon that point the decision of the Co
Common Pleas was final. In a public statement made at t
of the year at Bristol, in reply to some observations whic
fallen from Professor Newman, Mr Bradlaugh remarked t
contesting the oath question in the law courts he had himse
£1500. This was an allusion to his losses in the De Rin
the costs in which alone reached to more than £1100; in ad
to these enormous costs, he lost his debt of £360 becau
Christian De Rin, who objected to the evidence of an A
became bankrupt when the case was finally decided.

Before the passing of the Evidence Amendment Act in
all persons who disbelieved in God or in a future state of r
and punishments were held to be incompetent to give evide
a Court of Law. Freethinkers had long and bitterly fe
injustice and hardship of their position; and in 1868 and
after the first action in the case of Bradlaugh and De
most determined effort was made to move Parliament to
the law of evidence. The National Secular Society s
petitions to the House of Commons, and the Executive
Society put itself in communication with members of both H
Mr Bradlaugh said in 1870 that they tried "to pass a muc
distinct clause in favour of Freethinkers than the one as
stands, which is in its legal effect entirely different from the

originally drawn by the Hon. Mr Denman, and printed in the
ll first read before the Commons. It is Lord Cairns to whom
were ultimately indebted for the main words which really
ve us in the Act of 1869."

In 1870 another Bill, prepared by the Hon. G. Denman and Mr
cke King, was passed through Parliament to further amend the
v of evidence, but it only met such difficulties as had arisen in
e case of Bradlaugh and De Rin, and did not touch the law as
related to jurymen, affidavits, or Scotland. Mr Bradlaugh was
ntinually urging members of the House to get these points
ended, but nothing further was done until he himself carried
Oaths Act of 1888, by which the whole law relating to oaths
s radically altered.

Until the passing of this Act, jurors without religious belief
re liable to be committed to prison if they refused to be sworn,
l the law did not permit them to affirm. Affidavits on inter-
utory proceedings could only be made upon oath. In Scotland
Atheists and disbelievers in eternal torment were, in addition,
ompetent as witnesses.

In any case, too much discretion was left to the Judge, who was
posed to satisfy himself, according to the monstrous formula
l down by the Act, that the oath would have "no binding
ect" upon the conscience of a heretical witness. A promise is
ding upon the conscience of an honest man in whatever form
may be made, and it put Freethinkers in an entirely false
ition to be obliged to assent to the statement that some par-
ular form was not binding upon them. Conscientious witnesses
o wished to affirm hardly knew what to answer when the Judge
the question to them, and he would not always be satisfied
h the mere statement that the oath gave no additionally
ding effect to the promise. And sometimes his assent to the
mula would be used to the discredit of a witness. I myself
e heard Baron Huddleston tell the jury that it was for them to
sider what was the value of the evidence of a witness whom an
h would not bind.

Amongst the multitude of papers hostile to Mr Bradlaugh's
didature for Parliamentary honours in 1868 was one called the
zor. This journal went so far in its condemnatory strictures
t Mr Bradlaugh felt—as his counsel, Mr Digby Seymour, put it

—that he had no option but to bring an action against the p
prietor. The *Razor* must have been in a general way a toleral
obscure publication, for when I went to look it up in the Brit
Museum, no trace of it could be discovered, although the offici
there took considerable pains to find it for me. But the arti
against Mr Bradlaugh had been recopied from its columns a
widely circulated in Northampton, where it was calculated to p
duce serious mischief. Later on Northampton grew accustom
to hearing my father accused of every possible crime, and, know
their absolute falsity, became hardened to such slanders; still
that time the acquaintance was comparatively young betw
Northampton and the man whose statue it has this year placed
one of its most public thoroughfares.

The libel endeavoured to connect Mr Bradlaugh with Broadh
(of the Sheffield trade outrages), and with the misdeeds of wh
Mr Montagu Leverson had been guilty two years after my fat
quitted his office. It was published on August 15th, and was r
by Mr Bradlaugh on the 19th. He at once telegraphed a demand
an apology, and on the same day received a letter from the propri
saying that the editor, who was then absent, would be requeste
offer a suitable apology. This the editor showed no inclinatio
do, and some correspondence ensued. Ultimately the *Razor* pe
agreed to publish a statement of facts if Mr Bradlaugh would d
it up and send it to them. This he did, but the statement did
appear, and, tired of these proceedings, in October he issued a
against them. The case came on in December, at the *nisi p*
sittings at the Guildhall, before Mr Justice Blackburn and a c
mon jury. Mr Bradlaugh did not conduct his own case, but
Digby Seymour, Q.C., and Mr Day appeared on his behalf, w
the defendant Mr Brooks was represented by Mr O'Malley, Q
and Mr Griffiths.

No attempt was made to justify the libel, nor was any apo
offered, although Mr Digby Seymour intimated the willing
of his client to accept it even at that late hour. Mr Bradla
was the only witness (the defence called no evidence whate
other than those required for formal proofs; and, having no
the counsel for the defence endeavoured to excite the prejudic
the jury by cross-examining him as to his theological opin
The method pursued by Mr O'Malley was so gross that, lest I
to do him an injustice, I will quote the exact words of

port of his cross-examination. After asking a number of estions about Broadhead and trades unions, Mr O'Malley asked:

"Do you believe in the existence of a God?"

C. BRADLAUGH: I decline to answer that question, because, according the present laws of this country I might by so doing render myself ble to prosecution.

Mr O'M.: Have you not said, "There is no God"?

C. B.: No; on the contrary, I have repeatedly said and written that atheist does not say "There is no God."

Mr O'M.: Have you not made statements in public against the istence of God?

C. B.: I decline to answer that question.

Mr O'M.: Did you not once at a public lecture take out your watch d defy the Deity, if he had any existence, to strike you dead in a tain number of minutes?

C. B.: Never; such a suggestion is utterly unjustifiable.

Mr JUSTICE BLACKBURN: If any issues in the action depended on this rse of proceeding, Mr O'Malley, I should not object, but I cannot that these questions have any relevance to the matter before us.

Mr O'M.: I think I shall be able to show by a few questions more importance of the plaintiff's answers. Are you (to plaintiff) a iter in the *National Reformer*? And have you written under the me of "Iconoclast"?

C. B.: I decline to answer these questions, because prosecutions for alties are at present pending against the *National Reformer* at the tance of the late Government.

Mr O'M.: Did you write this passage, which appeared in the *tional Reformer*: "There is a great big monkey," etc. [fable already erred to on p. 233].

C. B., after some hesitation: I might refuse to answer this question the same ground I have refused to answer the other questions. prefer, however, to answer, and I say that passage did appear in a per with which I was connected, but was not written by me. It was t of a translation of a German fable, and was copied nearly two rs ago into the *Saturday Review* without the context. If the context re read with it, the meaning of the passage would be entirely differ-. It related as much to Hinduism as to Christianity. I wrote a ly to the *Saturday Review* at the time.*

Mr O'M.: Did you ever take legal proceedings against the *Saturday iew* for publishing this article?

C. B.: No; I considered it a criticism on my opinions, and answered y other articles in other papers. I should never sue a journal for attack on my opinions.

* This reply was refused insertion.

Mr O'M. : Do you believe in the truth of the Christian religion ?

C. B. : I decline to answer, because it is a prosecutable offence fo man to deny the truth of Christianity after he had been brought up its tenets.

The defence, as I have said, called no witnesses; but O'Malley was a host in himself, and as far as the jury were c cerned, the "eloquence" of his address more than made up the weakness of his case. He said that from Mr Bradlaug refusals to answer his questions, "it is fair to assume that he no character to be injured by such a criticism as this," mean by that that an Atheist had no character to be injured when principles were likened to those of such a man as Broadhea "self-confessed assassin," and his morality to that of a compelled to flee the country on a charge of fraud. Mr O'Ma went on to say that while it would have been better if the art had not appeared, "it was nonsense to talk of it as injury to notorious character of such a man. The smallest amount damages would be sufficient to set up the character of that 'no man. He asked the jury, as Christian men, to refrain from gi their endorsement to that man Bradlaugh, to that man Bradla to that man Bradlaugh."

In the course of his summing up, Mr Justice Blackburn that "all in Court must have been disgusted with some of questions which had been put in cross-examination." That were not disgusted was soon apparent, for, after a short cons tion, the jury, feeling bound to respond to this appeal to Christianity, returned a verdict for the plaintiff indeed, but one farthing damages.

My father was deeply hurt at the mockery of this verdict, overcome by a sense of helplessness in the face of such intoler he wrote these bitter words :—

"Outlaw or Citizen? Which am I?

"When at Bolton I sued for damages occasioned by the br of contract for the hire of the hall in which the lectures we be delivered, I was non-suited by the County Court Judge o ground that the lectures to be delivered were illegal (alth there was, of course, no possible evidence of what I should said). When I was illegally arrested at Devonport, confined damp cell for one night, and twice brought before the magistr

Exeter jury, although they in point of fact decided entirely in favour, gave me one farthing damages; and Lord Chief Justice le, on appeal to the Court sitting in *banco*, laid down the ctrine that the imprisonment which prevented a man like myself m making known his views (although that imprisonment had en by the verdict of the jury utterly unjustifiable) was rather a nefit to the individual imprisoned than a wrong for which nages could be sought. When, at Wigan, the evidence of self and a gentleman and his wife were all refused by the unty Court Judge, on the ground of our being all well-known cularists, I was legally robbed of nearly thirty pounds. When cerned about three years ago in another litigation, the state- nt of my opponent that I was 'Iconoclast, the Atheist,' iced to defeat me. When I sued as plaintiff last year in an ion to which there was no defence [Bradlaugh *v.* De Rin] in Court of Common Pleas, my evidence was objected to on ount of my disbelief in the Scriptures. When on appeal on oint of law I tendered Mr Austin Holyoake as bail, he was used because he was a well-known heretic, and could not refore be allowed to be sworn. Now I am grossly libelled, libel is not justified; the only cross-examination is on my nions; and the counsel for the defendant, who actually admits t the libel ought never to have appeared, asked the jury to give the smallest possible damages because I am an Atheist. The y respond to his appeal to their religious prejudices, and I get farthing damages. What am I to do? If when I am libelled ke no notice, the world believes the libel. If I sue I have to about one hundred pounds costs for the privilege, and gain the llest coin the country knows as a recompense. Duelling is oidden alike by my code of morals and the law of the country. horsewhip the libeller, I am punishable for assault. Am I law or citizen—which? 'Answer me, you who boast your eriority; you whose religion makes you better than myself. at mockery to tell me that I live in a free country, when it is s justice is dealt out to such as I am!

"CHARLES BRADLAUGH."

n January (1869) Mr Bradlaugh prayed the Court to grant him le for a new trial, and Lord Chief Justice Cockburn observed t "no one could say that because a man was an Atheist (even

assuming him to be one) anyone was entitled to say he wa murderer or a swindler. That, however, probably was not q the way in which it was put to the jury; it was probably rather in this way, that when a man had publicly put forth cert sentiments in certain language, it might be that his character was such as deserved or required much vindication. As a general p ciple the damages in actions of tort, especially in actions for li were eminently for the jury." Mr Justice Mellor made some sim remarks, and Mr Justice Hannen having put some questions as the refusal of the apology and the manner of the denial of charge, the Lord Chief Justice granted the rule.

It never came to a new trial, however, for in the follow November the defendant, Mr Brooks, withdrew the whole of charges against Mr Bradlaugh and apologised for their publicat but his solicitor intimated that he was in no position to pay costs. Therefore, although my father obtained the barren s faction of this tardy apology and the withdrawal of the cha it cost him not less than £200. The *Razor* itself did not sur this litigation, for before the new year of 1869 had dawned it already discontinued.

In accordance with the wishes of some Yorkshire friends Bradlaugh had promised to give two political lectures in Mir on the 18th and 19th November 1870. The Mirfield Town was engaged for this purpose on the 21st of September, and lectures announced were—"War: its Effect upon European Peo and an Appeal for Peace," and "England's Balance Sheet." hall belonged to a Company, and when it was realised that property was let to the wicked Atheist for the purpose of plea the cause of peace in Europe, some of the directors objected, objected so strongly, to the proposed desecration of their bui that they determined to back out of the agreement under the tence that the hall-keeper had no authority to let it, althoug fact, he had taken four guineas, money paid for the hire o hall, and had given a receipt for it. Mr Bradlaugh persisted i right to lecture, and on making inquiries learned that the keeper had let the hall on former occasions without any obje on the part of the directors. In order to complicate matter Directors let the hall for the dates assigned to Mr Bradlaugh party of Ethiopian serenaders.

As Mr Bradlaugh made no sign of yielding when the time ived, the assistance of the police was summoned, and the hall s guarded, inside and out, by a body of constabulary numbering ut thirty men, under a superintendent. The directors evidently ed war better than peace. Mr Bradlaugh reached Mirfield at ut a quarter past six on the evening of the 18th, but, fearing a turbance, he went straight to the Town Hall, at once and alone, ough the meeting was not summoned until eight o'clock on reaching the hall he found it prepared for a siege; in lition to its garrison of police, it was barricaded with huge lks of timber. He held some conversation with the Superindent of the Police, who was sufficiently polite, and the Chair- n of the Board of Directors, a gentleman particularly prominent his opposition to Mr Bradlaugh, and now present to watch over premises in person. During the conversation a crowd of about r hundred people collected, but at my father's request they ained perfectly quiet and took no part in the proceedings. Mr dlaugh then endeavoured to open the door, but in addition to g strongly barricaded the handle was held by Mr Johnson (the irman), and another man, the former of whom boasted that he uld spend a large sum to keep Bradlaugh out of Mirfield. ding the force against him too great, my father, after a little ggle, gave up the attempt to enter.

He at once commenced an action against the Town Hall npany, but owing to various delays the suit was not tried until summer of 1871. It then came on at the Leeds Assizes on gust 7th, before Mr Justice Mellor and a special jury. Mr dlaugh conducted his own case, while Mr Digby Seymour, ., and Mr Mellor appeared for the Hall Company. Mr dlaugh opened in "a very temperate speech" of "great rness," and then called his witness, Mr Stead, to prove the of the hall. Mr Stead had to go through a preliminary fusing examination as to his fitness to make affirmation, ough Mr Justice Mellor was as considerate as the obnoxious ding of the Evidence Amendment Act would allow. Objection g taken to certain questions Mr Bradlaugh wished to put to witness, my father was obliged to go into the witness-box self to prove the points. Of course Mr Digby Seymour could forget the lesson in tactics learned a few months before from O'Malley, and like his opponent in the *Razor* case—though

happily with less coarseness—seized the opportunity thus offe to rouse the religious prejudices of the jury, although the s question in dispute was the validity of a contract made by servant of a Company on its behalf.

But relevant or irrelevant, by hook or by crook, the religi question was almost invariably dragged in against Mr Bradlaug and just as invariably a bad case was bolstered up by diverting minds of the jury from the real merits of the case to a contem tion of the wickedness of Atheistic opinions. Hence, accordin the usual procedure, Mr Digby Seymour began:

"You are the proprietor of the *National Reformer*, I think?"

Mr BRADLAUGH: I decline to answer that question on the ground t it might make me liable to a criminal prosecution. I am threate with one at the present moment.

Mr S.: Oh, you state that, do you?

Mr B.: Yes, I do.

Mr S.: I think you hold strong opinions on political subjects as as on religion?

Mr B.: Well, I hold opinions some of which are similar to those by Dean Stanley, Mr J. S. Mill, and others.

Mr. S.: Without putting it unfairly, you hold extreme opinions

Mr B.: I hold opinions held by a great many of the first me Europe.

Mr S.: And I suppose, as you have refused, I must not ask you question as to the contents of this *National Reformer* (holding one i hand). May I ask if you think Christianity has a ludicrous aspect

Mr B.: You may ask, but I shall not answer the question.

Mr S.: Do you know a work called "The Ludicrous Aspect Christianity"? Is it in your library?

Mr B.: It is not in my library.

Mr S.: Then you think that Christianity has a ludicrous aspect

Mr B.: I cannot answer that.

Mr S.: At all events, under your eloquent handling, I be Christianity has been made to assume ridiculous aspects?

Mr B.: I have never written such a pamphlet as you refer to delivered lectures under such a title.

At this point the Judge interfered, and after pointing out the lectures to be delivered at Mirfield were of a political chara warned Mr Seymour that such questions were unnecessary. they were to destroy Mr Bradlaugh's credit I should not ol but there is really no part of his evidence in dispute," he said

As Mr Bradlaugh had not otherwise sufficient evidence of the tings of the hall, he was obliged to call the hall-keeper himself. is man, Thomas Balme, was, as might be expected, a very willing witness, with a peculiarly defective memory. Having ard him, Mr Justice Mellor came to the conclusion that he lly had no authority to let the hall, and that consequently the intiff must be non-suited.

Mr Bradlaugh decided to try for a new trial, and applied to Mr stice Willes at Judges Chambers a few days later that judgment ght be stayed until the fifth day of Michaelmas Term, in order enable him to move the Court of Queen's Bench. Mr Thomas itty appeared for the defendants.

When Mr Justice Willes read the receipt, which ran as follows: Mirfield Town Hall Company, Limited. Mr Charles Bradlaugh ve taken the Hall for two nights, November 18th and 19th, for sum of four guineas. Paid 21st of September 1870. Thomas lme, Hall-keeper, liabal to damages,"—he said to Mr Bradlaugh, shall be very glad if you can make out that the law helps you, I think your case a very hard one. (Turning to Mr Chitty) ith such a receipt and memorandum as this, having paid my r guineas, I should most certainly expect to lecture. It is very d for the plaintiff so be defeated by the mere statement of your n servant that he had no authority."

Mr Chitty opposed the application. "There is really no good und shown for a new trial," he said. "Perhaps at this moment legal ground," replied the Judge, "but a strong suggestion ich I am inclined to listen to. This is an application by a intiff who will be stopped if I do not aid him, and the circum- nces, not ordinary ones, are certainly in his favour."

In the end it was arranged that Mr Bradlaugh should have an portunity to move, if he could pay £60 into Court within seven s, and on his side my father pledged himself not to trouble the urt unless he was quite satisfied that he could prove that Balme l let the hall on other occasions. I gather that he was unable get sufficient evidence on this point, for he carried the case no ther. The taxed costs of the Mirfield Town Hall Company ounted to £98 7s., and as Mr Bradlaugh was unable to pay at once an attempt was made to enforce immediate judgment, this failed, and it was ultimately arranged that Mr Bradlaugh uld pay £10 per month. So here was another addition to debt

to the load of an already over-weighted man. The debt incurr
in the Devonport trial took him three and a half years to pa
Happily, his own expenditure in this (the Mirfield) case w
covered by the subscriptions of his poor friends, and they al
ultimately contributed £25 towards the costs of the H
Company.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONAL.

our house the year 1870, which was to bring death and sorrow so many homes, and rage and despair to so many hearts, opened eerlessly indeed. The outlook for my father was dark and omy in the extreme. Overweighted with debt, he seemed to sinking ever deeper and deeper in financial difficulties. The osecution of the *National Reformer*, the De Rin and the *Razor* gation, had each and all left him more or less deeply involved. e great panic of 1866 had dealt him a serious blow from which vainly attempted to recover; the identification of "C. Brad-gh, of 23 Great St. Helen's," with "Bradlaugh, the Atheist turer," was fatal to business. The spirit of the boycott existed g before Captain Boycott lived to give it his name. People re much too good to do business with an Atheist, and just as the ker's wife took her custom from the boy coal merchant in 1848, customers of a different class took their business from the City rchant twenty years later.

My father began to despair of making his business succeed der these conditions, and to think seriously of giving up his City , and of devoting himself to public work. This course would eve him from the anxieties of two clashing occupations; more-r, as he said, "while prejudice and clamour bring ruin to me as business man, they can do me no injury as a lecturer and a rnalist."*

n addition to all these difficulties—the outcome of his public k—there were others, less serious in some respects, it is true, far more so in the discredit attaching to them and the anguish y caused. I refer to those home extravagances and home

* *National Reformer*, April 17, 1870.

debts, due to my mother's infirmity, which all helped to pile the total liabilities to unmanageable figures. In March or Apr man was put into possession at Sunderland Villa, and remained th for several weeks. My father felt this bitterly, but his course conduct was now clear before him, and unhesitatingly deci upon; thus once more we see the pressure of money difficul directly shaping his path. A few personal words in the *Natio Reformer** indicated his resolve: "After five years' severe strugg he wrote, "so severe, indeed, as to repeatedly endanger my hea I find it is utterly impossible to remain in business in the City the face of the strong prejudice excited against me on political religious grounds. I have determined to entirely give up business, and devote myself to the movement. I have, theref taken steps to reduce the personal expenditure of myself and fan to the lowest possible point, in order that I may set myself from liability as early as I can, and I shall be glad now to arra for week-night lectures in any part of Great Britain."

Hence, when these people, moved by their "political religious" prejudices, drove Mr Bradlaugh from the City, prevented him from making a livelihood in the ordinary wa business, they were unconsciously forging a weapon against th selves. Instead of giving a small portion of his time to wri and speaking against Theology, and on behalf of Radicalism Republicanism, my father henceforth devoted the whole of his to that work.

In accordance with his determination to reduce his sonal expenditure to the lowest point, in the middle of Ma before his words could have been read by those to whom they addressed—my mother, my sister, and myself went to Midhurs find a home in my grandfather's little cottage, and my fa set aside a modest sum weekly for our board and clothing. brother remained with Mr John Grant of the Grenadier Guard tuition, and Mr Bradlaugh himself took two tiny rooms at 3s a week, at 29 Turner Street, Commercial Road, in the house widow who had been known to our family from her early girlh The size and style of these rooms may be guessed from the n bourhood in which they were situated, and from the weekly r asked for them. Within a few days or so from our lea

* May 22, 1870.

ndon, our household effects at Sunderland Villa were sold, my her retaining a few of the least saleable articles of furniture to pply what was necessary for his two rooms.

Instead of taking the most comfortable bedstead, he took the e which had been used by us little girls, and this was the bed on which he slept until a year before his death, when I removed without his knowledge during his absence in India, and put a re comfortable one in its place. Our nursery washstand, a st of drawers, a writing-table, and half-a-dozen chairs comprised the furniture he thought necessary for his use. My mother s not allowed to take anything whatever with her beyond our aring apparel and a few trifles of small actual worth, but which specially valued. My father's books, of course, he took with n, these, and one other thing which I had almost forgotten. e bedroom and sitting-room at Turner Street communicated, l the walls of both were covered with shelves, except just over bed-head, which was reserved for the one other treasure ught from home. This was a large canvas painted in oils for Bradlaugh by an artist friend, Emile Girardot. The subject s very simple, being nothing more than a tired hurdy-gurdy boy ping in a doorway, with a monkey anxiously watching. What- r the intrinsic value of the picture might be, to my father it s above all price. He had quite a love for it, and often spoke t—even in his last illness he talked of it, and wondered where was, and longed for it, for by that time it had gone out of his ds.

So by the end of May we were all adrift and separated—my ner in his small book-lined rooms in the east end of London; brother Charlie with the 2nd Battalion Grenadier Guards, erever it happened to be; my mother, sister, and self vegetating Sussex hamlet. But bad as all this was, 1870 held still worse ngs in store for us. In June my brother was taken ill with a d attack of scarlatina, of which we knew nothing until he came ne to us for his holidays on the 20th of the month. Due pre- tions had been neglected, and almost immediately after he shed us kidney disease began to manifest itself. From this lied on the 15th July, and he was buried exactly a month from day on which he came home. The shock of his death was ible to all of us, and not least so to my father. Although ly eleven years old at his death, Charlie was a lad full

of promise, quick to learn and to comprehend, amiable, hon
able, and generous; and of these traits I can recall m
little instances. I have a photograph of him taken at the ag
seven or eight, and as I look at it I see his eyes gaze out f
under his square brow with a wonderfully clear and fearless lo

He was buried on the 20th day of July in Cocking Churchy
my grandfather's cottage at Cocking Causeway (Midhurst) bein
the parish of Cocking. Of course, we had to submit to the Ch
of England service, for it was before the Burials Act was pa
but the Rev. Drummond Ash was a kindly, courteous gentle
and he made things as easy as the circumstances would al
The burial would have taken place at the Brookwood Necro
had my father been able to afford the expense. As he was
Charlie was laid perforce in consecrated ground at the foot o
South Down Hills with Christian rites and ceremonies.

The Rev. Theophilus Bennett, a later Rector of Cocking
stated that his predecessor, Mr Ash, "attended" my brother
his dying moments." This statement is entirely without fou
tion; I am not aware that Mr Ash ever saw or spoke with
brother at all, and certainly the only persons present when
boy was dying were my grandmother, my mother, our nurse
(who remained with us at her own wish to help nurse hi
his illness), my sister, and myself; moreover, Mr Ash was at
time reported to be himself ill and away from home, havin
word that if "the little boy at the Causeway should die
facilities for his funeral were to be given, or some such messa

The telegram bearing the totally unexpected summons t
father to hasten to see his son for the last time was handed t
on the platform at Bury just as he was about to deliver a le
I have been told that when he read the words he turned de
pale, but with that self-control which never failed him in adve
he rose, and with the least perceptible hesitation, commence
went through with his lecture. On Tuesday night he rec
his summons; on Wednesday he was with us, though on
leave again by the early train on Thursday morning. On F
the boy died, and on that same day and the next my fathe
to be in the law-courts as witness in a case relating to the N
Colour Company.* His grief for the loss of his son was in

* This was an action to try the right of the Sheriff of Surrey to d
upon the Colour Machinery at Hatcham. Baron dos Santos, of the R

t he shut it up in his heart, and rarely afterwards mentioned e name of his boy, of whom he had been so proud.

---

gation, had wished to trade in Naples colour in England, under the name the Company of which Mr Bradlaugh was Secretary. Mr Bradlaugh had ught and paid for the machinery to grind the colours before they could be d, and he claimed to carry on the business until Baron dos Santos should rchase the things off him. Obliged to raise money in 1868, when he was ntesting Northampton, Mr Bradlaugh borrowed £600 from Mr Javal upon machinery, and he in turn raised some money from the Advana mpany. Before this last had been repaid the defendants seized the chinery under an execution judgment as creditors of the Naples Colour mpany. Mr Bradlaugh was the principal witness, and the newspaper ort notes that he requested to be allowed to affirm instead of being orn, but said that he should take the oath, if his lordship insisted on it. He was allowed to affirm, and at the conclusion of the case the jury ided that the machinery belonged to Mr Bradlaugh, and therefore gave a dict for the plaintiffs.

CHAPTER XXX.

LECTURES—1870-1871.

THE early part of the seventies was a period of much Freethou and Republican activity in England; everywhere in the F thought ranks there was movement and life. In spite of persistent refusal of Messrs W. H. Smith & Son to sell the *Nati Reformer*, its circulation was largely increasing, and in 187 was read in the four quarters of the globe. In England all s of devices were resorted to damage the sale; country news-ag refused, like Messrs Smith & Son, to sell it, or said they unable to obtain it, or quietly returned it "out of print"; cont bills were no sooner posted in some towns than they were down, and on occasion the police employed themselves, or employed, in this work. At Scarborough * evidence was obta against Police Constable Charlton, and legal proceedings commenced. At the last moment, however, the sum of 2s. paid into Court, together with costs proportionate to the sumn and Mr Bradlaugh, overwhelmed with other work and wo contented himself with this acknowledgment of the wrongd and did not pursue the matter further.

The high pressure at which my father had been living ha undermined his health that for a long time he was a martyr to s neuralgia; still, notwithstanding this, in the early part of the he was lecturing once or twice a week, and as soon as he was to extricate himself from the City his lecture list grew tremendo In the month of July alone—a month which, as we have brought its own peculiar burdens—he gave as many as twent lectures. I find it noted that during this last half-year he deli as many as one hundred and seventy lectures, in forty-ni which the proceeds were insufficient to cover his railway expe

* May 1870.

d in the case of twenty more, although his railway was covered, ere was not enough to clear his hotel bill.

Except in one or two very special cases* Mr Bradlaugh never ok a fee for his lectures. He took whatever surplus remained om the admission money, after paying all expenses of the eeting. He made this arrangement originally so that no town village might be hindered from promoting lectures on account the expense. "Large and small places," he said, "will be sited indifferently." A charge for admission was always made his lectures, usually a small one, varying from twopence or reepence to a shilling. He objected very strongly to "free" tures and collections. Of course he now, as ever, very en gave away the proceeds of his lectures. His audiences re frequently very large, especially in places where he was own. He happened to make a note of the numbers who came hear him on the Sundays in January 1871, and he records at on the Sunday evenings alone he had audiences whose total mbers reached six thousand, and at three morning lectures there s a total of two thousand five hundred.

Halls were often refused to him, although not quite so frently as in former years. In 1870 the Stratford Town Hall s refused by the West Ham Local Board, and for many ars he had great difficulty in obtaining a hall in Stratford. e St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, was refused to him by the Mayor Coventry for a lecture on "The Land and the People," and Mirfield Town Hall after it had been duly engaged for two itical lectures was closed against him by the proprietors.† exactly similar case occurred at Glossop a year and a half er. The Town Hall was taken for a political lecture, and almost the last moment, after the lapse of several weeks, Council instructed that the money paid for the hire should returned. The effect of this was to produce a much greater l more widespread excitement and discussion than half a dozen tures would have done.

It was in 1870 that Mr Bradlaugh began that close scrutiny the history of our reigning family which resulted in the

---

* These cases were so rare that the only one I can actually recall is that he Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society.

† See p. 294.

publication of his "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick" a little book which created some considerable stir both wh it was first published in 1871,* and when an edition par revised by Mr Bradlaugh was brought out after his death. T "Impeachment" has been widely read both here and in Ameri where it was reprinted. Besides writing upon the Brunswi family, Mr Bradlaugh used to take the history of one or more the members of it as a subject for his lecture, and taught ma a good Republican lesson whilst discoursing upon the exceptio virtues of "George, Prince of Wales," or "the four Georges." friend has told me an amusing story concerning one of th lectures. My father had promised to speak one Saturday eveni at Sowerby Bridge on "George, Prince of Wales." By so curious blunder the friends who were making the arrangeme placarded the town with the subject announced as "Alb Edward, Prince of Wales." The effect of this was to ca a large number of police to be drafted into the town, and Government shorthand reporter was sent down from Lond travelling by the same train as my father. The hall was, course, crowded, but whether the audience were disappoin when my father explained the mistake in the subject of lecture, my informant did not say. In any case I expect t the officials who had been so busy in preparing for treason riot, and found only history and order, felt that the proceedi had turned out rather flat. At Stourbridge, where Mr Bradla was invited † by some "gentlemen of Republican tendencies" discourse upon the "House of Brunswick," Lord Lyttleton, Lord Lieutenant of the county, tried to induce the Stourbri Town Commissioners to withdraw from their agreement to the Corn Exchange for the lectures, but his efforts were in v

* At the end of 1872 Mr John Baker Hopkins made a violent attack u Mr Bradlaugh for his "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick" in pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. A reply to this from my father's appeared in the January (1873) Number, but there was such an outcry ra in the press at the insertion in the "Gentleman's" Magazine of an ar by "Mr Bradlaugh of Whitechapel and Hyde Park respectively" Mr John Hatton, the editor, felt so far obliged to defend himself as to a word in favour of free discussion. He further atoned for his sins allowing Mr J. B. Hopkins to return to his attack in the following mont

† December 1871.

s Lordship seems to have been a little angry, and it was even noured that he went so far as to tell the magistrates that he uld have Mr Bradlaugh arrested for treason. He succeeded in sing such a scare that a large extra body of police were drafted o the town under the order of the Chief Constable of the nty. There were two lectures, and Colonel Carmichael, the ief Constable, was present at both, but, as I gather from the nted reports, the meetings were large, the audiences delighted, l of both the end "was peace."

In the summer of 1871 Mr Bradlaugh went one Monday ning to Newton Abbot to address a meeting in the New getable Market, used then for a public gathering for the first ie. The subject on which he was to speak was "The Land, the ople, and the Coming Struggle." Very few of the tradesmen in town would consent to expose bills of the lecture, and several o did display them at first took them from their windows at the rice of the "respectable and pious," and in the end only two wed the announcements. Two gentlemen who were present at meeting—one as a reporter for the local paper, the other, one of five Radicals who invited Mr Bradlaugh to Newton—have en a vivid account of a little incident which enlivened the ning's proceedings. It appears that in 1871 a certain Mr John rge Stuart was the High Bailiff of the town. "This gentle-n," I am told, "was a Methodist, and had at that time two s who were studying for the ministry. He was also a inguished boxer, and he had the reputation of being the st formidable wielder of the gloves in England." Mr Stuart, ported by two friends, "attended the meeting with the wed intention of obstructing Mr Bradlaugh. As soon as Mr dlaugh began to speak, Mr Stuart commenced to disturb the ting. Mr Bradlaugh repeatedly requested him to reserve his icisms until the close of the lecture, when an opportunity would offered him of speaking from the platform. But Mr Stuart tinued to shout his opinions upon Mr Bradlaugh's Atheism, ough the lecture was on a purely political question. At last Bradlaugh said that unless the interruptions ceased, he should compelled to act as his own chairman, and to request Mr art to leave the building. As Mr Stuart and his friends would desist from shouting, Mr Bradlaugh stepped from the platform, ked up to the athlete, and carried him to the door with ease.

At the doorway Mr Stuart spread his arms and held the jam but Mr White, who was acting as doorkeeper, pushed one of hands aside, and Mr Bradlaugh set the disturber down in street. None of Mr Stuart's friends offered the least resistan and the crowd, which was made up of hostile as well as frien hearers, loudly cheered Mr Bradlaugh's unceremonious ejectment the local hero of the 'noble art.'" The friends to whom I indebted for the foregoing say further that Mr Stuart's pride brought very low by this episode, and that he rarely appea afterwards among the former admirers of his prowess.

In the course of my father's lecturing experiences, he seve times met with local "champions," as defenders of the faith. few months later, at Sowerby Bridge, a local champion wres entered the room during the delivery of his lecture and commen abusing him loudly. The man was spoken to several times, but would neither remain quiet, nor quit the place. Mr Bradla was at length obliged to leave the platform and put him out *armis*. Put out at one door, he reappeared at another; but time the audience took the matter into their own hands, and h him out. Another "champion" conducted a serious disturba at Congleton, but of that later.

In the month of March (1871) Dr Magee, then Bishop of Pe borough, delivered three discourses in the Norwich Cathedra "vindication and establishment of the Christian faith," "directed against modern forms of infidelity." The Freethinl of Norwich, anxious to give these discourses the attention wh the high position and high reputation of the speaker deman had asked Mr Bradlaugh to come to Norwich to represent them the occasion of the Bishop's discourses. This he consented to and attended all the lectures, but—as perhaps it is superfluou say—he was not allowed to make any remark upon them. It however desired that he should make some reply in the t where the lectures had been delivered, at least, if not in Cathedral to Dr Magee himself, but it was not easy to obtain use of a hall for the purpose. A circuit of the town was mad the vain endeavour to hire a building, and it was only a considerable difficulty that the Free Library Hall was at procured. As my father truly said, "the approved mode encountering modern infidelity seemed to be that of free sp for the Church advocate, and gagged mouth for the pleade

ehalf of heresy." * In the Norwich Free Library Hall he elivered three lectures in reply to Dr Magee. These he afterards published, together with the Bishop's discourses; and as a atement of the cases for and against Christianity and for and gainst Freethought, coming from such representative men as the te learned and eloquent Archbishop of York and Mr Bradlaugh, ey cannot fail to be of special interest.

During the autumn my father gave a lecture on behalf of the ondon Republican Club, and upon this speech all sorts of mours were founded, not indeed upon what my father actually d say, but upon what his detractors chose to believe he said. r Disraeli had recently stated at an agricultural meeting Hughenden † that it could not be concealed that Her ajesty was "physically and morally incapacitated from perform- g her duties," and my father took these words as the text of his cture for the Republican Club in London. His speech, which as unusually long, occupying close upon an hour and a half, was most careful recital of the duties of the Monarch and the rights d duties of the people, with special reference to the course pursued ring the periods when George III. was officially declared capable of performing the royal functions. Shorthand writers re present, and this address, or parts of it, was telegraphed all er the United Kingdom, to America and to the Continent. uch of it appeared in the American and Continental press of the xt day or so, and after a short interval distorted accounts of it ere to be heard of in most parts of England. There was one ssage in particular upon which a whole mountain of mis-

---

* "Christianity in Relation to Freethought Scepticism and Faith: three courses by the Bishop of Peterborough, with special replies by Charles adlaugh."

A similar case in a small way happened at Deptford in April 1873. A v. Dr Miller had delivered some addresses in the Deptford Lecture Hall ainst "unbelievers," and it was proposed that Mr Bradlaugh should reply these addresses in the same place. He had frequently spoken in the Dept- d Lecture Hall before, but when the Deptford Freethinkers sought to gage it for a lecture in answer to Dr Miller, the Committee refused to let hall for that purpose. This intolerance the *Kentish Mercury* applauded referring to it in bold type as "noble conduct."

† September 26, 1871.

representation and worse* was afterwards based. In the cour
of his address Mr Bradlaugh had said: "Many of you are awa
that I have lately repeatedly declared my most earnest desire th
the present Prince of Wales should never dishonour this count
by becoming its King. My opinion is that if four or five years
political education are allowed to continue in this land, th
worthy representative of an unworthy race will never be King
England. My thorough conviction is that neither his intelligenc
nor his virtues, nor his political ability, nor his military capacity-
great as all these are for a member of his family—can entitle hi
to occupy the throne of Great Britain. I am equally opposed
his ever being Regent of England. I trust that he may never
on the throne or lounge under its shadow."

Of course my father showed himself much too sanguine
to the time necessary for the political education of this count
towards a Republican form of Government; but those who rec
the seeming vigour of the Republican movement in Engla
during the early seventies will know that he was not witho
excuse for his hopeful views. In any case, one would ha
thought that his expression in regard to the Prince of Wales w
strong enough to have been dealt with by English Monarchists
he made it; but instead, it was perverted into an "impudent a
disloyal announcement that he and a certain number of his frien
would take care that the Prince should never come to the throne.†
A very different thing indeed to the "desire" my father had utter
The effect of all this was to raise such a tremendous journalis
storm against him, that a few weeks later he wrote: "As
the hostile attacks, they are during the past fortnight so numer
that I have not space even to catalogue them. Many journals c
for my prosecution." One paper, a century or so behind the tim
recommended a pillory and flogging.

A curious little incident which occurred ten or twelve days af
Mr Bradlaugh's lecture helped to strengthen the outcry agai
him, especially on the part of Conservative speakers and
Conservative press. On the 28th of October Mr Gladst
addressed a vast meeting of his constituents on Blackheath.
spoke for two hours, defending the conduct of his colleagues a

* See Chapter ix., vol. ii.

† Earl Fortescue at the King's Nympton Farmers' Club, November 187

imself since they had taken office three years ago. During this nportant speech he quoted, from what he called a "questionable ook," these lines, which he said contained "much good sense"—

> "People throughout the land,
> Join in one social band,
> And save yourselves;
> If you would happy be,
> Free from all slavery,
> Banish all knavery,
> And save yourselves."

This sentiment was greeted with deafening applause by the housands listening with eager ears to every word that fell from he Prime Minister. But the epithet bestowed upon the book hence he drew this example of the "good sense" it contained, used a perfect frenzy of curiosity. Literary Conservatives magined that Mr A. C. Swinburne was the author, and the dismay xhibited was almost beyond description when it was discovered—y the horrified *Scotsman*, I believe—that Mr Gladstone's questionable book" was the "Secularists' Manual of Songs nd Ceremonies," edited by Austin Holyoake and Charles Watts, ith a preface by Charles Bradlaugh. The press comments upon he discovery are amusing to read, especially as Mr Bradlaugh was ften made in some way responsible, not merely for the verse, but r Mr Gladstone's quoting it on Blackheath. Mr Giffard, Q.C., as amongst those who thought it "an outrage" that such a book hould have been so quoted by the Prime Minister of England. he publisher was indictable, said he wrathfully, and the writer ould have been sent to prison in the good old days when the hristian religion was more thought of. * But neither he nor any he else moved to prefer the indictment.

---

* Address to the Cardiff Constitutional Association.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FRANCE—THE WAR.

When hostilities were declared between France and Germany 1870, Mr Bradlaugh did not take sides with either nation; entirely and unreservedly condemned the war. He and his frien kept clear of the war fever which seemed coursing through t blood of most people. "All the evil passions of Europe a aroused," wrote Austin Holyoake, "and even children gloat ov the narratives of slaughter where thousands perish. The soldi instead of the schoolmaster, has become the foremost man, a Rage, Revenge, and Murder are the gods of public idolatry." N a word would Mr Bradlaugh or his colleagues say to commisera the "insulted honour of France," not a word to glorify t triumphant arms of Germany.

But my father was not neutral because he was unmoved. H sympathies were always strongly with the French people, but th very sympathies made him bitterly antagonistic to the Fren Emperor. In the middle of August he replied to a correspondei "You do not understand my position. I regard Napoleon as o of the greatest amongst modern scoundrels, and Bismarck as crafty diplomatist striving to make a great German Empire un Prussia. I love Bismarck so little that when the Reform Leag wrote him an address, I refused to sign it. I hope to see German republic, and I believe I shall, but this war will postpo it. I deeply regret the evoking the 'nationality' madness France, for I fear that many of our brave Republican frien will be killed in striving to save, as they think, the flag of Fra from disgrace."

On the 4th of September was declared the third Fre Republic. The *National Reformer* was quick to give it welco but my father himself was away in the provinces just th lecturing and debating with scarce a day's respite, and so ov wrought with much speaking in heated rooms and much travell

wet and changeable weather, that his health seemed on the
oint of breaking down. At Leigh he had lectured on two succes-
ve nights in a wooden theatre, admirably adapted to give free
imittance to every gust of the damp night wind. On the
orning (Sunday) following these lectures he had left at six o'clock
go to Darwen. By that time his voice was reduced to a hoarse
hisper, and the Darwen friend who met him looked grave when
saw how ill he seemed, especially when my father announced
s intention of going to bed until the lecture hour. Three
ctures he gave that day—morning, afternoon, and evening—with
hour's discussion after the morning lecture, but his appearance
ade such an impression upon his Lancashire friends that they
ote him an address of sympathy.

Ill-health, overwork, financial worries, and domestic sorrows
ade a heavy burden to carry; still, notwithstanding all this, he
ade the opportunity to write his sympathy with Republican
ance.

"First," he said, "that there may be no mistake, I throw in
y lot with France—Republican France. While Louis Napoleon
igned at the Tuileries the memories of December were too
ody, nineteen-year-old hatreds too bitter, to let me even be just
any cause he led. A perjured liar, a cold-blooded murderer,
eartless coward, a paltry trickster, a dishonourable cheat, all this
s Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. I was, therefore, well inclined
Germany from my utter hatred of the imperial demoralisation
France. But now, when events are moving so rapidly that
rhaps ere this sees the light all may be changed, it is worth
ile to ask, Was Prussia guiltless in the war? and I answer,
! Bismarck and Prussian armies are evidence on this side.
smarck using craft of a higher order than Napoleonic scoundrel-
n, and moved by a broader ambition than the mere embezzle-
nt of national funds or personal aggrandisement, has outwitted
poleon; but the English people, while repudiating with fullest
dignation the wicked and most monstrous declaration of war,
not forget that by-divine-right-ruling and for-victory-God-
nking William is as much a detester of popular rights as was
poleon himself. . . . . At this moment the world's most fearful
se is in its armies, and our cry is Peace."

It was only just, he said, that the French Republic should pay
ne penalty for the previous folly of the nation, and if Prussia

exacted ever so heavy a war indemnity in money, it should
cheerfully paid. But he spoke most strenuously against the s
render of Alsace and Lorraine. To Germany he appealed
peace "while yet the glory is yours—if indeed it be glory to
and maim, scorch and scathe, and this at the cost of as ma
killed and wounded, scorched and scathed, on your own sid
Last of all he appealed to the peoples of England, France, a
Germany to unite for peace; if they were earnest, he wrote, th
must be obeyed, and their "glorious desire must be conceded."

This article was in print on the 14th September; and as he
at breakfast at his Turner Street lodgings one morning, three d
later, my father received a somewhat startling visit from a Fre
lady, at that time well known in French and English politi
circles. Madame la Vicomtesse de Brimont Brassac was a lady
great beauty and great persuasive powers, although in her err
that September morning she had no occasion for the use of eit
one or the other. She came to my father with the idea of persu
ing him to undertake the attempt to create a feeling in favou
France amongst the English masses; this was a work after
own heart, and one indeed to which he had already set his ha
in the article to which I have just referred. This interview
for its immediate result a succession of public meetings, held b
in London and the provinces, in favour of France and Peace.
first, held at the Hall of Science on Monday the 19th, v
despite the short notice, attended by upwards of 1400 pers
Through Madame de Brimont my father learned that Lord Granv
was moving against the French Republic, and was in favou
replacing the Emperor in Paris. Friends everywhere were ur
to counteract Lord Granville's efforts by striving to make a liv
public opinion in favour of France and Peace. At this
demonstration two addresses were agreed to: one to Mr Gladst
praying him to use his high office "actively in favour of pea
for, it was urged, "it will be to England's lasting shame if ev
possible effort be not made to prevent further carnage;"
second was sent to the French Government of National Defe
and to the French people, offering congratulations on the posi
taken by Jules Favre, and tendering deep and heartfelt sympa
to the nation in its sorrow.

In co-operation with Dr Congreve, Prof. Beesly, and o
prominent Positivists, Mr Bradlaugh organised a series of meet

London and the provinces. One at St James's Hall on the th was a great success. The hall was densely crowded by an thusiastic meeting, which was addressed by Dr Congreve, Prof. esly, Sir Henry Hoare, M.P., Mr George Odger, Colonel Dickson, d others. The addresses to Mr Gladstone and to the French tion were voted unanimously, and a resolution moved by Prof. esly, calling upon the English Government to give an immediate d frank recognition of the French Republic, met with the utmost thusiasm. The two addresses were sent for signature to thirty the largest towns in England and Scotland, and in two days ty thousand signatures were obtained.

ust before the commencement of the proceedings at St James's ll an incident occurred that admitted of an extremely simple planation, but which the Tory press endeavoured to turn to the credit of the "France and Peace" Committee. A little while ore the speakers were expected on the platform, the gas, which d been wavering somewhat uncertainly for a few minutes, ddenly went out, leaving the hall in complete darkness. As y be imagined, there was great dismay, and with it all the gers of a panic. A gentleman who acted as steward at the eting tells me that the light was hardly out before Mr Brad-gh's voice was heard crying, "Lead me to the front; lead me he front!" This he and another friend succeeded in doing. ce at the front of the platform, he says that my father began speak, and the audience, recognising his voice, gave a ringing er. He told the people that the gas would be relighted as n as possible, and entreated the people to keep their seats. e kept speaking for about fifteen minutes, when the gas was it, and all danger past. The thought of what would have pened had not Mr Bradlaugh been there gives one an uncom-able sensation. A panic under such circumstances would have n terrible, but the way the people responded to the desire of Bradlaugh to keep their seats, and to keep quiet until all put right, was extraordinary." Not less extraordinary was explanation suggested by the *Observer*. Said the veracious onicler of this high-class Sunday paper: "This *contretemps* ated a good deal of speculation, and the general opinion was t the Committee and the proprietors had been unable to come erms, and that the latter, in order to secure their money, turned the gas." From this it would seem that to jeopardise the lives

of thousands of people* (without counting certain damage to building) would have been a mere trifle to the proprietors comp with the possible loss of a few pounds. It must have been a shock to the originators of so diabolical an idea to learn that accident was an accident pure and simple, and due to a matte ordinary and commonplace as a defect in the water meter w supplied the gas to the hall.

The St James's Hall meeting was immediately followed by f eight others, and in every case the size of the meeting restricted only by the capacity of the building in which it held. It may be asked, But what was the outcome of all t meetings, what was their practical value? In 1873 Mr Bradl gave the answer to this in the pages of his *Autobiogra* "They exercised," he said, "some little effect on the p opinion of this country, but unfortunately the collapse on part of France was so complete, and the resources commande Bismarck and Moltke so vast, that, except as expressing symp the results were barren."

Sympathy, however, is often very welcome; his efforts to the cause of Peace were warmly received in France, and wit any previous communication having passed between them, Republican Government at Tours sent him the following lette

"RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.—LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

"Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale.

"TOURS, *le* 21 *Octobre* 18

"MONSIEUR,—Les Membres du Gouvernement de la Dé Nationale, réunis en délégation à Tours, après avoir pris con sance du magnifique discours que vous avez prononcé au me d'Edimbourg, tiennent à honneur de vous remercier chale ment du noble concours que vous apportez à la cause de la F et de l'Europe dans votre pays.

"Vous ne ménagez, Monsieur, ni vos efforts, ni votre temps éclairer l'opinion publique depuis longtemps si puissante da Royaume-Uni. Nous nous plaisons à croire que tant de dé

* The *Observer's* own report stated: "At first there seemed to inclination to rush to the doors, which might have led to great sacr life.

ent finira par convaincre l'Europe, sur laquelle l'opinion Britique exerce une si legitime influence, que la France lutte jourd'hui pour la plus juste des causes, la défense de son honneur de son territoire.

" Nous ne saurions trop le redire : la guerre actuelle a été entrese contre la volonté de la nation française : la Prusse en la ntinuant combat sans droit et pour la seule satisfaction d'une bition dont l'Europe ne tardera pas à sentir les ruineux effets.

" Remerciez en notre nom, ceux de vos généreux compatriotes i vous écoutent et vous acclament dans ces magnifiques réunions bliques que nous leur envions, où se débattent les plus grands érêts du monde.

" L'accueil qui vous est fait partout, nous est un sûr garant des npathies du peuple Anglais pour la France et ses institutions ıvelles.

" Nous ne faisons aucun doute que de cette incessante propagande aquelle vous vous êtes devoué, ne sortent bientôt la lumière qui t dessiller tous les yeux et le triomphe prochain de la justice et la civilisation.

" Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de notre très haute conération.

" Les Membres de la délégation du Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale, réunis a Tours :

" Leon Gambetta. Ad. Crémieux.
L. Fournichon. Al. Glais Bizoin." *

---

* " The French Republic.—liberty, equality, fraternity.

" Government of National Defence.

" Tours, 21*st October* 1870.

Sir,—The Members of the Government of National Defence, assembled elegation at Tours, after having become acquainted with the magnificent ch which you delivered at the meeting at Edinburgh, have the honour to nk you most warmly for the noble help which you bring to the cause of nce and of Europe in your country.

You do not spare, Sir, either your efforts or your time in the attempt to ghten public opinion—for so long all-powerful in the United Kingdom. take pleasure in believing that so much devotion will end by convincing ope, upon which British opinion exercises so legitimate an influence, that nce fights to-day for the most just of all causes—the defence of her honour of her territory.

We cannot too often repeat it : the war itself was undertaken against the

To this letter are appended the following lines written September 1871 by Monsieur Emanuel Arago, Member of Provisional Government of September 4 :—

* "En lisant cette lettre, j'éprouve très vivement la regret n'avoir pu, enfermé dans Paris, joindre ma signature a celles de collègues de la délégation de Tours. M. Bradlaugh est, et toujours dans la République, notre concitoyen.

"Emanuel Arago."

About the same time (October 1870) M. Tissot, the Ch d' Affaires of France in England, wrote him :—

"Je viens de lire avec un extrême intérêt le compte rendu meeting de Newcastle. La cause de la France et de la pai pouvait être remise entre de meilleures mains et plaidée par voix plus éloquente. Laissez moi vous exprimer une fois de Monsieur, tous mes sentiments de reconnaissance pour v généreuse initiative, et y joindre l'assurance de ma haute sidération et de ma profonde estime. Ch. Tissot."

---

will of the French nation ; Prussia, in continuing it, fights without jus and solely for the satisfaction of an ambition of which Europe will not be to feel the ruinous effects.

"Thank, in our names, those of your generous compatriots who listen to and who applaud you in these magnificent public assemblies—which we them—where the greatest interests of the world are debated.

"The welcome which meets you everywhere is to us a sure guarantee c sympathies of the English people for France and her new institutions.

"We have no doubt that from this incessant propaganda, to which you devoted yourself, will soon come the light which should undeceive all as well as the triumph of justice and civilisation.

"Kindly receive, Sir, the expression of our highest consideration.

"Members of the delegation of the Government of National Def assembled at Tours :

"Leon Gambetta. Ad. Crémieux.
L. Fournichon. Al. Glais Bizoi

* "In reading this letter, I feel a keen regret that, shut up in Paris, unable to add my signature to those of my colleagues in the Tours deleg In the Republic Mr Bradlaugh is, and always will be, our fellow-citizen

"Emanuel Arag

† "I have just read with extreme interest the report of the meeti Newcastle. The cause of France and of Peace could not be in better h or pleaded by a more eloquent voice. Let me once more express to

At a crowded meeting held at the Hall of Science early in the owing year Mr Bradlaugh was still denouncing the war in neasured terms. "There never was a war," said he, "more ustifiable, more wicked, more insane, than this which France. nisrepresented by her Emperor, had declared against Germany," is the *Echo* condemned as "Whitechapel style," and loftily erted that the English people would decline to accept "Iconot" as the representative of France and her sufferings. But er other immense gatherings at the Beaumont Institute, the tern Hall, Poplar, and the St James's Hall, there was a notable ration in its tone. An extract from its report of the St James's l meeting held five days later makes a rather amusing contrast its former unqualified condemnation. Said the *Echo* on this asion of my father:—

While Professor Beesly was opening the meeting, a tall man with markably pleasant face, a little spoilt by a self-sufficient look, or, ve are really to describe it, a certain consciousness of power, had red the room and received a perfect ovation of applause. This Mr Bradlaugh, *alias* 'Iconoclast,' for whom the audience kept ing whenever the speaker for the time being grew tedious. . . . . know more of Mr Bradlaugh than we wish. Last night, however, id the cloven hoof. His speech might have been that of Bishop erbury. Not an irreverent expression, not an ill-judged word ped him. Mr Frederic Harrison speaks almost as badly as Mr dlaugh writes. Mr Bradlaugh speaks almost as well as even Mr rison writes. There was a sense of power about the man. His ence hung upon his lips; his speech was a success and well delivered. is a master of oratory, and a master of action; his voice is powerful, , and almost musical. And after he had swayed the meeting as he e for nearly half an hour, the huge crowd broke up, after several attempts to start the Marseillaise."

mongst those who stood on the St James's Hall platform that t were George Odger, Lloyd Jones, George Howell, and tain Maxse, who, together with Professor Beesly and Frederic rison, joined their voices to my father's to plead for the gnition of the French Republican Government and against dismemberment of France. This series of meetings was held

---

ll my feelings of gratitude for your generous initiative, and join to it ssurance of my high consideration and profound esteem.

"CH. TISSOT."

in consequence of the announcement that the European po
were to assemble in conference in London, and it was anxio
desired to impress upon the English Government the dut
making the question of peace between France and Prussia a ma
for the consideration of the Plenipotentiaries. It had been h
and expected that Jules Favre would come to London to
part in the conference, and Mr Bradlaugh was invited to
him at the Embassy. A demonstration had been agreed upo
honour his arrival, and it was characteristic of my father tha
urged those of his friends who prepared to take part in it n
make it a mere party demonstration; he begged them to a
and to try to persuade others to avoid, the use of flags calcul
to insult Prussia or to cause bitterness of feeling in the min
Germans. A great assembly of earnest, orderly men and wo
to greet the representative of Republican France would
weight; "bands and banners," he said, "are needless." J
Favre, however, was unable to get to London; and in the abs
of any appointed French representative to the Conference,
Granville conferred with Monsieur Charles Tissot both before
after the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries. A letter which
father received from Monsieur Tissot just at this time will
more show with what warmth his efforts to serve Repub
France were received by foremost Frenchmen :—

"LONDRES, 4 *Février* 18

"MON CHER MONSIEUR BRADLAUGH,—Aucune sottise, au
maladresse ne peuvent m'étonner de la part de Mr R.*
j'avoue que j'ai senti vivement et que je ne lui pardonnerai j
cette à laquelle vous faites allusion. Je me demande comme
s'il n'est pas devenu fou.

"Quant à moi, mon cher ami, je ne puis que constate
comme je l'ai déjà fait, comme je le ferai en toute occasio
dette que nous avons contracté envers vous. Vous nous
donné votre temps, votre activité, votre éloquence, votre â
meilleure partie de vous-même en un mot. La France, que
avez été seule à défendre, ne l'oubliera jamais.

"Je n'ai aucune nouvelle de Bordeaux, ni de Paris outre
que vous avez pu lire dans les journaux. Nous allons voir c

* M. Reitlinger, "le Secretaire particulier," of M. Jules Favre,
believe, the person here referred to.

a l'Assemblée, ce qu'elle decidera—et nous agirons, s'il y a lieu
conséquence.—Au revoir, cher et excellent ami. Je vous envoie
ute mon affection. CH. TISSOT." *

When the French elections took place in February 1871, Mr
adlaugh was one of the candidates nominated by the city of
ris. I am under the impression that this was done without his
shes being in any way consulted, but the very proposal of his
me—testifying, as it to some extent did, the honour in which he
s held in Paris—roused scorn and anger at home. The editor
a Scotch paper, † in writing a leader on the elections, relieved
feelings by saying: "'Bradlaugh, English Republican,' figures
the list among the motley crew; but what number of votes
re polled for this cosmopolitan patriot, who would have been a
mb dog in a French Parliament, has not transpired." As the
notley crew" included such honoured names as those of Gari-
di, Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, and Victor Schœlcher, it was a
tinction to be placed beside them; but why, asked my father,
ould it be assumed that he would be dumb? "Thomas Paine,"
added, "who did not speak French, was not a 'dumb dog' when
pleaded for the life of Louis XVI."

---

* "London, 4th February 1871.

'MY DEAR MR BRADLAUGH,—No folly, no stupidity, on the part of M. R.
astonish me. But I avow that I have felt keenly, and that I will never
give him this to which you make allusion. Like you, I ask myself whether
has not gone mad.

'As to myself, my dear friend, I can but acknowledge here, as I have
e already, and as I shall do on every occasion, the debt that we have
tracted towards you. You have given your time, your energy, your
uence, your mind—in a word, the best part of yourself. France, whom
alone have defended, will never forget it.

I have no news from Bordeaux or from Paris, other than that which you
e been able to read in the papers. We shall see what the Assembly will
what it will decide, and if opportunity arises we shall act accordingly.—
revoir, dear and excellent friend. I send all my affection.

"CH. TISSOT."

† *North British Daily Mail.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COMMUNE, AND AFTER.

DURING the Commune my father found himself in a positio extreme difficulty. His heart was with the men who had driven by most frightful suffering to wild words and still wi deeds. Some of the oldest and the best amongst his Fr friends were playing their parts in the tragedies daily enacte Paris; some, like the amiable Gustave Flourens—who has described by Mr Washburne, then United States minister, "young scholar," and one of "the most accomplished of agitators and revolutionists"—were laying down their l others, like those kindly and learned brothers, Elie and E Reclus, were sacrificing their liberties. My father's whole throbbed in sympathy with these men; but sympathise a might, his reason could not commend, and he remained sadly s unable to approve, but refusing to condemn.

This feeling of standing aside whilst so many old and dear fr were risking life and liberty was torture to a man of his tem ment, and when an opportunity occurred for active help o part he welcomed it with joy. This opportunity came in the of a request from some of the French leaders that he should intermediary between the Government of M. Thiers and Commune. As a foreigner and a known friend of France, i hoped that his intervention might be possible, and might le good results.

The terms of peace which he was empowered to propo M. Thiers were:—

(1.) Acceptance of the principle of Republican Govern A condition rendered absolutely necessary by the intrigues Legitimists and the Orleanists, who were striving to plac crown on the head of the Comte de Chambord, with successi the Comte de Paris.

(2.) Absolute and unconditional amnesty for all political ences.

(3.) Election by the people of the Chief Executive power of the public. Hostilities were to be suspended during the election, l disarmament to follow directly the result was known.

When this commission reached Mr Bradlaugh, he had just set t on a course of lectures in Scotland; but with his heart full of pe that this might perhaps be the means of staying the terrible odshed, and the tragedies then taking place in France, he ermined to allow nothing to delay him, and, neglecting his gagements, immediately left Edinburgh for London. In the umns of the *National Reformer* he himself told how his and was frustrated and his journey prevented.

On reaching Calais, after a somewhat rough passage, his ears re greeted with the "very old cry" of "Passeports, Messieurs!" s passport was produced and his features examined by means of ntern. The result of this examination was that a few minutes er he was ushered into the grim presence of the Chief of Police, the station passport office. "At first," related Mr Bradlaugh, his gentleman was slightly brusque, but concluded with a great play of courtesy. The following discussion, after the Socratic thod, took place, all rights of questioning being reserved by the ice:—

Chief of the Police: What is your name?

Charles Bradlaugh.

What is your business?

Editor of the *National Reformer*, to report for my journal.

But you are something else besides editor?

A little.

You are one of the members of the International?

I have not that honour.

You make great speeches?

I try.

You presided at a meeting in Hyde Park the other day?

I did not.

I cannot permit you to go to Paris; your presence there would too dangerous.

You do me too much honour to attribute to me so much luence.

The Chief of the Police then took down a book in which

'Charles Bradlaugh' appeared in good bold characters, with ab twenty lines opposite in writing, which, being very small, I co not read. He then said: 'I have orders to arrest you. I n send you to the Sub-Prefect at Boulogne.'"

After being permitted to send a telegram to Versailles, he sent off to Boulogne in charge of an officer and two men.

When they arrived there at three in the morning, Boulogne in total darkness, and then they had about a mile to walk thro the driving rain before they reached the Sub-Prefecture. H except one man on duty, all appeared to be fast asleep, and M Sous-Préfet, apprised of Mr Bradlaugh's arrival, telegraphed to Government for instructions, refusing to take the case until morning. My father made up a "bed" of all the chairs he c find, and, still in the close custody of his three guardians, attempted to pass the time in sleep.

"In the morning," he said, "another and more severe interroga took place, the Sub-Prefect declaring that I had presided at Sunday Hyde Park meeting in favour of the Commune; th had lately been on some revolutionary mission in Prussia; and I had too much influence to be allowed to go to Paris, whe should be a rallying-point for all dangerous men." Mr Bradla telegraphed to M. Favre, at Versailles, asking in what respect position had altered since ten weeks earlier, when the Ch d'Affaires of France, acting under his orders, had tendered him formal thanks of the French Government for the services he rendered France. The only answer from the Government wa urgent and imperative order to quit France by the next pa and a notice that his description had been sent to every rail station in France, with an order for his arrest in the event of return.

Some months later, after the fall of the Commune, Mr Bradla once more set out for Paris; he was again arrested at Calais, this time kept prisoner for nearly three days, but was then rele and allowed to proceed on his journey. The Commissair Calais showed him the order signed by Jules Favre in the prev April. It was emphatic and unequivocal, and ran thus: "Empe à M. Bradlaugh d'entrer à Paris à tout prix."* This docu had apparently never been cancelled, hence Mr Bradla

* Prevent Mr Bradlaugh from entering Paris, at any price.

econd arrest. He was never afterwards hindered on his way to he French capital, although, during the Presidency of Monsieur hiers, his movements while in Paris were carefully watched. At he time the French authorities assumed that he was masquerading nder the name of "Lord Campbell," and the late Lord Campbell nd Stratheden, who used to visit at the house of one of my father's iends in Paris, was made quite unhappy by having his move- ents watched by detectives intended for Mr Bradlaugh. The tuation was not without its amusing side, for the particular siness upon which Lord Campbell was engaged just then was nnected with a marriage he wished to contract with a young rench lady.

After the fall of the Commune, London was full of French fugees, many of whom were in poverty and distress. My father d his utmost to help them; he never had money to give away, t he did then what he always did in cases needing pecuniary lp—he gave a lecture on their behalf. As his views upon the ommune and the French situation were stated in some detail, I ote a few of the more important passages from a report of his cture which appeared in his own paper.* He had taken for his bject "French Republicanism;" and after he had dealt with e proclamations of the Republic in 1792 and 1848, and the claration of the 4th of September, he said:—

"Coming now to the 18th March, and the Commune, the dience would remember that he had in that hall, within a few urs of that date, guarded himself from any expression for or ainst a movement which appeared then to have but slight con- ence in its own leaders, and which had at that date issued no ogramme. In judging it now, he should judge it more favour- ly than he did then, trying to avoid alike the exaggeration of its s, and the indiscriminating endorsement of its friends. It was arged against the men of Paris that they commenced with the assinations of Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas—no one uld justify these assassinations—but if this were to form ground the condemnation of the Commune, which disclaimed all rticipation in the act, with how much more force would other ms of government fall under the same condemnation. Napoleon hot the Duc d'Enghien in a ditch; Louis XVIII. shot Marshal

* *National Reformer*, Dec. 24, 1871

Ney; and although, according to the laws of France, ca
punishment for political offences had been abolished, the pre
Government shot Cremieux, Rossel, Ferri, and Bourgeois. He
not justify or excuse the shooting of the Generals; but those
condemned it should see whether their own hands were clean.
the latest shootings he hardly dared trust himself to sp
M. Thiers had sheltered himself behind a Committee of Pard
although he feared that it would not be an incorrect gues
hazard that M. Thiers' own influence had hindered any
mutation. He considered the 18th March a fatal mistake, a
blow to the prospects of Republicanism. The Commune asked
the recognition and consolidation of the Republic. But he de
their right to do that by force of arms. They had great pro
tion, for they had seen Republicanism and Garibaldi insulte
Bordeaux; they knew that the majority of the Chamber
Legitimist and Orleanist, that M. Thiers was Republican on
name, and that Prussia even had been intriguing to put Henr
on the throne. . . . . But did the Commune initiate the stru
of force? The people of Paris had arms: they had these unde
Constitution; they took other arms, to which also they claim
Constitutional right. It was due to Thiers' weakness and wa
capacity that there was any struggle for the cannon on Montma
or perhaps at all. He treated the men of Paris as rebels, ign
that he was the chief of the executive power of a governme
rebellion, unendorsed by any vote of the country. He refuse
overtures of peace in a manner unworthy a man in his posi
and availed himself of iron, steel, famine, and a worse
Prussian bombardment, to drive to frenzy men whom it
have been possible to win at an earlier stage by judicious ne
tion. . . . . It was not wonderful that the Commune fell.
was a demon of suspicion, division, and even treachery am
prominent men, and the terrible demoralisation of the m
resulting from their position and the long continuance o
previous siege. The wonder was that it stood so long. I
remarkable how free the city was from common crime. There
in all the Avenue Montaigne, only some two or three conc
left in charge, and all the property was as safe at the end
siege as at the beginning. The rent of a first floor in one of
houses was £1000 a year, the furniture in proportion. Yet
was no pillage, as there would have been under almost any

Government, with houses left deserted by their owners. But it was said that the hostages were shot and the buildings were burnt. Now he would be the last to utter one word of justification or defence. He trusted that he might never have to take part in an armed revolution. He believed that if in such a case it was proposed that the public buildings of our city should be destroyed, as those of Paris had been, he would kill without mercy the man who would attempt it. The only thing that could be said was that the men of Paris were ringed round with fire and steel, and all hope of mercy was shut out. To keep them in, Papal Zouaves on the one side, Prussian bayonets on the other. No quarter offered, no generous word of pardon spoken. It could not be wondered if in madness they committed those crimes. It was cruel and cowardly to kill the hostages, but was it for the Versailles troops to reproach the Commune with that? The madness of cruelty had been great on both sides, and the criminality was the greater on the part of the stronger. . . . The cry of vengeance raised [against the *bourgeoisie*] was criminal, it was also a blunder; for if nothing was to be done until the middle class was exterminated, then hope was impossible; it never could be exterminated. There should be no question of war in any political movement between the working and the middle classes. . . . A policy of conciliation as recommended by Talandier was the true one. Each must, if they could not forget the wrongs of yesterday, at any rate remember that fresh blood will not wash out these wrongs. Nations were not to be made up of one class or of another class, but of the people which included all classes. Here [in England] he desired a Republic, and would work for it; but if he could picture, as the only possibility, the walking to its achievement with bloody hands, fire and smoke, and grim visage, he would turn away now, ere it was too late. Republicanism in France would have enough difficulty without class war. Her suddenly increased national debt made a burden not to be borne with impunity. Self-restraint was needed to conquer hate. Generosity on both sides, to forgive alike errors and crimes. Amnesty for yesterday, peace for to-morrow, and then a true Republic might grow in the fair land of France."

A malicious paragraph subsequently went the round of the press stating that the French refugees, on whose behalf this lecture had been delivered, had unanimously refused the proceeds. Of course this statement was utterly devoid of truth; the refugees, far from

refusing the help of their friend, accepted it gratefully, and s
to Mr Bradlaugh a formal vote of thanks and an official rec
signed by the secretary and the treasurer of "La Fraternelle,"
Society of French Refugees.

The acquaintance between Madame de Brimont and Mr B
laugh, commencing in her visit to his lodgings on the 17th
September 1870, ripened into a friendship which lasted for
rest of my father's life. From that September day these two n
ceased to be friends; through good report and ill report Mad
de Brimont stood by him. While my father lay upon what pr
to be his deathbed, I received a letter from her in which, writin
French, she sent him a message from "sa meilleure amie," "and th
she said, "I think I may claim to be, for during the twenty ye
have known him I have never once swerved in my friendship
him—no, not for a single moment." My father, very weak and
was deeply moved when I read the letter to him. "It is true,
said brokenly, "it is true."

In visiting at Madame de Brimont's in London and in P
Mr Bradlaugh became acquainted with many of the best kn
men in France. The Prince Napoléon he met in Londo
Madame de Brimont's apartments at the Grosvenor Hotel.
met him, and had fully an hour's talk with him before he kne
whom he had been chatting so freely; the title "Monseigne
given to his companion by another visitor fell upon his ear;
mind immediately ran over the "monseigneurs" likely to
present, and by a process of elimination he arrived at the
one. These two men, so markedly dissimilar on most point
similar on one or two, were at once mutually attracted. The n
of Napoléon was a hateful one to Mr Bradlaugh; the idea
reputed "professional demagogue" was hardly likely to be plea
to a Napoléon; yet despite all the probabilities in favour
determined antipathy on both sides, they were the best of fri
Prince Jerome, who was a Freethinker, went to hear Mr Bradlau
speeches at the Hall of Science, at the Dialectical Society,
elsewhere, and was delighted with them. My father told m
amusing little anecdote concerning the first time he dined
Prince Jerome. He (Mr Bradlaugh) did not at that time own
luxury of a "dress suit," and therefore was obliged to wea
ordinary frock coat and black tie. His host met him, dr

course in the regulation fashion; a few minutes later, as others me into the room, he disappeared, returning after a moment or o dressed also in a frock coat and black tie. My father's eye as quick to note this courtesy, and within a few days he regret-lly spent money he could ill spare on a dress suit, determined ver to put any one to that trouble for him again.

Very many letters passed between the two, covering a period om 1871 to 1889. Mr Bradlaugh often greatly disapproved of e projects of the Prince, and this after some years had the effect lessening their intimacy, although it did not lessen their friend-ip. When in Paris Mr Bradlaugh was always a welcome visitor 86 Boulevart Malesherbes, or later at the house in the Avenue Antin, and once he visited the Prince at the Villa de Pranzins. uring the last ten years, however, they saw each other but little, hough an occasional letter passed, always on Prince Napoléon's de of a warm, friendly character, like the one I now give:—

"Villa de Pranzins, Près Nyon,
"Canton de Vaud, Suisse, 30 7bre 1887.

"MON CHER MONSIEUR BRADLAUGH,—Quand on vous a connu et precié on ne vous oublie pas.

"Je suis charmé que mon livre vous ait fait plaisir. Si vous avez le mps lirez le, mais n'oubliez pas que c'est un livre uniquement français. lis quelque fois vos discours—vous traversez une crise—quel en sera résultat? Je vois que vous n'avez pas oublié votre français. Je vous nouvelle tous mes sentiments d'amitiés.—Votre affectionné

"NAPOLÉON." *

The last occasion on which these two met was in 1889, when the ince in crossing the Channel met with that terrible disaster in ich his old valet lost his life. He wished my father to help n about his will; he told him quite tranquilly that he was ffering from Bright's disease, that he could not possibly live ch longer; he had property in England as well as in France, and wished to bequeath to his younger son, Prince Louis, of whom

* "MY DEAR MR BRADLAUGH,—When one has known and appreciated , one does not forget you.

"I am charmed that my book has given you pleasure. If you have the e, read it, but do not forget that it is a book entirely French. I some-es read your speeches—you are passing through a crisis—what will be the lt? I see that you have not forgotten your French. I renew every timent of affection for you.—Your affectionate NAPOLÉON."

he was very fond, every penny that the law did not compel
to leave to the elder son, Prince Victor. Over the dinner-t
they had a long chat upon this and other matters, and my fa
promised to draft a will. After this they never met again.
his return my father told me how aged, shrunken, and ill
Prince looked; in commiserating his condition we had not
remotest idea that he was himself stricken with that iden
complaint, and would be the first to die! The suggestions
draft, for a will were sent according to promise, and Mr Bradla
received the following acknowledgment:—

"Villa de Pranzins, Près Nyon,
"Canton de Vaud, Suisse, 2 Mai 18

"MON CHER BRADLAUGH,—J'ai reçu le projet—de loin et par éc
est difficile de m'en rendre compte. Je me reserver d'en parler
vous à un prochain voyage que je ferai peut-être à Londres.

"Recevez, mon cher Monsieur Bradlaugh, l'assurance de tout
consideration la plus distinguée. NAPOLÉON.

At Madame de Brimont's Mr Bradlaugh also met Mon
Emile de Girardin, then of course well on in years, but rem
able for his keen wit and clear-headedness—although I
confess that I did not, at that time at least, admire his keen
One evening, while we were in Paris for our schooling, my s
and I were introduced to him; he looked at us both critic
then again at my sister, and, not knowing that we unders
French, turned to Madame de Brimont and said: "J'aime m
celle-ci." I was quite conscious that my sister was better
than I, and deservedly so, but to hear such a preference s
thus coolly before one's face is rather a shock to any
Then there was Monsieur Emanuel Arago, a tremendous ta
who had been one of the Government of the 4th of Septe
and with Jules Favre stood at the window of the Hotel de
with Gambetta when he proclaimed the Republic of Fr
there were also M. Dupont-Whyte, the economist; M. Ma
judge of appeal; M. Edouard Pourtalés, a journalist of

---

* "MY DEAR BRADLAUGH,—I have received the draft—at this di
and in writing it is difficult for me to fully understand it. I propose
it over with you on my next visit to London, which I shall perhaps
shortly. Receive, my dear Mr Bradlaugh, the assurance of my most
guished consideration. NAPOLÉ

ertinacity and even greater notoriety, and many others whose ames now escape my memory. Léon Gambetta,* Mr Bradlaugh rst met, not, I think, at Madame de Brimont's, but elsewhere. Ives Guyot, too, had long been a fast friend.

For his intimacy with such people as Prince Napoléon and I. de Girardin, Mr Bradlaugh was much attacked by a certain ection of the French Republicans, as well as by Dr Karl Marx, ho held him up to public obloquy for having committed the rrible crime of dining with such people. Mr Bradlaugh's nswer to this was: "As to where I may or may not have dined, is too ridiculous for serious reply. I have dined with a bishop, ithout giving allegiance to the Church of England; with a Jewish abbi, without adopting the faith of Abraham; I broke bread ore than once with good old Father Spratt of Dublin, without nclining to Roman Catholicism." Such attacks as these troubled im little, but, although it made no difference to his conduct, he lt deeply hurt when some two or three French friends for and ith whom he had worked did not understand that he could know Prince and yet remain a Republican.

* In the following extract from an article written by Mr Bradlaugh in nuary 1884 upon "The Attitude of Freethought in Politics," allusion is ade to an interesting conversation held with Gambetta:—"My personal titude as a Freethinker in politics," said Mr Bradlaugh, "was the subject some hostile discussion in France about four years ago, when the partisans M. Jules Ferry were rigorously and, as I thought, harshly, enforcing the ws against the clerical orders. I strongly disapproved of the application penal laws to the religious orders. It was very forcibly and very justly ged to me by my Radical French friends, that these religious orders had en, and were, the persevering and persistent foes of liberty, and that when eir party was in power, the clerical legion were merciless in persecuting the epublicans and Freethinkers. My answer was and is: 'As I do not admit e right of the Church to use the law to suppress or punish me, neither will claim or countenance the use of the law against the Church.' It was urged, d quite truly, that the Roman Catholic Church throughout its whole story had been the never-ceasing persecutor and oppressor of all aspirations human liberty. My answer still was and is: 'We should fight with the n, the press, the tongue, the school; not the gaol or the officer of the law.' we cannot win with reason, I will not try to win with force. Victory with e latter only decides which it is that is temporarily strongest. In a long nversation some eleven years ago—which went far into the night—with the e M. Léon Gambetta, in which he plainly put difficulties caused to the publican party by the enmity of Clericalism to progress in France, and inted in vivid colours the danger of the struggle, I took the same ground, d here again I maintain it."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A DOZEN DEBATES, 1870-1873.

In 1870 Mr Bradlaugh held five oral debates: one with Mr G Holyoake, in London, in the month of March; the next v Alexander Robertson of Dundonnochie, at Edinburgh, in Ju the third and fifth with the Rev. A. J. Harrison, at Newcastl September, and at Bristol, in December; while the fourth de was held with David King,* at Bury, in December. Besides t there was a written debate upon Exodus xxi. 7-11, with Mr B Cowper.

The discussion with Mr George Jacob Holyoake occupied successive nights, the 10th and 11th of March, and was far the most important of the five. It represents different sch of Freethought, and was for many years—is, perhaps, at the pre day—copiously quoted, especially by persons opposed to e view of Freethought, who would confound representatives of school by quoting opinions taken from the other. The full wor of the subjects discussed was: for the first night "The Princ of Secularism do not include Atheism;" for the second "Sec Criticism does not involve Scepticism." Mr Holyoake mainta the affirmative of these propositions, and each disputant occu two half-hours on each evening. Mr Austin Holyoake took chair on both occasions. The difference between Mr Bradl and Mr Holyoake was not so much a difference of opinion difference of the methods of advocacy of their opinion. Both Freethinkers of the most convinced kind; but while Mr Bradl called himself an Atheist, Mr Holyoake chose rather to des himself as a Secularist, and the whole difference between the indicated in these two names. The word "Atheist" had be and is still, to some extent—used as a term of opprobrium; i been perverted from its natural meaning to imply everything

* No accurate report of this debate exists.

vile; Mr Bradlaugh wore the name defiantly, and held to it the
oser for the sake of the slandered Atheists of the past. He was
Atheist, *i.e.* "without God," in the simple meaning of the word;
others chose to attach to it an odious significance, the discredit
in the narrowness of their minds and not in the Atheist,
mpelled to endure the baseless calumnies heaped upon him.
r Bradlaugh was no "Infidel:" he least of any could be branded
unfaithful; but since Atheist and Infidel were often used as
nonymous terms, he did not even flinch from sharing the name
"Infidel" with those brave workers for religious and political
erty, such as Paine or Richard Carlile. Nevertheless, Infidel
was not, although Atheist he was.

Now, Mr Holyoake was equally an Atheist, but he did not see
at there was anything to be gained by the use of a name which
d so undeservedly become a term of reproach; he preferred to
d a new name and make a fresh start under new colours. In a
bate held seventeen years before with the Rev. Brewin Grant,
Holyoake had said that opprobrium was associated with the
rd "Atheist," and that this would be got rid of by the use of
e word "Secularist," which would also bring before the mind
e moral objects in view. Moved probably by the idea of making
e path easy to the faint-hearted who were frightened by the
gey conjured up by the word "Atheist," Mr Holyoake was
xious to disassociate his new name altogether from Atheism,
l went so far as to say that Secularism did not involve Atheism
Scepticism. Thus the new Secularism looked askance at the
Atheism, and seemed anxious to have it known that the two
l "no connection." Mr Holyoake regarded the "imputation"
t Secularism involved Atheism and Scepticism as "the greatest
pediment in the way of" national Secular education. He
imed for his Secularism that it was a "new form of Free-
ught," perfectly independent of Atheism or Theism. Secularism
posed "to set up principles of nature in the place of principles
theology, and found, if possible, a kingdom of reason for
se who found the kingdom of faith inadequate or unreliable."
ularism, Mr Holyoake contended, should assert its own prin-
es, but not assail others, neither needing to assail nor
descending to assail theological systems. These ideas will
btless commend themselves to many, especially to those who
not look under the surface of the words; but we know that

before we can put nature "in the place of" theology, we m
depose theology, and we also know that when geology points
the secular truth of the numberless ages it has taken to form
earth's crust, by the mere assertion of such a truth it assails
theological dogma of the creation of the world in seven da
Mr Bradlaugh in his speech put it in this way: "The Secula
finds the kingdom of faith impossible, he finds belief in G
impossible, he finds belief in religion impossible. What is
difference between finding belief in God impossible and an Athei
He said further: "Although at present it may be perfectly t
that all men who are Secularists are not Atheists, I put it tha
my opinion the logical consequence of the acceptance of Secular
must be that the man gets to Atheism if he has brains enoug
comprehend." Mr Holyoake spoke of various bodies all over
kingdom occupied with a negative form of Freethought; he
with many orators who were mere negationists. The stock-in-t
of a negationist, he said, is the simplest possible; he has onl
deny what some one else holds, and he is set up in the ar
warfare. But these societies and these orators were enti
unknown to Mr Bradlaugh; those he had worked with for
years or more had done positive work, and of this he gave m
instances. This attack and reply are of importance because
terms "negationist" and "destructive freethought" have gr
into cant phrases, used as terms of reproach by persons who do
trouble to consider either exactly what they mean, or whether t
is anyone to whom they are really applicable. Mr Holyoake asse
that Atheism does not embody a system of morals, while
Bradlaugh replied that "You cannot have a scheme of mor
without Atheism. The Utilitarian scheme is an Atheis
scheme. The Utilitarian scheme is a defiance of the doctrin
Providence, and a protest against God." Referring to Mr H
oake's objection to the words "Infidelity" and "Atheism" bec
of the opprobrium which has gathered round them, Mr Bradl
said:—

"I maintain that the opprobrium cast upon the word Ath
is a lie. I believe Atheists as a body to be men deserving respe
I know the leading men among them who have made thems
prominent, and I do not care what kind of character religious
may put round the word Atheist, I would fight until men re
it. I do not quarrel with the word 'Secular' if it is take

clude this body of men, but I do object to it if we are told theism has nothing to do with it. I object when we are told at Atheism is not its province, because I say that the moment ou tell me that you have to deal with the affairs of this life, to e exclusion of the rest, you must in effect deny the rest. If you not deny the rest, you leave your Secularism in doubt, you rtially paralyse the efforts on your own side. If you tell our eople, 'You must not impugn the sincerity of your opponents,' at you must not impute bad motives to them,' when they read e foul lies heaped on the graves of the great dead, and hear the se calumnies used against the hard-working living, I say you are aching to them that which I do not consider their duty. You ould never lightly impute, never rashly urge against any ponent motives, you should never do it without full proof to stify your imputation."

The proposition for the second night's debate, as worded by Mr olyoake, was, "Secular Criticism does not involve Scepticism." r Bradlaugh opened in a very careful speech. Dealing first with e word Scepticism, he went on to say, "Criticism is, I presume, e art of judging upon the merits of any given proposition; and put it, that you cannot have criticism at all without doubt. oubt is, in fact, the beginning of knowledge, and I put it pressly, that it is utterly impossible to have Secular Criticism ithout having scepticism; as to the dogmas of Theology in neral, and scepticism as to the Bible and Christianity in rticular." He then proceeded to state in detail and at consider- le length the points of Scepticism involved by Secular Criti- sm. Mr Holyoake, so far from traversing this position, really dorsed it when he said (in his first speech on the second night): The secular method is to criticise the Scriptures so as to adopt at which is useful, leaving alone that which is mischievous or sagreeable." A criticism of the Scriptures, undertaken with the ew of accepting some points as worthy and rejecting others as orthy, cannot by any possibility exclude scepticism. We amine a set of precepts, we judge them, we distinguish tween the false and the true, the beauties and the blemishes. do this, we must begin by doubting their truth and beauty as whole, and before we can leave any alone, we must be sceptical ether a belief in them is necessary to our salvation and a dis- lief in them a sure road to eternal damnation. Mr Holyoake

also spoke favourably of ignoring Christianity, apparently faili
to see that in a country, Christian by law, with a State-suppor
Christian religion and Christianity taught in our schools, to ign
is impossible. Much of Mr Holyoake's speech had no bearing up
the subject under discussion, but was simply an attack upon pers
and the more transitory aspects of the Atheistic position. To t
Mr Bradlaugh replied, and of course his reply was as irrelevant
the attack, but putting this aside, he asked in his last spee
"Has Mr Holyoake shown that Secular Criticism does not invo
Scepticism? Not at all. What secular principles has he advan
which are inconsistent with the position I take? None." I thi
with this every one who carefully reads the debate will agree.
Holyoake in his final speech, which also wound up the deb
indulged in considerable sarcasm at his opponent's expense, a
made his memorable and oft-quoted sneer at the Hall of Scien
speaking of it as "this kind of place in which we now m
opposite a lunatic asylum, where people, so the enemy s
naturally expect to find us." Before sitting down, Mr Holyo
quoted statements he had made elsewhere as to Secularism, fr
one of which I will take a few lines, in order to put his posit
fairly in his own words:—

"Secularism," he said, "is not an argument against Christian
it is one independent of it. It does not question the pretensi
of Christianity, it advances others. Secularism does not say th
is no light and guidance elsewhere, but maintains that there is li
and guidance in secular truth, whose conditions and sanctions e
independently, act independently, and act for ever. Secular kn
ledge is manifestly that kind of knowledge which is founded
this life, which relates to the conduct of this life, conduces to
welfare of this life, and is capable of being tested by the experie
of this life."

Mr Austin Holyoake, who, as I have said, occupied the chai
both evenings, was specially invited by his brother to express
opinion. This he objected to do at the debate, but he afterwa
wrote a short criticism, in the course of which he asked the
tinent question: "How can any one *not* an Atheist be a Secularis
and the answer to this would, I think, be hard to find.

On the 22nd and 23rd of June Mr Bradlaugh met A
ander Robertson, Esq., of Dundonnochie, to discuss with
the Existence of Deity. The meetings were held in the

Vaverley Hall, Edinburgh, and there was a large attendance on ach evening. Mr Robertson, however, proved utterly incom- etent; and the affair, regarded as a debate, was a complete asco.* On the second evening, indeed, a number of Christians eft the room as a protest against Mr Robertson's method of advo- acy. All that I need note here is that Mr Bradlaugh once more ated his position as an Atheist. I repeat it, as he himself put it t different times in his life, because even to this day his views are ften misapprehended.

In his opening speech Mr Robertson had conjured up several bsurd theories of Atheism (amongst which the inevitable chance"-made world figured), and had triumphantly disposed f them. Mr Bradlaugh in his reply said:—

"I am an Atheist, but I do not say there is no God; and until ou tell me what you mean by God I am not mad enough to say nything of the kind. So long as the word 'God' represents othing to me, so long as it is a word that is not the correlative nd expression of something clear and distinct, I am not going tilt against what may be nothing-nowhere. Why should I? you tell me that by God you mean 'something' which created e universe, which before the act of creation was not; 'some- ing' which has the power of destroying that universe; 'some- ing' which rules and governs it, and which nevertheless is tirely distinct and different in substance from the universe— en I am prepared to deny that any such existence can be."

On the next evening he referred to this, and enlarged upon it us:—

"I said last night that the Atheist does not say there is no od, so long as the word simply represents an indefinite quantity quality — of you don't know what, you don't know where: t I object to the God of Christianity, and absolutely deny it. all ages men have fashioned their Gods according to their nt of knowledge—the more ignorant the people, the more

---

* The *Fife News* spoke of it as a meeting between "the Atheist and the oramus," and the *Christian News* said: "The second night's debate was debate. So completely did the Theist fail, in more senses than one, that need never appear in the city of Edinburgh again as a defender of gion."

numerous their deities, because the Gods represented their perso
fications of force. Men beheld phenomena beyond, and ind
pendent of, human ability, and they ascribed these phenomena
deities, the 'God' in each case representing their ignorance."

The first debate with the Rev. A. J. Harrison was held for tw
nights in September, at the Newcastle Town Hall; and 30
persons, at least, were present on each night. For each speak
there was a partisan chairman, and over these an impart
umpire—an arrangement particularly disliked by Mr Bradlaug
who thought one chairman quite sufficient, and who was alwa
willing that that one should be unconnected with the Freethoug
party. The umpire—that is to say, the real chairman—was on th
occasion Lieut.-Col. Perkins, and he won golden opinions for
tact, unfailing good humour, and courtesy, qualities which t
uproarious spirit of the audience rendered very necessary.
Harrison has a certain reputation, so that I can hardly pass th
first debate with my father without some notice, as I might oth
wise have been tempted to do; for, in truth, I do not think th
is very much to be learned from it. Mr Harrison worded t
subjects to be discussed, and Mr Bradlaugh accepted every c
dition which was proposed. The propositions which the revere
gentleman chose to affirm were: (1.) That Secularism, distinctiv
considered, is not a system of truth, and therefore cannot just
its existence to the reason; and (2.) That Secularism, distinctiv
considered, is not a system of morality, and is therefore unwor
of trust as a guide. Mr Harrison opened the debate by examin
the proposition he himself had worded, declaring at the outset t
Secularism could not be a system of truth, "*first*, because it
no truth to offer; and *second*, because it is not a system at a
Mr Bradlaugh, in reply, thought it was hardly necessary to disc
"what is needed to constitute a system, or whether Secularism
system or not, because," he said, "I think I have made it cl
enough all my life through that the great merit of the thought
which I am permitted to be the advocate is that it does not
tend that any one man, or any dozen of men, have a right to
down a number of propositions, and say, 'These make a syst
which shall bind the world.'" Mr Harrison contended that th
were three kinds of Atheism—the Atheism of doubt, the Athe
of ignorance, and a compound of doubt and ignorance, which

said the reverend disputant politely, was "Mr Bradlaugh's own Atheism."

This version of his views my father repudiated as "monstrously unfair as well as utterly untrue," and then went on to deal with such other allegations as:

"That the Atheist could commit murder, or steal, without fear of the consequences. To try the actual value of the argument," he said, "it is not unfair to ask, Did a Theist ever steal? If so, then a belief in God and his power to punish have been insufficient to prevent him from committing the crime. The fact is, that those who overlook such arguments overlook the great truth that all men seek happiness, though in diverse fashions. The Atheists hold that by teaching men the real road to human happiness, it is possible to keep them from the by-ways of criminality and error. The Atheist would teach men to be moral now, not because God offered as an inducement some reward by-and-by, but because in the virtuous act itself immediate good was ensured to the doer, and to the world surrounding him. The Atheist would prevent men from lying, stealing, murdering, not from fear of the eternal consequences after death, but because crime made this life itself a course of misery. On the other hand, Theism, by asserting that God was the creator and governor of the universe, hindered and checked man's efforts by declaring God's will to be the sole and controlling power. Atheists, by declaring all events to be in accordance with natural laws—that is, happening in certain ascertained sequences—stimulated men to discover the best conditions of life, and offered the most powerful inducements to morality."

In spite of this statement, directly bearing on the affirmative truths taught by Atheism, Mr Harrison continued to urge that Mr Bradlaugh had not proved that there was anything positive in Atheism. "All that Mr Bradlaugh said was positive with regard to Atheism belonged to Science and not to Atheism" he said, apparently failing to see that Science itself is really Atheistic in the true and literal acceptation of the word, although its teachers and professors may be Theists. Science teaches the origin and nature of phenomena without reference to God, and sometimes even in direct contradiction to theological dogmas.

On the following evening Mr Harrison sought to prove that

Secularism was not a trustworthy moral guide, and to this end h contended that Atheism was without the moral help that cam from (1) a belief in God, (2) a belief in immortality, and (3) study of human nature. This last contention showed utter igno ance or misapprehension of the Atheistic position. Mr Bradlaugh in reply, dealt very trenchantly with the kind of moral help to b obtained from the God of the Old and New Testament, but h was stopped in his argument, as it was ruled that he must not de with any particular phase of Theism, only with Theism generall Before he was stopped, however, he stated that—

"The position of the Atheist was that he did not affirm universe, and outside it a God; but he said, 'By your knowledg of the conditions of existence, so you may shape, and so will b shaped, your thought and your conduct, and that thought an that conduct which tend to the greatest happiness of the greate number, and to the least injury of any—that thought and th conduct are moral, whatever your religious profession may b But that guide to morality was not got out of any system Theism; it was purely Atheistic—that was, it was found outsi God, without God."

During this debate my father was suffering very much from relaxed throat, and on both nights he had to speak amidst co siderable uproar, the audience being exceedingly noisy. In h final speech, on the second evening, he became so exhausted the continual interruption and outcries that he begged h audience "in mercy" and "humanity" to allow him to fini his argument in quiet, but this was an appeal which fell up deaf ears.*

* "The last speech of Mr Bradlaugh's was a piece of almost unparalle eloquence, which might have been very effective had he received fair pl but this, we are sorry to say, was undoubtedly denied him, and he proceed amidst a storm of interruptions, hissings, and howlings, renewed again a again."—*Blyth Weekly News.*

"Mr Bradlaugh was stormed down, and really refused a hearing. T kind of conduct was bad on the face of it. If his arguments were ridiculo they would be the easier answered. If they were beyond or beside the po at issue, they were unworthy a reply."—*Sunderland Evening Chronicle.*

The Newcastle papers gave lengthy reports of the proceedings, and *Weekly Chronicle* remarked that, in consequence of his suffering from affection of the throat, the effect of a severe cold, Mr Bradlaugh "sustai the debate with considerable pain and difficulty."

The restrictions placed upon Mr Bradlaugh by the conditions of the Newcastle debate were such as to cause great irritation and discontent amongst Freethinkers;* and in consequence, a second debate was fixed to take place at Bristol on the 13th and 14th December. The subject chosen for argument was "Theism *v.* Atheism." Professor Newman was in the chair, and on each evening there was a very large attendance. In the course of his introductory remarks Professor Newman mentioned an interesting discussion society then in existence in London—"a society," he said, "called a Metaphysical Club. It was commenced by the poet, Mr Alfred Tennyson, and, I believe, by Mr Browning also. They associated with them certain eminent gentlemen in London, and they induced Archbishop Manning to enter it. Professor Huxley and others are also members of it, and it was made a condition that in their discussions every member should be free to deny the existence of God, and Archbishop Manning entirely concurs in this. Mr James Martineau, my friend, a very eminent and intellectual gentleman, belonged to it, and he regarded it to be essential that persons must speak out from the bottom of their hearts, otherwise they did not get the fulness of the argument."

Mr Harrison opened with a speech much more subtle than any of those delivered at Newcastle, and was throughout more courteous, though even now there were phrases which would have been better left unsaid, and, while extremely careful to keep his opponent within the limits imposed by the conditions of the debate, he was not always so scrupulous about his own words.† Mr Bradlaugh's arguments were clear and forcible to a degree; he was evidently in much better form than on the previous occasion, but it is not easy to detach passages, although there is much that is valuable as giving different aspects of his opinions.‡ In the

* "I had said, in the course of my remarks against Secularism, that Secularism was Atheism, and Atheism was a negation. Mr Bradlaugh claimed the right to say what Atheism negated. According to the conditions of the debate, I objected to that subject being entered into" (the Rev. A. J. Harrison, December 1870). These words show how peculiarly one-sided the conditions were.

† "If Mr Bradlaugh had objected to some things said by Mr Harrison last night, I should have said they were out of order" (Prof. Newman on the second evening).

‡ Those who wish to read the whole argument will find a verbatim report in the *National Reformer* for 25th Dec. 1870 and 1st Jan. 1871.

following May the Rev. A. J. Harrison and Mr Bradlaugh engage in a third contest. This was conducted in Socratic form: n speeches were made, the discussion being limited to question an answer. Mr Harrison undertook to prove that "there is a Intelligent Being superior to man," and Mr Bradlaugh tha "there is not and cannot be an Infinite, Omnipotent, Immutabl Being distinct from the Universe." This discussion was held a Birmingham, and lasted three nights. But even this did no satisfy the disputants and exhaust their energy, for in 1872 the had yet another debate, which was this time held in London, a the Hall of Science. The subject discussed at this, their fourt public controversy, was the teaching of Christian Theism* a represented on a certain page in Mr Bradlaugh's pamphlet, "A Plea for Atheism."

In the summer of 1872 Father Ignatius wrote to Mr Bradlaugh asking that an opportunity might be given him to address a audience of London Freethinkers. This request was readil acceded to, but in consequence of other work and ill-health Fath Ignatius was obliged to delay the delivery of this address until th end of November. The Hall of Science, which was put at h disposal, was crowded right out to the street, and it was estimate that at least two thousand persons were unable to gain admittanc Mr Austin Holyoake presided over what was really an inform debate. Father Ignatius elected to speak on "Jesus Christ, th central point of human history," and when he had finished M Bradlaugh spoke for an equal time in reply. The audience, dense crowded as it was, listened intently and earnestly, and the perfe stillness maintained during both speeches was broken only b applause. Not a sound of dissent was heard; each speaker w listened to with respect and attention. At the conclusion Fath Ignatius was thanked by the Freethinkers for the fearlessness an the courtesy with which he had spoken, and the audience we thanked by the Rev. Father for the fairness with which they h listened to him. He said "he would be happy if his Protesta fellow-Christians would receive him with equal fairness."

As he desired to reply to Mr Bradlaugh's speech, Father Ignati fixed to go again to the Hall of Science on the 12th of Decemb

* This debate is published in pamphlet form, under the title, "What d Christian Theism teach?"

ut when the day arrived there was some doubt whether he could et there, as he had been subpœnaed to Worcester as a witness. n consequence of this the attendance was not quite so over- vhelming as before. When Father Ignatius entered the Hall he vas welcomed with much cheering, which was cordially renewed vhen he rose to speak. Before entering upon his subject, he said hat he had received permission from Mr Bradlaugh and the Chairman (Mr Austin Holyoake) to ask God to aid him that ight; but even with that permission, he would not do so, for he ad no wish to hurt anyone's susceptibilities, unless the meeting lso gave its sanction. Those present having signified their assent y a show of hands, Father Ignatius "in an impassioned prayer ought the assistance of God to render his address effectual." Then proceeding to the business of the evening, he deftly—if not ery convincingly—explained away the objections which had been rged by Mr Bradlaugh to certain Biblical passages. As before, he vas followed by Mr Bradlaugh, and both apparently spoke with reat force. In the spring of 1873 there was held a third of hese informal controversies. On every occasion a charge was ade for admission, and the proceeds given, by Father Ignatius' esire, to the Hall of Science building fund. His frankness, earlessness, and courtesy made an indelible impression upon the inds of the frequenters of the Hall. To Mr Bradlaugh he always rote in terms of the greatest cordiality, and although the differ- nces between them were of the widest possible kind, I am quite sure hat my father was sensible of this kindly feeling and reciprocated it.

In addition to the pleasant interchange of opinion on theological atters with Father Ignatius, Mr Bradlaugh held, in the December f 1872, a set discussion upon Spiritualism with Mr Burns, editor f *Human Nature* and *The Medium and Daybreak*. Spiritualism as a subject to which he had given considerable attention for early twenty years prior to this debate. He had devoted a large mount of time to the reading of spiritualistic literature and the vestigation of spiritualistic phenomena. He had taken part in any *séances*, and had seen different mediums, but except in one r two cases the sittings had led to nothing. With Mrs Marshall e witnessed some "clumsy trickery"; with the Davenport rothers he saw some "clever sleight-of-hand." When he went o "the conjuring performance of the Davenport Brothers"—as he

somewhere styles it—he was asked to take off his coat and lay on the table. He was told, "You must sit in the dark; you mu hold Mrs Fay's hands on one side and Mrs Ira Davenport t other." He asked, "But why?" They said, "The spirits mig hurt you"; to which he replied, "I will take the risk of tha He was then told, "If you do not submit to the conditions, the can be no manifestation." Under these circumstances he co cluded to accept the conditions.* The lights were extinguishe and after about a minute and a half they were re-lit, and Mr Fa who was tied in a chair, was found wearing the coat. The ligh were again extinguished and the coat thrown upon Mr Bradlaug All tests and opportunities for investigation were absolutely refuse but my father had no doubt that Mr Fay was untied and retied the dark. He afterwards saw Maskelyne do every one of t tricks done by the Davenport Brothers, and more besides, thou Maskelyne did not pretend that anything other than the clev art of conjuring lay at the bottom of the performance.

When the Dialectical Society made their inquiry into t phenomena attributed to Spiritualism, my father was one of t Committee. He was at every sub-committee meeting † at whi D. D. Home, the well-known medium, was present, and at h a dozen of the general meetings at least. However, none of t boasted manifestations occurred, and the sittings were almost, not quite, "void of result." Mr Bradlaugh, in giving his impr sion of Mr Home and the results obtained with him as mediu said:—

"I am bound to say that Mr Home met me in the frank manner possible. He told me I was one of the few people wanted very much to see, and probably, as my address was known, and I am not a very public man in England, that was reason he had not discovered me until I was placed upon t Committee. But I met him in the same frank spirit; and as offered every opportunity for investigation, we took it. And first evening we changed every shred of clothing he had on some other. Perhaps that might have destroyed the pro combinations, for we had not the slightest scintilla of anythi I sat with Mr Home night after night till Mr Home was tired

* *National Reformer*, Jan. 19, 1873. † Held at 4 Fitzroy Squa
‡ *National Reformer*, Jan. 12, 1873.

l the only result, such as it was, of all this investigation may summed up in a few words. There was a tinkling of glass, a ht wave of the table, and a few raps. The raps were such as ld be easily produced by mechanical means, and were so duced by my father afterwards—not that he charged Mr ne with causing the raps in that particular way; but as he nted out, it was impossible for any one, under the circumstances, fix upon the precise spot whence such raps came; it was ossible that the unguided ear could exactly relegate the sound. tinkling of glass was such as he had often heard in a room re there was gas burning; the wave of the table—which did move more than half an inch—was afterwards repeatedly pro-ed by Dr Edmunds and himself. Beyond these trifles there no other "semblance of manifestation," and yet some Spiri-ists boldly asserted that the result of the Dialectical Society's iry was to convert the investigators to Spiritualism.*

Ir Bradlaugh opened the debate with Mr Burns, and as always, n he made the opening speech, he used the most careful uage in trying to make his position clear. Beyond that speech, for what he told during the two nights of his personal eriences and inquiries into Spiritualism, the debate is really of e importance. Mr Burns afterwards apologised for his treatment ne subject on the ground of ill-health.†

---

* *Human Nature*, Jan. 1871.

† *The Medium and Daybreak*, Dec. 20, 1872.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FAMILY AFFAIRS.

When our home was broken up in May 1870, and my father
to live by himself in those two little rooms in Turner Stree
was very downcast and lonely. Apart from the many wei
reasons he had to make him heavy-hearted, he felt the separa
from his children, young though we were, much more than n
be imagined or than we indeed quite realised ourselves at the
He felt it for his own sake, but even more he felt it for
We had been away from him but little more than two wee
weeks crowded with worry and work—when he wrote us a
letter, which I shall always keep amongst my dearest treasure
much does it seem to convey a sense of his fatherly love for us
his fatherly anxiety for our lives in the difficult circumstanc
which we were placed. The letter is written in French and
legibly, the foreign language making a sort of excuse for the l
He writes:—

"My Dear little Daughters,—I have a notion to write you
time to time in French, because by that means more than by any o
shall make you learn the language. Unfortunately for your instru
my own knowledge of this beautiful tongue is very limited, but I
that you will correct me each time you find mistakes. I want to
every thought, every act of your lives, because, as you will be too
out of my sight, I would keep you very close to my heart, and I w
watch in thought the steps I cannot see each day with my own e
À vous, mes petites bien aimées, C. Bradlaug

Our brother's death drew us yet nearer to him, and whi
were at Midhurst he wrote to us constantly, scolding us
delayed too long in answering his little letters. As soon as h
able, he took a third room at Turner Street, and sent for each
by turns to spend a month with him, to write for him; but
was unwilling to separate my sister and me for long togethe
was by no means a regular arrangement.

fter he became acquainted with Madame de Brimont, she soon ressed a desire to know us. I have said that she was a staunch nd to my father; to my sister and to me she was goodness itself. asked my father to let her find a school for us in Paris, and as had always been very anxious for us to know French, he let self be persuaded, in spite of sundry misgivings about the extra ense. A school was found, and to Paris my father took us at end of September 1872. We went a few days before the nning of the school-term and stayed with him at his old hotel he Rue Vivienne—now demolished to make room for the exten- of the *Bibliothéque*. We were very proud to be with him, and d of course to be for the first time in Paris; we lunched or d at Madame de Brimont's, and our leisure moments were filled by most delightful drives outside Paris, or walks along the mps Elysées or the Boulevards. Before entering school, we e went one day with Madame de Brimont to make acquain- e with the Directress of the establishment and to look over the ding. The two ladies walked on first, chatting of the school ngements and so on, whilst we behind admired, but could not ate, the deliberate calmness with which they trod the highly hed parquet floors. My sister and I, as we slipped about and tically caught at each other for support, thought we never ld be able to walk steadily on these waxed floors. Before we Madame la Directrice asked what was our religion. Mr Brad- h, inwardly expecting difficulties, answered, "None, Madame." ame's "Ah! Monsieur, that saves trouble," brought a smile of rise and amusement to my father's face. Seeing this, the ctress went on: "You know, Monsieur, I have young ladies of various religions, but they are principally Roman Catholic, sh, and Greek Church; it is sometimes difficult to make their rent religious duties fit in with the studies."

e were very happy at this school; there were good masters, we had plenty of work to do. On Thursday afternoons, the home" day for the school, Madame de Brimont visited us, our Saturday afternoons and Sundays were spent with her. rtunately, I was never very strong, and during the winter I ll. At Christmas my father came quite unexpectedly to fetch me for the holidays. My sister went back in the course of a or two, but the doctor would not allow me to return. The ls of that journey home, and the sad story told at the end,

remain vividly in my memory. We had been surprise receiving my father's letter to say we were to go home, a followed almost immediately by my father himself. It wa or three days before Christmas; he had travelled at night, coming to us in the morning, gave us just a few hours t ready, and in the afternoon he came to fetch us away. He se depressed and preoccupied, and though he made us plenty o speeches, we were conscious that his mood was not gay. W Paris that night, and well do I remember what great care he of me, the invalid, holding me in his arms a great part of the As we drove to Turner Street from the station, in the gl dawn of a dull December morning, I could not help not in spite of my own pain and weariness, how grey and ha his face looked. We passed the day in London, and i evening he took us to Midhurst, where we were all to Christmas.

After the first excitement of our home-coming had some subsided, my father got up from his chair, and throwing bac head with a peculiar movement, said abruptly, "Well, Bo prison."

"My God!" exclaimed my grandfather, who invoked the as indifferently as if he had been a Christian.

My father was silent for some minutes, and then as, in short sentences, he told the story, my sister and I realise heavy had been his care on the previous day whilst he had to make merry with us.

William Robert Bradlaugh was twelve years younger th brother Charles, and was only seven years old at the time of father's death. He was educated at an Orphan Asylum, a his leaving this institution my father found situations for which, however, for one reason or another, he did not keep one time, after he had been very ill, I remember that he his time of convalescence at our house, where he found a kindness and comfort it was a brother's part to bestow. T distress of his relatives, and especially to the grief of his m he took to excessive drinking. His mother he comp neglected, even during the long illness which kept her room before her death.

Surprise has often been expressed at the evident estrang between the brothers; and this has been especially the cas

ious persons after they have listened to, or heard of, public protestations of religion and love for my father h have fallen from the Christian, protestations which Atheist has received in silence. He, who so well knew worth of these phrases, preferred to let himself be nderstood by his silence rather than utter the miserable .

ne story my father had to tell us that Christmas Eve was that rother Robert (he was always called by his second name) had arrested on the charge of embezzling various small sums from mployer. During the next few days, while he was under nd, he wrote from the House of Detention, thanking my r for his kindness to his wife, protesting his innocence, and essing himself as "perfectly happy and contented," knowing ould clear himself from all charges, and asking my father's in his defence. At the final examination in the Police Court ase was sent up for trial at the Middlesex Sessions, and at his ier's request my father instructed a solicitor to appear for him. W. R. Bradlaugh warmly expressed her gratitude to him for indness, hoping that some day she might be able to repay "Were it not for you," she said, "I do not know what I d do." Her husband, released on bail, protested that he d neither see nor speak to his brother until he had proved his ence.

the 8th of January my father wrote his sister, Mrs Norman, ising to allow his brother's wife a small weekly sum in the of Robert's conviction, adding that they had already had 10s. from him in six weeks. He was, as we know, himself avily involved in money difficulties that the smallest unfore- expense made a serious addition to him; despite this, a week he sent more money, and promised to pay the solicitor's costs. , he vowed he would not do, "either for name or for money's " He felt the disgrace keenly, and considered moreover that rother had no moral claim upon him, "for" as he wrote his , "when he was in full work, and I in distress, he did not help me to keep his mother, who loved him so well." At the lesex Sessions a sentence of six months' imprisonment was d, at the end of which Robert once more wrote his brother, ing him for the kindness he had shown to his wife, and wledging his indebtedness to the extent of £30, which he

talked about repaying on some future occasion. At the same
he assured my father that his feelings should not again be harr
by any misconduct on his (Robert's) part: henceforth his l
should be honestly obtained, or he would starve.

My father sent his brother some more money. Then, of cc
came other applications, coupled at length with the request tha
money should be sent direct, and not, as was my father's cu
through his sister, Mrs Norman. But my father would not co
to this. He told his sister of Robert's demand, adding that i
would take charge of the money he would send what he was
if she would not, he would send nothing. My aunt was
plexed; she did not know what to do. Although she ha
her sister-in-law and the child at her house during Ro
absence, she had not seen her since his return, and she felt
she did not want to force her brother Robert to receive fu
kindness through her hands. However, she at last consent
continue to act as intermediary; consequently every penny
Mr Bradlaugh sent his brother passed through her hands.

Just before my father went to America, in the autumn of
Robert (who, a few years later, alleged that in 1872 his br
cast him off) suggested that he should go to the States with
and be introduced by him as a young man whom he had k
for some time; but it is hardly necessary to say that my fathe
not acquiesce in this proposal. In the following year, while
receiving pecuniary assistance from his brother, Mr W
Bradlaugh attended some of Moody and Sankey's meetings
there professed "conversion," although, as he was brought up
educated in the tenets of the Church of England, and was
at any time a Freethinker, it is difficult to understand from
he was converted. One day my Aunt Lizzie was som
surprised at receiving a visit from him. He had been to her
only a day or two before to receive a sovereign which my
had sent at his request, and she was not expecting to see him
so soon. He walked into the house, triumphantly exclaimin
he had got "another berth," at the same time showing her a
of the *Christian Herald* in connection with which he had
given employment.

From that day until my father's death his brother never
to try and annoy him—always, of course, under the clo
religion and love. He would send him religious books—th

e at the New Year of 1891. "This is from my beautiful her," said my father, as he dropped it into the waste-paper ket. He sometimes lectured in the same town, on the same as my father, and the hall engaged for his lectures would haps be quite close to the one in which Mr Bradlaugh was king. He would be announced, maybe, merely as "Mr llaugh," or even as "the brother of Charles Bradlaugh," or e brother of the Member for Northampton," and would very ly entreat his audience to unite with him in prayer for his other Charles Bradlaugh." He had named his son "Charles," in a letter written to his brother in 1880, he had recourse to following unmanly taunt: "I want not to trade upon your e; it has never helped me, it dies with yourself, and is to be etuated by the son of one whom you at present hate." My er's own son, who also bore his name and of whom he had so proud, had then been dead ten years.

Ir W. R. Bradlaugh did not confine himself to these annoy-s—which, after all, were petty, and even if they irritated at time, could be easily endured—but he has been responsible for ous false and injurious statements concerning my father's onal character. Some of these were circulated during his life-, but he remained silent with every provocation to speak. n in a "private and confidential" letter to the editor of a dly paper which had carelessly quoted some extremely cious falsehoods alleged to have been uttered by Mr W. R. laugh, my father only said that, "being under great obliga-" to him, his brother tried to injure him.

his is the second time in this book that I have been compelled veal a story of sorrow and disgrace that I would have given n to have kept hidden, but justice to my father demands that truth should be known. If the telling it should bring the lest injury to a man who, twenty years ago, erred and expiated rror according to the laws of our country, it will give me the est pain and regret. Counting surely on my father's silence, ver, he chose to pursue a course of conduct which has obliged o tell the truth concerning their estrangement. Out of regard is brother, my father might knowingly and deliberately suffer elf to be misunderstood, and his silence to be unfavour-construed, but it is not for me, his faithful daughter and apher, to allow the misunderstanding to continue.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REPUBLICANISM AND SPAIN.

As I have said elsewhere, during the early seventies Republican movement in England was full of life and acti There was quite a ferment of political energy tending tow Republicanism, and this seemed to be most active in 1873, the temporary check felt in the reaction of loyalty evoked by Prince of Wales' illness. In February 1871, the first of a seri Republican Clubs was inaugurated in Birmingham by Mr C Cattell, and this was followed by the formation of others in e direction. By the spring of 1873 there were clubs in Aber and Plymouth, in Norwich and Cardiff; and between these extr were to be found more than fifty others, Yorkshire, Lancas and Northumberland having perhaps the largest number. T Clubs held their periodic meetings, and the addresses deliv were often thought of sufficient importance to be reported in local press. It may well be asked, What has become of all Republican fervour? It is difficult to say. Probably much o energy and activity has been diverted into other channels, but, ever that may be, we see little sign of it now: in 1894 Eng is to all appearance utterly dead to the aspiration of an Republic. But in the early part of 1873 the Repub movement was believed to be a growing one, and it was dec advisable to call a Conference with a view of establishi National Republican Organisation, which should unite all heretofore scattered clubs. A circular was sent out by Provisional Committee convening the meeting, signed by George Odger and eleven others, of whom Mr Bradlaugh was Seeing my father's name amongst the signatures, an endeavou made to injure the cause of Republicanism by denouncing conveners as "Atheists," although, as a matter of fact, the maj were Christians. The conference was fixed for the 11th and

ay, and the use of the Town Hall, Birmingham, was granted
ie meetings.

ortly before this date the Republic had been declared in
, and some of the English Clubs at once sent their congratu-
is to Senor Castelar. In addition to these, it was decided to
a resolution from the Birmingham Conference, expressing
athy with Spain in her struggle to establish a Republican
rnment, abhorrence at the atrocities committed by the
ts, in the interests of a Monarchical Government, and
nation at the non-recognition of the Spanish Government by
British Government. A resolution was also put to the great
meeting, held in the Town Hall on the Monday evening.
message of sympathy, which was passed with the utmost
nity, in a meeting of fully 4500 persons, was, together with
onference resolution, entrusted to Mr Bradlaugh to carry to
Emilio Castelar. The proceedings at Birmingham caused
lerable stir; the local papers gave long reports, and notices
red in different journals throughout the provinces, and even
nservative London itself. The impression created by this
and business-like demonstration may be gathered from a
which appeared in the *Examiner* for May 17, of which the
ing is a short extract:—

ie Conference of Republicans held at Birmingham on Sunday and
y last far exceeded in numbers, importance, as well as in the
gence displayed by its members, anything of a similar name or
that has been held since the present movement was first origin-
There were fifty-four accredited delegates present, representing
as many of our principal towns, and they came from every point
compass—from Norwich, from Bath, from Hastings, Paisley, and
en. The proceedings were marked by singular unanimity, and
abstinence from all hasty and ill-advised language. This, the
pected feature of the Conference, is doubtless deeply regretted
pponents. To openly avow Republican proclivities is, in the
of a majority of the 'respectable' classes, almost synonymous with
yourself an advocate of rick-burning, or any other mad devilry;
nference will go far towards removing this ridiculous impression,
assuring the timorous. But it must be admitted that a party
afford to speak in the moderate but decisive tones adopted by
f the speakers, convinces us, and, we would fain believe, all
g persons, far more of its reality and permanence than had it
d in the most savage braggadocio or bombast."

That same Monday night, with the vote to Senor Caste
his pocket, and with the cheers of the crowd ringing in hi
Mr Bradlaugh left Birmingham for London, where he arri
five o'clock on Tuesday morning. To drive to his Turner
lodgings, to wash, pack, breakfast, write some pressing
glance at thirty letters, then to Cannon Street to catc
7.40 A.M. mail train to Dover was fairly quick work,
was accomplished, and he found himself in Paris the
evening. Dining at the Orleans Station that night, he
Gambetta, with half-a-dozen friends whom he was seeing
Bordeaux, dining at a table quite near to him. Referring
incident, Mr Bradlaugh noted that "*Le Diarias*, of Madri
that in passing through Paris I had a long conferenc
Monsieur Gambetta. This, like most newspaper paragraphs
me, is a pure invention." Mr Bradlaugh published an acc
his journey to Spain in the *National Reformer* at the time.
of it—which he called "A fortnight's very rough notes
written while on his journey, and must have been done und
considerable difficulties. In carrying the message of the
to the Spanish Republicans, he went at the imminent risk
life. In Paris and in London it was currently reported t
was killed. While he was cut off from all communication w
we endured an agony of suspense—my mother and I at Mi
my sister at school in Paris; we read in the papers that
dead, and received letters of condolence from different q
Indeed, at Midhurst our first intimation of his supposed de
a letter of sympathy to my mother, written by the Re
Harrison, Mr Bradlaugh's oft-time opponent in debate.

My father gives so vivid a description of his adventures
impressions in his "very rough notes" that I give them in
words:—

"At 8.15 [Tuesday evening] I started for Spain, my h
a direct journey through that country being a little cooled
fact that although the Spanish Consul-General had p
assured me that the line was clear to Madrid, the Railway C
refused to book me further than Irun, a small town on th
of the River Bidassoa, and just over the French frontie
information, however, as to the state of the Spanish li
refused, ignorance being pleaded." At Bayonne, "while

he station, I was amused by two Spanish 'gentlemen,' who, r looking carefully at every passenger, came up to me and iired if I was the bearer of letters for Marshal Serrano. iously enough, Marshal Serrano, whose ambition seems ned to just disappointment, had just fled from Spain in a el from Santander. I replied in the negative, and the two, m I presume to have been Spanish detectives, remained hing until the train left Bayonne. At Irun my troubles menced: the railway line was completely cut, and I must er take to the road or turn back. The road was said to be emely dangerous, for it was in this district that the vicious bloodthirsty curé of Santa Cruz had his band. Some assured that the Carlists—who, all agreed, had possession of nearly entire Basque district—would not interfere with either lish or Americans. Others were equally certain that the t of Santa Cruz would show no mercy to either if he pened to be in a murdering humour. Everybody advised me to go alone; but when I found that the only vehicles for than two persons were some dirty, ricketty, awful-smelling ibuses drawn by nearly broken-down hacks, in which—the t route being impossible—nearly twenty miles must be done, ast, in a burning heat, through a dangerous district, before er conveyance could be got, I determined to risk the journey nyself. I hired a small open *calèche*, with two good horses, having emphatically explained to the driver that if he ped voluntarily on meeting with any Carlists I should fire im, I cocked my revolver, laid it on my knees, and off we at a sharp gallop, which scarcely ever slackened until we ned San Sebastian. We drove often close to the railway, h I found had been cut in many places; the telegraph wires hanging loose and useless, many of the posts hewn in two. or three times my driver turned to me and said, 'Los istos,' pointing to some men in blue carrying guns and hurrying s the field towards us. Our rate, which on these occasions accelerated by sharp whipping, carried us on without unter. Passing near a village on the River Bidassoa, about vay between Irun and San Sebastian, some very rough and d-looking men ran up to the carriage, and one, armed with a knife in his sash, got hold of the door, and addressed me in ue; but as I did not understand a word, I simply pointed the

pistol at his head and waved him sharply away. My c
continued to gallop, whipping his horses, and the other mer
shouted to the driver, apparently to stop, having fallen i
rear, my friend with the knife, who appeared a little out of b
and not to like the look of the pistol barrel, followed
example. When we got about two miles ahead, my
explained to me in French that these were only thieves, an
Carlists. I had afterwards reason to doubt whether this wa
a distinction without a difference. The man who drove me
San Sebastian refused to go any further, alleging that betwee
Sebastian and Vittoria the road was too dangerous. Finding
it was a thirteen hours' ride, and that the necessary rel
horses and oxen for the mountains were prepared, and could
be obtained for the diligence which started at four next mo
I at once booked a place for the *coupé* of an antiquated ma
which appeared to have lain by ever since the introducti
railroads, and to have been dragged out hastily, and w
repairs, in consequence of the sudden interruption of the r
traffic. The clerk who took my money quietly told me th
proprietors could not be responsible for my luggage. . . . At
o'clock on Thursday morning I was awakened out of a te
sound sleep, for, not having been in bed since Sunday night, I
had overcome will; I was more fatigued than I had imagine
a quarter to four I was seated in the diligence, heavily fre
with luggage, with one fellow-passenger in the *coupé*
Everisto de Churruca, a Spanish civil engineer, who no
spoke French but Basque], four in the interior, and three
banquette, or open-hooded seat behind the driver. All
passengers, except one, we dropped at early stages of our jo
The first steep hill we went down at a gallop; but our breal
and rusty, would not work; the almost overweighted dil
swerving to and fro—and if we had had a bishop on boa
must have capsized; as it was, your light-hearted servan
saved his neck. The diligence came to a standstill at the
of the hill, and after great shouting some olive oil was pro
and the screw was twisted backwards and forwards until it
its rust in its unwonted oil bath. Again we started, this t
even a greater pace, to make up for lost time. . . .

"The first bodily testimony of the fear of the Carlists
Tolosa, an old Spanish city, Mauresque in its surroundings,

fortified with wooden stockades fitted with loopholes for guns. as well garrisoned with a few regular troops and provincial ia. The volunteers were, on the whole, a soldierly-looking of men. At Allegria the Town Hall or Public Court House fortified by the doors and windows being blocked up with h stones coarsely mortared in, the necessary loopholes being for firing through. This being in the centre of the town enced the fear that the outer works might not be strong gh to resist the Carlist assailants. Between Allegria and franca I came upon a shocking sight. The Carlists had cut line close to the mouth of a railway tunnel, which they had partially blown up. The next train from San Sebastian came ith its usual freight of peaceful ordinary passengers, and no dly warning was given to stay the mad, confiding rush into arms of death. Two carriages over the side of the embank-, and the guard's van smashed underneath, three carriages he line crushed into one another, still are there, with the ly, sickening, dull, dried traces on them to show how well the ly work was done. And these are Carlist doings—work by wers of the Divine-right-Bourbon! Prayers are said for these ous scoundrels in Paris, and subscriptions are advertised for in the London *Times*. If they had been Communists instead rlists, what then? . . . .

At Beasain I found that the fine railway bridge was cut by the sts, several feet being taken out of the flooring on either side, at any train coming might be utterly dashed to pieces in a to the depths underneath. When coming near Zumarraga we wo yoke of oxen added to our horses, to drag us up the steep de, our ascent being upon one of the small range of mountains apparently link on to the Pyrenees. Here I began to think danger was passed, as we found men engaged in repairing the anent way, although the strong guard of soldiers protecting orkmen showed that this was not quite the opinion of the rities. . . . . .

At Mondragon a new style of fortification met my view. All cities are built with very narrow streets, and here, in the e of the principal street, a chamber had been run across from ow to window of opposite houses, built shot-proof, and loop- each side and underneath. This clearly proved that in this bourhood the Carlists were looked upon as likely to enter the

town itself. At Arichavaletta, where the regular troops
stronger than usual, I was much puzzled by the conduct of
sentries, who first signalled us to stop, and who—when the ho
were pulled up to a walk—crossed bayonets to prevent our
gress. It turned out that the Commanding Officer had broken
meerschaum pipe, and our important mission was actually to
it to Vittoria to be mended. More fortunate than some of
baggage we carried, it actually arrived at its destination.
Ezcarriaza, a small open town where we made our last chang
horses, I noticed that most of the houses were deserted, and
doors and shutters fastened. The remaining inhabitants stare
us with a pitying kind of curiosity, as though they knew not
fate was in store for us. Candidly speaking, as we had now s
done more than four-fifths of our journey to Vittoria, I bega
think that there was now scarcely any risk, and the more espec
so as all advices of the Carlists placed them much to the nort
where we then were. My judgment was inaccurate; the stin
the serpent was in its tail, the last fifth part of our journey
worse than all the rest. When we arrived at the *Cuesta*
Salinas, where two roads branched off, a rather good-looking y
man, in a blue cap and blue blouse sort of uniform, armed wi
rifle, a revolver in his sash attached by a ring to a cord s
round his neck, and with a bayonet sword by his side, waved
hand to our driver in the direction of the lower road. This
our diligence now took, our driver saying something we could
hear, and my companion adding to me, 'At last, the Carli
About half a mile further, up started in the middle of the ro
rough a specimen of the human family as one could wish to
Armed and dressed like the previous one, he evidently calle
our driver to halt, and as the diligence came to a standstill,
others, worse dressed and badly armed with indifferent
joined the first, and I cocked my revolver, keeping it hov
underneath my coat. Our driver chatted to the Carlists famil
in the Basque tongue, but too low for my fellow-traveller to ca
word. The last of the Carlists who appeared was probab
deserter, as he wore part of the uniform of a private of the Tw
ninth Regiment. Whether the three did not feel strong enou
attack us, or whether, as is more likely, they had orders to l
pass into the trap carefully laid at the other end of the road,
not know; what is certain is, that again our driver gathered u

s, and away we galloped. I uncocked my pistol, and began to ve that the Carlists were a much maligned body of men. ut a mile further, a house still in flames, with traces of a re struggle close to it, again awakened our attention, and in the nce blue uniforms could be seen.

At the *fuente de Certaban*, close to Ullsbarri Gamboa, in the ince of Alava, we fairly fell into the Carlists' hands, like fish n in a net. A party of twelve stopped the roadway, while two sentry on the heights close to the road, and some others, n we could not see but whom we could hear, were close at l. Our driver descended, and his first act was to give the er of the Carlist party an ordinary traveller's satchel with shoulder-strap, which had evidently been brought tionally from one of the towns we had passed, and which ed to give pleasure to the recipient, who at once donned it, or three admiringly examining it. Approaching me, the er then asked, in the name of his Majesty Carlos VII., in a ure of French and Spanish, if I had anything contraband? cquainted with the tariff regulations of this Bourbon bandit , I gave a polite negative, and was about to descend from *coupé* to see more accurately our new visitors, when, on a l from the chief, they all laid their guns against a bank, one ne sentries descending to stand guard over the weapons. ous guns they were—English Brown Bess, old Prussian le-loader, ancient Italian regulation muzzle-loader, converted ch loader, and blunderbuss, were represented. All who wore vers had new ones, perhaps bought by the funds subscribed ie London Committee.

he diligence, which only contained one passenger besides myself Senor de Churruca, was now literally taken by storm; and at nt, seeing that there were no signs of fighting, I preserved an d neutrality, keeping my revolver cocked, but still carefully of sight under my coat, only moving the pistol-case on the , so as to have it ready for almost instantaneous use. The search appeared to be for letters, and I began to quake for one ted in Mr Foote's* best handwriting to Senor Castelar, and nich I was the bearer. I soon found that only the chief could

---

Mr Foote was Secretary to the Committee convening the Republican rence.

read at all, and I much doubt if he could read anything but p
The principle of natural selection seemed governed by
appropriation of thick and large epistles; and even these,
being turned about, were restored to the driver, who, w
slight shrug of his shoulders, looked on as though he had
little concern in the matter.

"Presently a cry of triumph came from the top of the dilig
Thinking it was my poor black bag containing the Castelar l
I pressed forward, but was stopped, and a sentry placed in c
of me. His gun was a treasure, and I consider that if he
meant shooting, there would have been nearly as much dang
the discharge to the shooter as to the shot. The triun
shout had been caused by the discovery of two saddles and br
which were at once confiscated by his Majesty's customs coll
as contraband, and despite an energetic protest from the
ductor, were carried off behind the rising ground. The
thing seized was a military cap in its oilskin case; uncover
was a thing of beauty—a brigadier's cap, thickly overlaid
silver lace. The Carlist commander took possession of this
almost boyish delight, giving his own cap to one of his follo
who had hitherto been decorated with a dirty rag for head-
The oilskin covering of the new cap was thrown to the gr
and one of the band, who seemed to have a sudden atta
madness, drew his bayonet and rushed at the poor cover, fur
digging the bayonet through and through, and crying
Basque that he wished that he had the nigger, its master, th
serve in the same manner. Suddenly and menacingly he t
to me, and angrily asked in Basque whether the cap was
When Senor de Churruca translated this into French, it w
much for my gravity, already disturbed by the mad onslaug
the unoffending oilskin. My thick skull is of tolerably larg
this cap was small enough to have perched on the top of my
My reply was a hearty laugh, and it seems to have been th
answer I could have made, my interlocutor grinning approb
Bayonets were now called into work to break open the po
teaus of which the owners were absent, and also to open
wooden cases containing merchandise belonging to the
passenger. Boots appeared to be contraband of war, and lia
instant confiscation. One pair of long cavalry boots did u
service, for the chief determined to get into them at onc

ily they were so tight a fit that they occupied his time and ation for nearly twenty minutes, during which period the chers came to my black bag, and found the official-looking lope containing the vote of sympathy from the Birmingham ing. As I was in a Catholic country, and the Carlists were s Catholics, I adopted the views of the equally pious Eusebius, shouted lustily, '*Io Inglese, esta mia passeporta.*' The man held it looked at it, holding the writing upside down, and rned it to its place. Fortunately I had no spare boots, and my ist friends had no taste for shirts, so I got leave to fasten up bag. My fellow-traveller, who had a fine military-looking arance, and who had just come from Porto Rico, underwent a hing cross-examination, and I began to think he was to be ed off into the mountains. Fortunately, he not only talked ue well, but had considerable presence of mind, and after anging cigars with the second in command (the first was still ggling into his boots, one of which resolutely refused to go on), as allowed to move about uninterfered with. No. 3 passen- vas in sore trouble; he had about thirty umbrellas, and was ired to pay 2½ reals for each, and also duties on some other les, which he said amounted to more than their value. Senor hurruca expostulated with the Carlists in their native tongue, e I reasoned with passenger number three in French. His ulty was very simple: the Carlists wanted more money than ad got, and he looked bewailingly at his broken boxes and d goods. I got him to offer about thirty pesetas; these were gnantly refused, violent gesticulation was indulged in, our r now really taking active part on our side, but occasionally king off and running up to the top of the nearest hill, as gh looking for some one. At last the guns were picked up pointed at us, everybody talked at once, and it looked as if ould come to a free fight after all, when suddenly some cry from a distance—at first faintly, then more clearly; and her some other prey approached, or whether the soldiers were ng along the road we had left, I know not, but number 's pesetas were hurriedly taken, and this sample of the army arlos VII. hastily disappeared, leaving us the unpleasant task packing the luggage on the diligence as best we could, wi.. ords which they had recklessly cut when too hurried to untie. r de Churruca stated that the Carlists claimed to have no less

than 3000 men well armed in the Montanas de Arlaban, ro
which the road passed, of whom 500 they said could be bro
on the spot by signal in a few minutes. We resumed our ro
pleased and disgusted—pleased at our lucky escape, and disgu
because the more than two hours and a half's delay would re
us too late for the night express to Madrid.

"The road, too, was now more dangerous for the horses, as the
graph wires lying across the road in curls made traps for t
legs, and driving at a gallop was occasionally difficult. At
we came in sight of Vittoria. Outside, in the road, we c
across a large body of armed regulars playing pitch and toss,
next a volunteer, in full equipment, driving a pig." From Vit
"at eleven on the morning of Friday we started for Miranda
train being escorted by nearly a regiment. The first rail
station after leaving Vittoria—Nanclares—had been turned in
veritable fortress by hastily constructed stone barricades, and
full of troops; but we had no novelties until we reached Mir
at 1·30, except that an officer of the 12th Regiment had
him a little baby about twelve months old. Strange bag
in time of war! At the stations a private came and nurse
I dared not make any inquiry as to his little companion, fea
I might give offence." At the Miranda station a couple of de
ments of prisoners were brought in, of all ages from twelv
sixty-five. "The whole of these prisoners were to be sen
Cuba, to fight there for the Government against the Cuban in
rectionists. I could not help thinking that this practice of e
riating these Carlists was as impolitic as it is most certainly ill
The practice was commenced by Senor Zorilla, and the pr
ministry have unfortunately followed in his footsteps." Bet
Miranda and Burgos four railway stations burned to the gr
showed where the Carlists had been. "From Burgos I h
weary night's ride to Madrid, morning dawn showing me, o
left of the line, about twenty miles from the capital, the fa
Escorial, chronicled amongst the wonders of the world. Just
in a deep cutting through the rocks near Las Rozas, we pulle
with a sudden jerk and jump, which threw us off our seats.
descending hastily from the train, I found that these priest-ri
Carlist savages had planned here our total destruction.
wood and iron had been fixed in two places on the rails, an
empty rubbish truck had been turned upside down right o

. Fortunately our train kept the rails, and although mischief done to the engine, we all escaped unhurt, save for a rough ing. A few of us hastily climbed the rocks, and I confess it almost a disappointment to find no one in sight. I felt in my r a desire to take vengeance with my own hand. If the train gone off the line, we should have been pounded against the s, and nothing could have saved the bulk of us from death ightful injury."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MADRID AND AFTER.

On arriving at Madrid, Mr Bradlaugh waited upon Senor Ca
at the Government Palace, Plaza de Oriente, where he was offi
received, and whence a few days later came a fairly le
official document, addressed to Mr R. A. Cooper, as Chairman
Birmingham Conference, which was as remarkable for its eloq
as for its moderation. From Madrid he went to Lisbon, by
of Cuidad Real and Badajoz, the journey taking thirty-six
by "express" train. His visit to Lisbon was upon private
ness: he particularly desired to learn something concern
Portuguese gentleman, the Baron Geraldo F. dos Santos,
whom he had been connected in 1867 in the Naples C
Company, and who had in the October of that year "go
Lisbon," leaving "no orders," as was tersely written upon
for three hundred pounds when it became due. The noble
who should have met it had returned to his native land, le
it to be met by my father, whose name was on the back of th

My father did not stay many hours in Lisbon, but while h
there a curious little incident happened. Going into a tobacc
to buy a cigar, he asked for it in French, thinking that
likely to be understood than English. The mistress of the
smiled, and answered him in his own tongue, addressing hi
name. She was an Englishwoman, and knew him well, h
heard him lecture at the provincial town where she had li
England.

About the 22nd Mr Bradlaugh was back again in Madri
the 23rd he received the official reply to Mr Cooper, and al
following unofficial communication:

"Ministerio de Estado,
"Gabinete Particula

"Monsieur Bradlaugh.

"Monsieur,—En réponse à votre lettre de ce matin je vo
de vouloir bien m'attendre chez vous aujourd'hui entre d

s heures. J'aurai alors le plaisir de vous voir et je pourrai s donner des renseignments rélatifs à votre voyage.
Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

"[Signed] EMILIO CASTELAR." *

Madrid, le 23 Mai."

)n the following day (Saturday) a banquet was given by the drid Republicans to Mr Bradlaugh at the Café Fornos, at ch about eighty persons, including many leading Spanish ublicans, were present. There had been a loud demand for a quet in the open air, and many hundreds of applications were ived for tickets. The time at Mr Bradlaugh's disposal, how- , was too short to allow of arrangements being made for a quet upon such an extensive scale, and it was necessary to limit more modest proportions.

he invitation to this banquet was signed by the Alcade, Pedro nard Orcasitas, on behalf of the City of Madrid; by Francisco cia Lopez, the newly elected deputy for Madrid; by the famous ncisco Rispa Perpina, the President of the Federal Centre; by n N. de Altolaguirre, on behalf of the Republican Federal tre; by Manuel Folgueras on behalf of the Provincial Deputies; by a General and a Colonel commanding the Republican unteers.

t seven in the evening the Alcade came in person to Mr llaugh's hotel to escort him to the Café Fornos. At the dinner chair was taken by Senor Garcia Lopez, and the *New York ld* gave a full report of the speeches delivered. Mr Bradlaugh e in English, but his speech was translated by Senor Eduardo t, Secretary to the Cortes, who in his official capacity had, his colleague, Senor Pedro Rodriguez, signed the orders, first sabella, and then for Amadeus, to quit Spain. The banquet

---

* "MINISTERIO DE ESTADO,
"GABINETE PARTICULAR.

Mr Bradlaugh.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of this morning, I would ask you to kindly me at your hotel to-day between two and three o'clock. I shall then the pleasure of seeing you, and I shall be able to give you information ng to your journey.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

"EMILIO CASTELAR.

Madrid, May 23rd."

came to an end about half-past eleven, and so great was enthusiasm that all the guests escorted the English Republ back to his hotel, where deputation after deputation waited u him until half-past two in the morning. In the street witho vast but orderly crowd waited patiently for a chance to see or the hero of the hour, and during the whole time music was pl by the bands of the Engineers and the Artillery, specially sen the Minister of War. At length, after repeated entreaties, Bradlaugh said a few words in French from the balcony of hotel to the enormous throng below. Thanking the peopl Madrid from his heart for the great kindness shown him wished them peace, prosperity, and order, winding up with the "Vivad la Republica Espanola." Then, as it was reported, "an loud and repeated 'Vivads,' the crowd peacefully retired, ladies quitted the balconies, and at three o'clock Madrid wen bed just as the sun's first rays tried to overclimb the line of nig Mr Bradlaugh himself went to his pillow with the reflection he had that night shaken hands "with at least eight hun people."

On Sunday he started on his return journey, but a letter Senor Castelar took him once more to his house before he Castelar wrote :—

"Madrid, le 25 de M

"Mon cher Bradlaugh,—Je vous prie d'etre chez moi a heures precis. Tout a vous, E. Castelar."

This note was written in Castlelar's own hand, and is—as I it—quite innocent of accents. The letter of the 23rd was wr by a secretary and signed by Senor Castelar. These little are only important as witnesses to the friendly way in which Bradlaugh was treated whilst in Madrid, there having been assertions to the contrary, and Castelar himself having stated *my father's death* that he "sent a message by a trusty emis requesting him not on any account to call on me at the Fo Office, but to come and see me at my house, alone, and at an hour in the morning, rarely chosen for visits in Madrid, wher

---

* "Madrid, May 25

"My Dear Bradlaugh,—I pray you to come to my house at two o precisely.—Yours, E. Castela

ple are early risers."* The welcome given to Mr Bradlaugh in drid provoked a stupid exhibition of rage and spite in certain rters in England; and amongst the many fictions circulated at time it was said that Senor Castelar would not see him at his ial residence, and refused to receive the Birmingham vote ept at his private house. Mr Bradlaugh corrected this pre-terous falsehood at once.

The vote was addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs," said, "and I delivered it at the Ministry in the Palace, and ived the answer officially from the Ministry. It is perfectly that Senor Castelar invited me to his private residence, where vent, and passed some hours with him on three separate sions, and that he did me the honour to visit me at my hotel; these interviews, while I much valued them and am extremely sed they took place, were unsought by me. The only visit I nteered was the official one to the Ministry of State, and there o pretence for saying that there was any reluctance to receive "†

Mr Bradlaugh's return from Madrid occupied even longer time n the getting there. Although he left Madrid on Sunday, it not until late on Friday night that he reached Paris, and in meantime all sorts of rumours as to his death or capture had eared in the French and English press. He delayed twenty-hours in Paris in order that he might see his elder daughter, was there at school, and some French friends, all of whom e in the greatest anxiety as to his fate. He arrived in London Sunday morning, and in the evening lectured at the Hall of nce in reply to a speech delivered by the Bishop of Lincoln at sborough upon the Inspiration of the Bible. The audience ting him had gathered together full of doubt and uneasiness, the relief they felt was expressed by the vehement cheering, n and again renewed, which greeted his appearance as he red the hall.

he story of his return journey we have in his own words.

Favoured by Senor Castelar," he said, "with special aid in ning, we—that is, myself and a Government courier, with

* *Cardiff Weekly Mail*, February or March 1891.

† *National Reformer*, June 15, 1873.

despatches for Paris and London—left Madrid for our homev
journey on the afternoon of Sunday, May 25th. At the ur
request of many of those who had taken part in the demonstra
of Saturday, I at the last moment determined not to return by
route I had come, and this determination was confirmed by
certain news that all the passes, either across the Pyrenees or
Salinas, were well occupied by the Carlists, who did not inten
let me slip easily through their fingers. I have no ambition t
a martyr, and determined not to be caught if I could avoid
His return route was now planned to go *via* Santander
Bordeaux. "At Palencia," he continued, "where we arr
about three A.M., we received as escort some three hundred
of, I think, the Thirty-sixth Regiment. They came to parade
great delay, and in a manner showing great lack of discipline
noticed that Pina and Espinosa were strongly guarded, an
soon as we passed between some of the hills near Alar del R
sharp fusilade, which was returned from the train, wakened
from a half sleep, and gave me an occasion for smelling gunpow
with an almost freedom of danger. Our train only went at a
ten miles per hour, the engine-driver fearing to find the line
up, or obstructions upon it; but fortunately for us, the part
Carlists by whom we were attacked were too late to hinder
although I was informed that they succeeded in stopping the
train. The firing, sometimes sharp and sometimes interru
entirely by the ravines, lasted about three-quarters of an hour.
Carlists were seen running down from the mountains to take
in the skirmish. The casualities were small, one soldier on
side being wounded in the shoulder. Not a single bullet ent
the compartment in which I was seated.

"From Alar del Rey we passed through some beautiful cou
to Santander, where we arrived about five hours late, and in
to find that a steamer I had hoped to catch had left for Bay
the night before my arrival. I went at once in a rage to
Government Offices, and was assured by the Captain-Gener
the port of Santander—who was the perfection of civility, and
stated that he had received a telegram from the Madrid Gov
ment to afford me every facility—that it would be impossib
leave for Bayonne before Thursday. This horrified me, for I
due to speak in Northampton on the 28th, and I at once ru
to the Telegraph Office to send a message. The clerk told m

d take my money, but he would not ensure the delivery of my
age. I was to return later to inquire. I left my money and
despatch, and went to the hotel to dine, or breakfast, or both
e. On returning to the Dispaccio Telegrafico, I learned that
vires were cut in more than one place; that the post-bags to
North were being seized by the Carlists; and that all means
mmunicating with my friends in England were temporarily
off. To my disgust, I found that the boat for Bayonne,
ugh advertised for Thursday, might not start till Sunday,
here I was, a prisoner at large in Santander, not even being
to return from thence to Vittoria, or to communicate my
eabouts to any one. . . . On Monday afternoon, while wan-
g about the streets, I came across a bill outside a shipping
headed 'Para Burdeos,' and not quite sure of my Spanish,
ther, being quite sure it would not do to trust to it, I went
e to inquire for some one who could talk French. The
person able to talk anything but Spanish was the principal,
urned out to be the same gentleman employed by Mr Layard,
English Ambassador at Madrid, to provide the steamer by
Marshal Serrano made his escape from Spain. I could not
wondering, when this shipowner, after closing, with an air
ystery, the sliding window communicating with the clerk's
showed me the letters he had received from Mr Layard
aking the steamer, and from Marshal Serrano, thanking him
his escape. What would the English Government have said
Spanish Ambassador in England had furnished one of the
n leaders with the means of escape from London to South-
n, and had there engaged him a steamer for Havre? Yet this
cisely what A. H. Layard did for Marshal Serrano last month
ain. *Revenons à nos moutons;* I had rightly understood
was a steamboat, and 'a fine swift one,' announced to start for
aux that evening. I wanted to embark at once, but found
me delay had taken place in the embarkation of the cargo,
e boat would not leave until two on Tuesday. But even this
omparative bliss; the boat was warranted to make the
e in twenty-four hours. I should be at Bordeaux at two on
esday; I should then be able to leave by the express train for
get there on Thursday morning, perhaps catching the tidal
o London in time to encounter Father Ignatius at the New
f Science on Thursday evening. My spirits rose, and I

went back to the Fonda de Europa to sleep joyousl
morning.

"Next morning I received news not so good. The capt
the vessel, the *Pioneer*, Captain Laurent, was staying in the
Fonda as myself; it was doubtful, he said, if he could weigh a
before four or five. This was driving it very close for
the train at Bordeaux; but worse news was to come: the bo
not start at all until Wednesday, and instead of doing the jo
in twenty-four hours, it took nearer thirty-four hours, so
ultimately arrived in Bordeaux towards midnight on Thu
and naturally not in Paris until Friday night. . . . The
steamer *Pioneer* abounded in strange smells. The captain
it had never carried passengers before, and for the sake
travellers I hope that she may never carry them again;
(there were eight other passengers) made the best of our po
and bivouacked somehow with tarpaulin and sailcloth spr
the iron bottom of the hold; and except that in the Bay of
the *Pioneer* sometimes suddenly put my head where my feet
to have been, and then reversed the process with alarming
ness, there was little to complain of."

Of course Mr Bradlaugh's journey was followed by the
cry from those whose mercenary minds cannot conceive of
doing anything he is not absolutely obliged except for th
pose of gaining some money reward. Just as earlier it had be
that he was paid by the Tories, or the Whigs, or the Comm
or some others equally probable, now the story was that
paid by—of all people in the world—the Carlists!*

What Mr Bradlaugh thought of Senor Castelar will be
of peculiar interest to those who have felt respect or adm
for both men. In narrating his Spanish adventures, my
uttered no set judgment on the Spanish statesman; he d
weigh him or criticise him, but here and there he alluded
or that quality. "Of Senor Castelar himself," he said in on
"it is difficult to speak too highly. . . . As an orator, he
equal in Spain; and as a journalist, his pen has made

* "We are informed, on what should be the very best authority
theless we must refrain from guaranteeing the authenticity of the sta
that the expenses of the great Republican deputation from England
was (*sic*) entirely defrayed by the Carlist Committee in London."—
Dispatch, June 8th, 1873.

satlantic reputation." He then went on to enumerate some ıe good works which Senor Castelar had inaugurated or in h he had taken part. Later on, speaking of the possibility of maintenance of the Republican Government in Spain, Mr laugh said that there needed at the head of affairs "a Crom- with the purity of a Washington. . . . Senor Castelar feels eeply, and the pain and turmoil of Government will tell upon ıealth if he re-assumes power. He is honest and earnest and ed to Republicanism, and withal so loving and lovable in ature. I was present at breakfast with Senor Castelar when eceived the telegraphic despatch announcing the fall of ieur Thiers, and the election of Marshal MacMahon as dent. The news seemed to affect Senor Castelar very deeply. vidently regarded it as paving the way for the accession e Monarchical party in France, and consequently as giving ıragement to the Legitimist or Carlist party in Spain."

Ionest," "earnest," "loving and lovable," *—all admirable ies, not enough to make a Cromwell or a Washington, but theless all very admirable. My father believed Senor lar possessed these, and from him I learned to admire and ence him. Since my father's death I have had reason to doubt ner Castelar really possessed any one of these fine traits of cter. At the risk of his life Mr Bradlaugh went to him to a message of sympathy and congratulation at a critical nt in his career; Senor Castelar received him with the t friendship and cordiality, and every honour was shown him g his few days' stay in Madrid. Having thus professed lship to his face, Senor Castelar waited for eighteen years, hen, a few weeks after my father's death, he wantonly hed † one of the most grotesque, one of the most foolishly ous attacks upon Mr Bradlaugh that it would be possible sane man to pen.

New York Mr Bradlaugh afterwards spoke of Castelar as "one of ost honest, thorough, and loyal Republicans in Europe. Spain and rld should be proud of him."

e *Cardiff Weekly Mail* and other English papers of this date.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GREAT GATHERINGS.

There will probably be many who remember the agitation was in London when, at the end of the session of 187 Parks Regulation Bill was "smuggled" through the Ho Commons, an agitation which did not subside until the G ment announced that it would not seek to enforce the regu before they had been ratified in the coming session by a both Houses. This concession was regarded by many as a co surrender to the Radicals, and equivalent to the handing o four chief parks "to agitators, whenever they chose t possession of them." In any case Mr Ayrton did not ap regard the Government pledge as binding, for before l posted the regulations in Hyde Park, and in November he Mr Odger and some ten or eleven others to be summo participators in a meeting held there in favour of the rel the Fenian prisoners. The case first taken was that of Mr the chairman of the meeting, who, upon the hearing summons, was fined £5. As Mr Bailey's case was to dec others, it was resolved that the magistrate's decision sho appealed against.

Mr Bradlaugh maintained that the Commissioner of Wo no power to make regulations without the sanction of Parl and immediately called a meeting of protest, to be held i Park on Sunday, December 1st. As there had been so turbance at one of Mr Odger's meetings, as well as some t force to be used at his own, in his last notice conven meeting my father specially asked that every one who wen park should aid the stewards in preserving order.

Sunday December 1st came, and with it most in weather; but in spite of cold and rain and mud, thous men and women made their way to the trysting-place, whi well within Mr Ayrton's proscribed area. There were n

nuers, and the journeying of the people to the park was
d by Mr Austin Holyoake to "a pilgrimage of passion, all
ore intense because subdued." At this meeting, characterised
e utmost unanimity, Mr Bradlaugh was the only speaker,
o other inducement was offered to people to come through
at dreary weather than that of uniting in a solemn protest
t this infringement of the right of public meeting. "It is
s to blink facts," lamented one of Mr Ayrton's supporters,*
it may as well be confessed that the assemblage was
perfectly under control, and orderly, and composed of
ntly respectable persons. These may be melancholy facts,
ey are facts. . . . It was a dense assemblage, standing as
as it could be packed, and extending over an area of
than an acre." Even the *Times* was impressed by the size,
derly character of the gathering, and perhaps even more
ll by the fact that those who came "without bands and
s, and marching through the streets," pledged nevertheless
ntain order, "and actually succeeded in no small degree in
ing the 'roughs' and thieves who congregate on these
ns." In continuation, the *Times* remarked that "Mr
ugh, whose voice could be heard at a considerable distance,
stened to with great attention; he spoke throughout in
of advice to the 'people' to preserve peace, law, and order."
en we find such reluctant witnesses speaking in such terms,
n form some idea of the size of the meeting and the spirit
animated it. It is to be regarded as not the least among
her's triumphs that he could always bring people together in
umbers, with no other inducement than the justice of the
which they had at heart. A little earlier in that very year
Odger had said in a letter to him: "It will be a grand day
when the Democrats of London are sufficiently organised
be ready to march in their tens of thousands from all parts
ndon to the park or some other large place, inspired only by
nviction of right which the soundness of their principles
ltimately produce." This is exactly what happened at my
s meetings. He said: "Come, because it is right to come;
uietly, without clamour." He trusted the men and women
whom he was working; he knew that when they saw the

* *Scotsman*, December 2.

right, the cause alone would be sufficient to move them; they want no other inducement. His trust was justified and re cated; the mass meetings which he called, and the control of depended upon himself alone, were always great demonstra were always impressive. and were always perfectly orderly.

Notwithstanding this open defiance of his regulations Ayrton refrained from taking proceedings against eithe Bradlaugh or any of those who took part in the meeting. yet the magistrate's decision against Mr Bailey was confirm appeal by the Court of Queen's Bench, and the Treasury cl costs against him. After some delay, however, this clain abandoned by the Government, which, in the matter of Parks Regulations, at least, does not seem to have distingu itself by firmness or decision.

Another public meeting held that December furnis striking example of the way Mr Bradlaugh was looked upo pariah. My father, as is well known, attached much impo to the question of Land Law Reform, and was deeply inte in any measures that would tend to ameliorate the hard those who live by the land. Hence, when a meetin announced to be held in Exeter Hall, in connection wit Agricultural Labourers' Movement, he determined to be p The chair was taken by S. Morley, Esq., M.P., who, hi generous donor to the Agricultural Labourers' Fund, laid stress on the necessity of giving substantial pecuniary help. first resolution, moved by Cardinal Manning, ran thus: this meeting deeply sympathises with the Agricultural Lab of England in their depressed circumstances, believing present condition to be a disgrace to the best interests country, and is of opinion that measures should be a without delay for their social improvement and intel elevation." Mr Bradlaugh felt that this was at once very and very inadequate; it left the character of the "measu be adopted far too much to the imagination. Nor was the tion made more clear by the speeches which followed from who, like Mr Arch and Mr Ball, eloquently as they spoke, to touch the vital causes of the miseries they deplored. Ev pecuniary help they were seeking, my father considered, wo itself but perpetuate troubles, unless the grievances then

redressed. Under these circumstances. Mr Bradlaugh "felt
l to rise to move an addendum to the resolution." His
was the signal for great excitement; a hawk in a dovecote
hardly have produced a greater flutter. "Some," said my
, "yelled lustily; Joseph Arch begged me as a favour 'not to
e the kindly gentlemen disposed to aid the poor labourer,' and
ıll . . . said they did 'not want any political opinions which
prevent subscriptions to the movement.'" Archbishop
ing withdrew from the meeting as soon as the wicked
ɛt came forward. I am in no position to say whether in
ase *post hoc* meant *propter hoc*, though certainly in some
rs,* at least, the Archbishop's sudden disappearance was
ıted to Mr Bradlaugh's appearance. Mr Samuel Morley
Mr Bradlaugh not to move the addendum; my father, how-
persisted. Mr Morley then asked him, "as a favour to
f, as it was then 10.32, not to speak in support." To this
adlaugh consented, while maintaining his right to speak, and
moved that the following words be added to the resolution:
there can be no permanent improvement in the condition
agricultural labourer until such vital change shall be
d in the land laws now in force in this country as shall
down the land monopolies at present existing, and restore to
eople their rightful part in the land." Had he been
d to speak, he would have instanced as necessary "measures"
on of primogeniture; easy land transfer; a graduated land
d compulsory cultivation of uncultivated lands capable of
tion. This last reform he put elsewhere in the following
:—"Power to deprive holders of cultivable lands of their
ty, on proof of non-cultivation, at a compensation not exceed-
en years' purchase, calculated on the average nett rental of
eceding seven years. Such lands to be taken by the State,
in small holdings to actual cultivators, on terms of tenancy,
tioned to the improvement made in value; that is, the greater
provement, the longer the tenancy. Lands appropriated to
rests and game preserves to be treated as non-cultivated."
ough Mr Bradlaugh's addendum was moved and seconded
the greatest confusion, and little as his intervention was

Weekly Register (Catholic) for Dec. 14, and *Liverpool Daily Post* for

approved of by the promoters of the meeting, four-fifths a
of those assembled voted in its favour.*

But if my father felt wounded by the way in which h
regarded, and his help was rejected by the conveners and sp
of this Exeter Hall meeting, he had his compensation i
following July, when he was invited, for the first time, to atte
Annual Demonstration of the Northumberland miners. H
always felt especial sympathy for the workers in the norther
mines, and never forgot that one of the earliest and one of the k
greetings he ever received in the provinces was from a coal-
at Bebside. At this demonstration he met Alexander Macd
whom he then regarded as one of the strongest men he ha
come in contact with, connected with any working men's o
zation in Great Britain. "To give," he said, "a faint not
Mr Macdonald's power, it is enough to point out that he
with the authority of Miners' Organizations representing
than 200,000 men, and has brain enough and will enough
this vast power unflinchingly." Mr Thomas Burt, then Sec
to the Northumberland Miners' Association, and "prop
miners' candidate for Morpeth, Mr Wm. Crawford from Du
and Mr Joseph Cowen, as well as my father's old antagon
debate, Dr J. H. Rutherford, all attended to address the
gathering, which assembled on the moor; and although th
the tenth of these annual gatherings, it was the first at whi
political resolutions had been proposed.

* Commenting on this emendation, one provincial journal—the *L*
Daily Post— remarked with more than usual outspokenness: "Th
Mr Carlyle, it has long been acknowledged that revolutions cannot b
with rose water; and Archbishop Manning and other amiable eccle
philanthropists will have to learn that revolutions cannot be made wi
water either. In this world it is necessary to do good, even if the de
you; and if Mr Bradlaugh can get the ear and the vote of a vast mee
turning half-measures into whole ones, his alliance will have to be a
and perhaps his advice may have to be followed." But the day
was not yet come, and few saw the inevitable so clearly as M
laugh. The *Times* very fairly admitted that on a division his su
formed the majority of the gathering, but a very garbled account
proceedings appeared in many journals, one paper even going to the l
saying that Mr Bradlaugh was "ejected" from the meeting, and
seriously admonishing him that his reception at Exeter Hall ought
him that the bulk of the working classes had no confidence in him.

n the following year, when the Northumberland Collieries oted for the speakers for their picnic, my father and Mr Burt e out side by side at the head of the poll. The date fixed was fifteenth of June, and on that afternoon at least 20,000 miners mbled on Blyth Links. In the evening, in the Central Hall, address was presented to Mr Bradlaugh on behalf of the thumberland miners. In it was told their appreciation of the ices he had rendered "the poor, the neglected, and the essed." It spoke of the prejudice against him on account of opinions, but they were happy to affirm that "no such paltry ng as this blinds the mining population of Northumberland to deserts as a politician and a reformer. It may please you to , as it delights us to testify, that persons of all shades of ion have combined in the present manifestation of approval esteem." And indeed it appeared that Catholics, Wesleyans, pendents, Baptists, and Presbyterians had all joined in pre- ing this address. As my father stood there that night, ning to the eulogistic speeches made about himself, and remem- d how, but a few short years before, he was unable to obtain dging in that very town of Blyth, he fairly broke down. This ess remained to the last one of his most treasured possessions, always occupied the place of honour on his study wall. And Northumberland miners were not less faithful than he. Year year he was invited to their annual gathering,* and when he , these poor men—who earn their wage under conditions often ie most frightful hardship—not only sent individual subscrip- towards the payment of the liabilities he had left behind but even voted £50 from their funds to the same object. not only did they do that, but when his library was sold were many who contrived to send the money to buy one or books, so that they might possess some memento of the man se eloquent tongue would speak to them no more.

1874 Mr Bradlaugh had his first invitation to the Durham

1875 Mr Bradlaugh cancelled his acceptance of their invitation, se Dr Kenealy was also invited. During my father's absence in ica Dr Kenealy had gone out of his way to make a most unprovoked upon himself, and to offer wanton insult to the Freethought party. Mr Bradlaugh refused to be present on any platform with him, pt hostilely."

miners' (fourth) annual gala. Here, notwithstanding inclem weather and the difficulties put in the way of the meeting by North-Eastern Railway Company, the gathering on the race-co was enormous; and although this was the first time he had c to their picnic, my father saw his own full-length likeness on two banners belonging to the South Tanfield and West Auckl Collieries.* The evening, too, was made pleasant by the cour ous avowal, in the presence of at least a dozen people, made b gentleman of position and influence in Durham—a former ma He told my father that he was delighted to have the opportu of seeing him, but he thought it only honest to add that before (Mr Bradlaugh's) arrival he had refused to go upon the same platf with him. He had learned a lesson, he said, since he had bee my father's company.

As with the Northumberland men, so with the Durh having once been invited to their picnic, Mr Bradlaugh asked again and again, and in 1891 Durham miners also of their hard earnings towards the payment of a dead man's d or to buy a book from his library.

At a monthly delegate meeting of the Yorkshire miners in 1 Mr Bradlaugh's name was proposed as a referee in wages questi but a delegate objected on the ground that he was an Atheist, so the proposition was lost. Prejudice, however, did not carr before it, for in the next year we find Mr Bradlaugh addressing Yorkshire miners at Wakefield, and the Cleveland miners at burn in 1876. Some years later I was with him when addressed the Lancashire miners at a place near Wigan.

When the Somerset and Dorset agricultural labourers their fourth annual gathering at Ham Hill, near Yeovil, in 1 Mr Bradlaugh was invited to be present. The other spea included Mr George Mitchell—"One from the Plough"—who indeed the chief organiser of these meetings, Mr George Po Mr Ball, and Sir John Bennett, who evoked considerable ind tion by his allusion to a suggestion said to have been mad

*The miners cannot be accused of concealing their opinions; in 18 father saw not only banners bearing likenesses of well-known miners' f and himself, but also one which proudly displayed portraits of Ernest Feargus O'Connor, Henry Hunt, and Thomas Paine.

Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, that if Mr Arch ited the labourers in his diocese he should be ducked in the rse-pond. But, above all, it was said, "the great incident of the eting, creating the utmost excitement, was the appearance of Mr arles Bradlaugh." * My father found the gathering very ferent from those to which he had been accustomed—gatherings Londoners in Hyde Park, of miners in Northumberland, of rkshiremen, or of Lancashire factory hands; there were ten or elve thousand persons present at Ham Hill, but until Mr George tchell began to speak he doubted whether many of them cared ch for the serious objects of the meeting. The attention paid Mr Mitchell's speech, however, and the applause with which vas greeted, gave a clearer indication of the real feeling which mated the labourers.

* *Weekly Dispatch*, 23rd May 1875.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA.

My father had many times been asked to go to America o lecturing tour, but it was not until 1873 that he finally consen to do so. Then indeed he went, as he frankly said, in the hop earning a little money, for there was so much that he wanted to doing at home that, but for the ever-increasing pressure of d he would not have felt able to give the time for such a purp He visited America three times—in three consecutive winter but although his lecturing met with enormous success, and won friends amongst "all sorts and conditions of men," yet fortunes received a check, of more or less severity, on e occasion. On every one of his visits something untoward happen whether it took the form of an American money panic, an Eng election, or a serious illness.

These obstacles, unexpected and unavoidable, were over above those prepared for him by the pious of various se from the Roman Catholic to the Unitarian, in the attempt prejudice American opinion against him. As soon as it was fa realised that Charles Bradlaugh was going lecturing in the Sta the ubiquitous "London Correspondent" seemed to think it duty to prepare the minds of his Boston or other Amer readers for the advent of their expected visitor, and each depi him according to his fancy. The subjoined extracts will dem strate not only the kindliness and veracity of the writers, but the choice and elegant language in which they expressed t sentiments:—

I.—"You have heard of Mr Bradlaugh. Mr Bradlaugh is a crea six feet high, twenty inches broad, and about twelve thousand fe impudence. He keeps a den in a hole-in-the-wall here, dignifie the title of the 'Hall of Science,' in which he holds forth Sunday Sunday to a mob of ruffians whose sole hope after death is imme annihilation. . . . The *Pilot*, if it can do nothing else, can warn people from laying hands upon this uneducated ruffian—a trooper

valry regiment, a policeman, a bailiff's cud, a vagabond, and now a
culator in the easy infidelity of the States." *
II.—In England "practical politicians among the advanced liberal
ty avoid him as honest men avoid a felon, as virtuous women avoid
rostitute." †

On the 6th of September he left Liverpool for his first journey
oss the Atlantic by the Cunard steamship the *Scotia*, which
ived at New York on the 17th—a long passage, as it seems in
se days when vessels make the journey in little more than half
t time. He had been told of the insulting paragraphs so
ustriously circulated about himself, and he had so much at stake,
t as the *Scotia* neared New York he felt oppressed with
ieties and nervousness as to what was in store for him in this
untried land. From the very outset, however, he met with
ery welcome and friendly greeting. When he landed he pre-
ted his customs declaration in the usual way to the chief
ector in order to get his baggage opened, but the collector
prised and pleased him by saying, "Mr Bradlaugh, we know
here, and the least we can do is to pass you through comfort-
y"—and he was passed through comfortably, for without more
the chalk "sesame" was scrawled upon his portmanteau
rugs. He had barely established himself in his hotel when re-
sentatives from several New York journals came to interview
, and his arrival was advertised by the press to such an extent
t within seven days of landing he had seen close upon three
ndred newspaper notices of himself. ‡

On the Saturday after his arrival he was invited to dine at the
os Club, where he received the warmest and most hospitable
come, the Directory afterwards voting him the privileges of the
b during his stay in New York. A few days later he was asked
reception given by the Lotos to Wilkie Collins. The guests
e received by the President, Whitelaw Reid, and amongst
n were Dr Ludwig Büchner and Bret Harte. Mr Bradlaugh

---

* *Boston Pilot*, August 2nd, 1873.

† *Boston Advertiser* (editorial), September (18–20) 1873.

‡ We have a fairly full record of these visits to the States in the weekly
rs my father sent to the *National Reformer*, in addition to numerous
spaper reports and private correspondence. The weekly letters to the
ional Reformer gave much information as to labour questions in the
ous places visited by Mr Bradlaugh, and this was at the time of the
ost value, and greatly appreciated by his readers.

was called upon to speak, and I gather that he made a v favourable impression. O'Donovan Rossa called upon him s after his arrival, and thanked him for his work for Ireland, showed him several small courtesies. On Sunday the 28th was received by the New York Positivists and welcomed extremely kind terms by the President of the Society. religious journals were greatly irritated at the attention paid to Bradlaugh, and did not neglect to show it, one even refusing insert the advertisement of his lectures sent by the adverti agency.

Misfortune met him within a few days of his landing in shape of a financial panic of unusual severity, which, commen in New York, spread through the States. Speaking of this p in one of his earliest letters home, he says: "I entered the h of Henry Clews & Co., about five minutes after Jay Cooke Co. had stopped payment. Then the excitement was not so gr people seemed stupefied with the incredible news, as Jay C was a name like Baring and Rothschild. Later every one see to grow delirious, and crowds gathered round the doors of se banks, clamouring for admittance, the inside of each bank b already filled with anxious and angry people waiting to cheques, and doubting while they waited. On Friday things worse, and the sight on Friday night, in the hall and rea room and smoking room of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was someth to remember. There was a dense mass of men, packed togeth Jay Gould, Vanderbilt, Clews, and hundreds of others who commenced the week with enormous fortunes, some entirely ru in the last two days, and others not knowing whether or bankruptcy awaited them in the morning. The *élite* of York as seen in that seething crowd did not show to advant the Money Devil had gripped their entrails and disfigured faces. On Saturday the President of the Republic arrived at hotel in which I was staying, and then staircases, hall, corri smoking and reading rooms were besieged, and outside, in streets, were carriages and uneasy waiters to gather scraps of or comfort. I guess that very few went to church on Su September 21st. On Sunday evening President Grant lef Washington, but the multitude did not decrease until mid came. Each one who had seen or who had spoken to the Pres was waylaid, buttonholed, and became the centre of an eager g

questioners. The trouble was so intense that the bankers, kers, and railway contractors actually forgot whether they were or ill dressed." These financial troubles greatly affected all uring engagements, as one might easily imagine, and Mr dlaugh in particular found his difficulties considerably increased he suicide of his agent, whose affairs had become considerably lved in consequence of the panic.

is first lecture was given in the Steinway Hall at New York, October 3rd. Considering the home troubles, the audience was ood one, one which he himself felt to be very remarkable. ongst those present were many members of the Lotos Club, uding their President, Whitelaw Reid, and D. J. Croly, "Jenny e," Colonel Olcott, General Kilpatrick, Andrew Jackson Davis, odore Tilton, Mrs Victoria Woodhull, O'Donovan Rossa, the . O. B. Frothingham, Colonel Hay, Bret Harte, and Mr rews were also amongst his listeners. My father had been ng very nervous about this first lecture. When he arrived in York he was asked how long he expected to remain in erica. "If I fail at Steinway Hall on October 3rd, I shall take next steamer for England," was the reply. But there was no tion of failure; he met with an immediate and wonderful ess; his audience came to criticise and remained to applaud. he papers of the following day his speech was greatly praised, he himself pronounced one of "the greatest of living orators." Brindley episode,* which by covering him with ridicule might done him serious injury, was, by his coolness and quick wit, ed into a decided advantage. On the day after his lecture he numerous kindly callers and congratulations. Amongst those called was Mrs Victoria Woodhull, and Mr Bradlaugh's essions of this much-talked-of lady are not without a certain est. When Mrs Woodhull called he was talking to Stephen l Andrews, the author of a learned book entitled "The Basic ines of Universology," and, "while chatting with Mr rews," said my father, "a slightly built lady entered, who presented to me as Mrs Victoria Woodhull, the present ident of the American Spiritualists, and advocate of very nced doctrines on social questions. The energy and enthu n manifested by this lady in our extremely brief conversation

* See p. 160.

were marvellous; her eyes brightened, her whole face lit up, she seemed all life. It would have been impossible to brought together two persons more exactly opposite than Vic Woodhull and Stephen Pearl Andrews—one all fire, the othe quiet thought; the one intent on active out-door war, the content to work almost isolated in his closet on a huge which few can read and fewer still will care to read. Woodhull is evidently made for sharp strife of tongue and Her face lights up with a beauty which does not belong ordinarily, but which gilds it as she speaks. Mr Andrews use pen only to note down the record of his thought, without slightest regard to the never-ceasing strife around him. His head is marked with the furrows hard thinking has ploughed it. Many people here speak very bitterly against Vic Woodhull; at present I prefer to take sides with none. enough to say that she is most certainly a marvellously auda woman." Before he quitted New York for the New Eng States the Lotos Club gave him another dinner, at which he Petroleum V. Nasby and Colonel John Hay.

In Boston, despite all the prejudices excited against him by Boston papers, Mr Bradlaugh met with a really splendid recep His first meeting was presided over by Wendell Phillips, who i duced him as "a man who, Sir Charles Dilke says, does thinking for more minds, has more influence, than any other in England;"* and who himself compared him with Samuel Ad "the eloquent agitator, the most statesmanlike mind God New England in 1776." Boston people remarked that the aud was a curious one, unusual to the regular lyceum lectures included many cultivated people, many scholarly and solid many accomplished and delicate women, but in addition to t who were customary attendants at lecture courses, there wa unusually large number of young men present, and more rem able still was the large attendance of working men, the forming a "strangely composite" but wonderfully sympat audience. On the platform were Charles Sumner, who, a close of the address, spoke words of warm encouragement t father; William Lloyd Garrison, who cheered him repeatedly other prominent Boston men.

* This saying, attributed to Sir Charles Dilke, was given on the aut of Mr Jenkins, author of "Ginx's Baby," who had lately been in Bosto

The next day, with Wendell Phillips and George Julian rney as guides, he visited the different places of interest Boston, including Theodore Parker's house, where he was ply affected by the reverent care Mrs Parker bestowed on the oms formerly occupied by her husband, and by the evident rship in which she held every memory of him. Mrs Parker re him photographs of Theodore Parker and of the library; with se in his hand, he said, "I hurried away, almost too much ved to thank the widow for her gentle courtesy."

A large part of his first Sunday in Boston was passed with arles Sumner in his rooms at the Coolidge House. They had a y interesting talk together on the politics of the hour and future sibilities, and also on matters connected with the Abolition ggle. Mr Bradlaugh felt a deep admiration for Sumner, and mner, in his turn, was most kind to my father and warm in his ises.

He was invited by Dr Loring, President of the Massachusetts ate, to a dinner at the Massachusetts Club, given to Charles mner, to congratulate him on his supposed recovery to health—gratulations which proved, alas! all too premature. At this ner he met Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the United States, Joshua B. Smith—born a slave, then a Senator—besides other tinguished men. Every one was kind to him: Henry Wilson e him a pressing invitation to Washington; Sumner bade disregard the unfair attacks made upon him. When his lth was proposed, and they all rose to their feet to give him ee hearty cheers of greeting, he felt amply repaid for the pain had suffered from those coarse attacks, bred by bigotry, which alike preceded and pursued him from the Old World to the w. He dined with Sumner on other occasions, and receptions e given him in Boston, to which most of the leading men were ited. In fact, such honours and hospitalities were heaped upon that, as one journal remarked, he seemed to have persuaded e people at least "that there are others besides Satan who are so black as they are painted."

He naturally became a prey to the usual autograph-hunter. "Theodore Parker Fraternity" determined to utilise the and for his signature by procuring a supply for their "Fair," Wendell Phillips undertook to beg them, which he did in the wing letter:—

"23rd October '72

"DEAR SIR,—The 'Theodore Parker Fraternity'—all the Church allowed—hold a Fair, beginning October 27. At Mrs Parker's ta she sells autographs—and wants some of yours. Now please write y name on the enclosed cards—a motto or sentiment also if you choos and re-mail them to me, then I'll thank you, and earn their thanks a —and forgive you that you gave Mrs Sargent a photograph of yo self and forgot me!

"I hope you find crowds everywhere as cordial as those you gathe here—and where, as at Cambridge, if you don't happen on a crow trust you may have one such hearer as you had there—Henry Jam equal to about 1800 common folk—who was wholly carried away

Yours, WENDELL PHILLIPS

"Mr C. Bradlaugh."

Wendell Philips also presided at Mr Bradlaugh's second lect in Boston, and again the audience was said to include some of brightest intellects in New England. Amongst the visitors v came the next day to congratulate him on his success was Willi Lloyd Garrison, who, like Sumner, was one of my father's "gr men." These Boston lectures produced an even greater sensati and a revulsion of feeling in his favour more complete, than th delivered in New York.

After lecturing in the New England States, where I gat that many of the lectures originally contemplated had to be out in consequence of the distress occasioned by the financial pa Mr Bradlaugh went west. He visited amongst other pla Buffalo, Cincinnati (where the Roman Catholic Archbishop Pur was amongst his auditors), St Louis, and Kansas, and at each p the newspapers waged fierce warfare after his departure. reached Kansas in December, two days after the suspension the chief bank in that city, and here he met with a somew serious accident. In passing along one of the inclines the city, he slipped backwards on the frozen ground, throwing out his right hand to save his back, he tore a piece of the palm, and deeply gashed his wrist.* He was unable to

* The *Kansas City Times* gave this amusing description of the acciden "Kansas City is not a smooth city. Its greatest pride is its thousand l precipices, and bluffs. And the main characteristics of its inhabitants their lofty airs, loud tone, and agility. This style is natural; it is acqu by hopping and skipping from the top of one side-walk, across a chas ravine, to the and of the "cut" or bluff, a limited distance, or acros

e wound properly dressed in Kansas, and as he had to be con-
nually travelling and lecturing in the severe cold (about 6°), the
jury was greatly aggravated, and it was many months before the
ound was properly healed and without pain. While lecturing
suffered intensely, and when, as sometimes happened, some
sture or movement would set the wound bleeding afresh, it was,
addition, extremely inconvenient. The pain, at times exceed-
gly acute, rendered him abnormally irritable, and he afterwards
ld us one or two amusing stories of his trials and his temper at
is time. At one place amongst his audience were a young lady,
elderly lady, whom he set down as the maiden aunt of the
unger, and a young gentlemen, whom he assumed to be the
ung lady's lover. The young people kept up a continual flow
conversation, until, almost frantic with pain from his wound
hich was also bleeding so freely that he was obliged to keep his
nd raised all the evening), he stopped short in his lecture, and
rning to the young people said, amidst profound silence, "If
at young lady and young gentleman prefer their conversation to
y lecture, I should be greatly obliged if they would continue it
tside." The "aunt," he told us, looked daggers at the poor girl,
d the culprits themselves did not dare to so much as exchange
other glance during the rest of the evening; they looked so
comfortable that he felt quite sorry for them, and repented of
irritability. At another place, where it was exceedingly cold,
e man in charge of the stoves took the opportunity to thrust in
ge logs with a great noise whenever he was unusually pathetic.
says that he bore with this as Job could not have borne with it

---

eet to a ledge or plank, which offers a temporary relief from acrobatic
rcise. Bradlaugh is unused to Kansas City side-walks, and never having
ctised tight-rope dancing, or walking upon an inclined plane of forty-five
rees, found himself somewhat surprised on Thursday morning. He had
t left the Broadway, or Coates House, in company with General Lamborn,
he Kansas Pacific, and was about to cross Tenth Street, when he suddenly
nd himself falling; his feet slid down the inclined plane called a crossing,
ich was covered with ice, and he fell. Mr Bradlaugh is a large, heavy
n, and had a great fear of falling upon the edge of the pavement. He
ew out his right hand, and the full weight of his body came down upon
wrist. His hand unfortunately struck upon the edge of some sharp
stance, probably the edge of the side-walk or curbing, the keen knife-like
e of which tore through the palm of his hand, inflicting a serious wound,
hing beyond the wrist, creating a painful but not dangerous hurt. . . . It
merciful providence that the life of this great and good man was saved."

had he been tempted to lecture there, but at last even his patien was exhausted, and he thundered out "words of affectiona remonstrance, which effectually prevented any more wood bei used that evening."

Shortly after this he was at Chicago, and was amazed to s how the city had recovered from the recent fire; the spectacle the magnificent buildings seemed like reopening a page fr "Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp." Just before entering t lecture hall he saw a face he hardly recognised. "It was one had not seen for a quarter of a century," he said. "'Don't y know me, Mr Bradlaugh?' was the greeting, and the voice seem more familiar than the face. My memory went back to the da when food was short, and when I shared the scanty meal with t questioner, her mother, and her sister at Warner Place; t twenty-five years had sufficiently blotted the memory and blur the page to confuse me in the recognition. Half-hesitatingly said, 'I am not quite sure; I think it is Hypatia.' I was wro however; it was her sister Theophila. And thus, after so long time, I was again brought face to face with the daughters of to whom the English freethought party in great measure owe free press and free platforms we use to-day." He only stayed Chicago one night, and had but a short interview with his friends; yet even that brief glimpse of them brought him a th of pain, "for," he said, "I could not help wondering wheth thirty years after my death, my own daughters might be i strange land so entirely overlooked" as these ladies were.

From Chicago he went to Kalamazoo, and there the news of death of his lecture-agent compelled his instant return to N York. He was very feverish and unwell at this time; general health suffering from the effects of the wound in hand, which had now become greatly swollen and inflamed, caused him acute pain. The last days of the year found him o more in Boston, and they were made ever memorable to by his first meeting with Ralph Waldo Emerson at a recep given by Mrs Sargent. As soon as he was able to use a pe although writing was for some long time a matter of pain difficulty—he himself described his meeting with Emerson, hero of his boyhood's days.

"On Wednesday, December 31st," he wrote, "I had my interview with Ralph Waldo Emerson, at a reception given to

Mrs Sargent at her residence in Chestnut Street. The rooms ere filled by a company of probably the most chosen amongst ew England's illustrious men and women, gathered to give eeting to 'the sage of Concord.' . . . My hostess gratified me on after my arrival by searching me out amongst the crowd with e welcome words, 'Mr Emerson is specially inquiring for you.' soon found myself face to face with a kind, truthful-looking an, reminding me somewhat in his countenance of the late obert Owen. After a few words of introductory converse, I was signed a chair, which had been specially preserved for me, next Mr Emerson. The afternoon will always be memorable to me. alph Waldo Emerson commenced by quietly and unaffectedly ading in a clear, measured voice his new poem on 'The Tea-rty Centennial.' His manner was so gentle that he seemed only ading it to one person, and yet his voice was so distinct that it led the room with its lowest tones. When Mr Emerson ceased ading, a little to my surprise, and much to my delight, I was lled upon to speak. Twenty-six years before, when too poor to y the book, I had copied out parts of the famous lecture on elf-Reliance,' and now I stood in the presence of the great eacher, at least an example of a self-reliant man. After my bute of respectful and earnestly thankful words to Emerson as e of the world's teachers, I could not refrain from using the irit of his lines to ground a comparison between the public inion of Boston in 1773 and 1873. Mr Emerson smiled an nost fatherly approbation of my very short speech; but, what e *Traveller* terms my 'kindly, courteous, but frank rebuke of e spirit of the age,' called forth quite a lively debate, which was ened by Wendell Phillips, who was followed by Henry Wilson, the Rev. Mr Alger, and Dr Bartol, then by Mr Alcott, and last, t by no means least, by a notable woman, Julia Ward Howe. s Howe strongly recalled to me the cold, intellectual face of chbishop Manning, but she manifested feeling as well as ellect in her brief address. Wendell Philips spoke a second ne, and to my immense delight, for it gave me a better oppor-nity of judging the greatest orator in New England. I fully pected that Mr Emerson, who had listened with marked ention and evident interest to the conflicting statements, would e some opinion; but as the oracle remained silent, I was iged to be content with his pleasant personal words of promise

to seek me out for another meeting before my departure f
England."

On the same night Mr Bradlaugh lectured to a brilliant a
crowded audience in the Music Hall, and the next day t
Vice-President of the United States came to congratulate hi
on his "continued successes," at the same time presenting hi
with the first volume of his invaluable work upon "The Ri
and Fall of the Slave Power in America." At Salem, where r
father lectured shortly afterwards, he was the guest of Dr Lorin
President of the Massachusetts Senate. Then at the spec
request of the Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D.—who had heard h
speak in Boston—he addressed the students and officers
Tuft's College, and found in them a rarely appreciative a
enthusiastic audience. On the journey back to Boston Dr Min
told him that he liked his students to hear every man he thoug
a true man, whatever might be his views. "Some denounce
as a bigot," he added, "and others regard me as a heretic.
wish that when my young men leave me they may be carefu
trained to hear all opinions and to form their own."

Everywhere my father found good friends, both amongst t
poor and amongst the well-to-do; many old remembered fac
too, he met—poor men who had left the Old World to tem
and sometimes to win, better fortune in the New. When
visited Niagara, the man who drove his buggy turned out to
a Northampton man and a devoted admirer.

But all the kindness and all the friendliness shown him
America did not weaken his fondness for his mother coun
and his determination to serve it. He loved his own land, a
the men and women there who trusted him and worked w
him. In the middle of January he wrote home: "My he
now yearns for Europe; and when I have covered another twe
thousand miles or so . . . I shall pack up the remnants of
shirts and come home." Little did he think as he wrote th
words that within the brief space of a fortnight he would be
the sea, going back to England as fast as the *Java* could t
him. But such was to be the final misfortune attending his f
American lecturing tour. As he was journeying towards Wa
ington to lecture, and to pay his promised visit to Henry Wil
in that city, a telegram from Austin Holyoake reached h
telling him that Gladstone had dissolved Parliament. He stop

rt in his journey, and turned back to New York in order to e the first vessel bound for home.

On his return to England he found that his lectures in the ited States were represented as having been a dead failure; that he himself had been mostly laughed at and ridiculed, ements exactly the reverse of truth. That his lectures brought no money profit was the consequence, not of his unpopularity, of the terrible financial panic that took place almost as soon he arrived in the States. Then just as he was beginning to up the losses owing to this, he was summoned back by the olution of Parliament; and this final catastrophe brought home with pockets almost as light as when he started; worse than all, with a tremendous burden of liabilities rred through broken engagements.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TWO NORTHAMPTON ELECTIONS, 1874.

In the spring of 1873 there was much talk of a dissolution Parliament, and everywhere the constituencies were making rea for the general election—the first under the Ballot Act. reviewing the candidatures Mr Bradlaugh said he hoped to re-elected "Jacob Bright, as representing the women's questi Sir Charles Dilke for his outspoken Radicalism; George Di for his great services in the education movement; Henry Faw for his advanced Radicalism, and his knowledge of India; Cha Gilpin for his courage in striving to abolish capital punishme C. Wren Hoskyns for his views on the land; Vernon Harco despite his personal ambition, for his manly advocacy of popu rights; Edward Miall for his disestablishment advocacy; Anth John Mundella and Duncan M'Laren for their useful supp to their betters; Dr Playfair for his brains; Samuel Plim for his shipping impeachment; Henry Richard for his serv as a peace advocate; Peter Rylands for his endeavours to rev Joseph Hume's memory; Peter Alfred Taylor for his crus against the game laws; and William M'Cullagh Torrens knowledge of India and general utility." He did not ag with all these, but "they have work to do," he said, "they try to do it." He added: "I shall be rather glad see Samuel Morley again returned for Bristol. Personally do not know Mr Morley, but I believe him to be a good ho reformer as far as he goes, and after his own fashion." Amongst new members he hoped to see sitting in the House were Mr Bu (mentioned first of all), Mr Arch, Mr Odger, and Captain Maxs

* How prepared Mr Burt's mind was for the staunch and unfailing sup he subsequently gave Mr Bradlaugh during the long Parliamentary may be gathered from an answer given at this election. The cr "heresy" had been raised against him at Blyth, and at a public me he was asked to answer—Yes or no, did he believe in the authenticity o Bible? His answer was noteworthy, especially when looked upon in light of later events. "As," he said, "I am not a candidate for a profe

The possibilities of a dissolution, which did not after all come
il February 1874, kept the candidates and committees busy all
year. Mr Bradlaugh was, of course, active at Northampton,
nough the Whigs, or Moderate Liberals as they were also
ed, asserted that "under no possible circumstances could Mr
dlaugh be accepted as the candidate of the United Liberal
ty," and they declared he had no chance whatever of getting
ted. Again Mr Bradlaugh offered to abide by a decision of the
eral electors of the town or by a test ballot, but his offers were
ted with disdain. In April he received a communication from
Tower Hamlets Radical Electoral Committee, asking him to
w a requisition to be promoted in his favour as a candidate for
borough at the next election, but he was not willing to desert
thampton. The prolonged electioneering, of course, meant an
ensive contest, and to meet this an election fund was started,
subscriptions were sent in very readily.

ust as Mr Bradlaugh was leaving for his first visit to America,
is, in the early part of September, he issued his address to the
tors of Northampton. In this address he declared himself in
our of various Parliamentary Reforms, such as:—

Short Parliaments, Redistribution of Seats, the Same Franchise
alification for Borough and County;

Reform of the House of Lords, including Deprivation of
reditary Legislative Privileges; Withdrawal of Legislative
vileges from existing Peers habitually absent from Parliament;
Creation of Life Peers, selected for ability in public service;
Veto of Lords to be a Suspensive Veto only, capable of being
ruled in the same session by sufficient Veto of the Commons;
lusion of the Bishops and the Archbishops;

Disestablishment of the Church;

Reform in National Expenditure and in Taxation; and

Changes in the Land Laws; Abolition of the Game Laws;

Alteration of the Law relating to Employer and Employed,
Extension of Conciliation Courts.

---

of theology or the occupancy of a pulpit, I decline to say whether I
r do not believe in the authenticity of the Bible. It is entirely foreign
he business before us. The contest in which we are engaged is a
ical, and not a religious one. I maintain that the constituency has no
t whatever to institute an inquisition into the faith or creed of any candi-
who may solicit its suffrages. For this reason I refuse to answer all and
y question of a theological nature that may here or elsewhere be put to me.'

Not expecting the dissolution of Parliament to occur be March at earliest, Mr Bradlaugh left England with an easy m as far as Northampton was concerned, knowing that in his abse his interests would be well guarded by his true and trusted fri Mr Austin Holyoake, Mr Charles Watts, and Mr G. W. Fo and intending to return in ample time for the next elect When, on the 24th January, it was announced that Mr Gladst had dissolved Parliament, and further, that the writs for the Parliament were returnable, in the case of boroughs at least, the 5th February, every one was taken by surprise. Mr Au Holyoake, whose health, unhappily, had now become very fra telegraphed to Mr Bradlaugh with such promptitude that message reached him on the afternoon of the same day that Gladstone's declaration was published, while he was on his j ney to Washington, where he was announced to lecture. delayed not a moment, but, as I have said, turned back at onc New York and took the first steamer homeward bound.

In the meantime Mr C. Watts and Mr Foote held meeting Northampton on behalf of his candidature every night; there considerable enthusiasm, and the song "Bradlaugh for Northa ton," written for the '68 election, was to be heard through streets at all hours of the day. The local papers were, as us bitterly hostile. Mr Gilpin and Lord Henley, in spite of many i cations to the contrary, came forward upon a joint programme, w the Conservative candidates were Messrs Phipps and Mereweth

The nomination took place on 31st January, my father being posed by Mr (now become Councillor) Gurney, as before. Henley's lawyer opposed the nomination on the ground of Bradlaugh's absence. Mr Watts, as representing my fat pointed out that there were other cases of candidates ab from their constituencies, notably Mr Gladstone from Greenw In their anxiety the Radicals also sought legal aid, only to Mr Austin Holyoake said, that "every lawyer in the town been retained by our opponents." After a little considera however, the Mayor and the Town-clerk opposed the objectio Lord Henley's agent, reminding him that if he persisted i illegal objection he might render the whole election void. I interval between the nomination and polling was short, the meet held were many, and, considering the absence of the candidate fervour and enthusiasm at a wonderful pitch. Mr Watts and Foote, as well as the Northampton committees, worked with

ing ardour and zeal. Notwithstanding all this, the election lost, and Mr Phipps, one of the Conservative candidates, a w-townsman and a brewer, was placed at the head of the poll. voting was declared as follows:—

Phipps	2690
Gilpin	2310
Merewether	2175
Henley	1796
Bradlaugh	1653

analysis of the voting showed that 1060 voters had such dence in Mr Bradlaugh that they did not split their votes, ave them to him solely. In 1868 he received 1086 votes; little more than five years later, with all the disadvantage of bsence—for, notwithstanding all the good and loyal work this disadvantage must nevertheless have been considerable— lled 567 more, and Lord Henley, in spite of the fact that he oint candidate with Mr Gilpin, only received 143 votes more his rival.

thing had been heard from Mr Bradlaugh since the telegram tched by him immediately on receiving news of the dissolu- to announce his return by the next boat. Just before the g day a rumour was current that he had not left America at ut had disregarded the claims of Northampton. This rumour nly dispelled by the receipt of a telegram two days after the ation of the poll, telling of his arrival in Queenstown. He ed London on the morning of Sunday the 8th, and went to ampton on the Tuesday following. The scene at the station description, and the crowd assembled to meet him extended into the town. Along the route to the Market Square e were at the windows, and even upon the housetops, anxious e and greet the defeated candidate. He addressed a few to the mass of people gathered in the Square, and in the ng 5000 people crowded the Circus to suffocation, in an over- ning desire to see and hear him, and when the time came to heir confidence, not a single dissentient hand was held up.

there was already some talk of Mr Gilpin's early retirement, nsequence of his failing health, and knowing that the d representation of the borough was a cause of much vexation higs and Radicals alike, since it meant the practical ranchisement of Northampton, Mr Bradlaugh made one last for the sake of peace." He offered to submit the question

of his future candidature to Mr Gilpin, and if that gentleman, his heart and conscience," after hearing him, and an of representative of the other (Whig) side, should think it righ decide against him, he pledged himself to withdraw. This like all the others of a similar kind, was refused. Before death, however, Mr Gilpin expressed himself favourably tow Mr Bradlaugh's candidature,* and he had, as we know, subscr £10 towards his expenses in the former election. The expens the present contest were quickly cleared by subscription, but father's burden was greatly added to by the liabilities incurre his sudden return from America. The broken engagemer Washington cost him 219 dollars. And after all his haste, allowing one moment's avoidable delay in leaving, he had not satisfaction of arriving in time for the poll, the borough elec having been carried through within twelve days, and the Atl passage taking some days longer then than it does now. small wonder if he felt somewhat despondent and disheart as he thought of the liabilities contracted on the other side o Atlantic, and the lost election at home.

He arranged to leave again for the United States about the week in September 1874. In many cases where damages been claimed for his broken engagements of the spring, he obtained indulgence by promising to fulfil them in the aut and lectures were arranged for him for dates extending October to Christmas. All arrangements for his lecturing were complete, when the death of Mr Charles Gilpin in the week of September put him in a terrible dilemma. His en ments in the States must be kept, Northampton must be fou

Directly after Mr Gilpin's funeral Mr Bradlaugh issue appeal for renewed support, and his address was exten circulated, although indeed he might well have felt tha Northampton people must be getting tolerably familiar wit reforms he desired to advocate, if permitted to take his pl their representative in Parliament. A meeting was held i Town Hall, and a most enthusiastic audience crowded every c For some days it was not known when the new writ wou issued, whether immediately—in which case my father mig

* In a statement made by Alderman P. P. Perry late in 1876 subject of Mr Bradlaugh's candidature, he said that the late Mr Gilpin, immediately after his election in 1874, "earnestly recommende come to some arrangement with Mr Bradlaugh."

to stay for the contest, or in a few weeks—when he ought to
n the other side of the Atlantic fulfilling those broken engage-
s, or after the reassembling of Parliament in the February of
ollowing year, by which time he could arrange to return. As
lays went on he became more and more perplexed as to what
the right course to pursue, but when, after a delay of a week
, it was announced that the writ would be issued at once, he
ded to stay to fight the battle himself, and again throw
elf on the indulgence of his American friends, although this
d necessarily involve a further pecuniary loss, great or
rate, according to the number of engagements broken. Mr C.
Merewether once more contested the borough in the Con-
tive interest, and after much searching the Moderate Liberals
y selected Mr William Fowler as their candidate. This
ion was the most bitter my father had yet fought. In
ion to the usual gross exaggerations concerning his political
religious opinions (which this time included the perennial
ch story "), the most cowardly statements were made concern-
his private life by Mr Fowler and his adherents. Mr
laugh sought to meet Mr Fowler face to face; he sought
ssion to his meetings but was refused, orders being given to
orce if necessary; he went to the house where Mr Fowler was
ng and sought a private interview, but the servant brought a
age that Mr Fowler was "too busy to see Mr Bradlaugh."
times at least Mr Bradlaugh tried to meet this man publicly
rivately, but without avail; then, said Mr Bradlaugh, "I shall
he electors of Northampton whether they will record their
for a liar and a coward." At this there was a terrible out-
and he was condemned as "foul-mouthed" for using such
eous adjectives and substantives," such "vulgar virulence."
London and provincial press were equally severe on him. Mr
augh, in a speech to the electors during the contest, thus
ded himself: "It had been said that his language had been
g. What else but strong language could be expected from a
who found himself slandered behind his back, and who found
not only was he himself libelled, but that foul language was
pon those he was bound by every tie of honour and manhood
otect? To Mr Fowler he owed it that that afternoon a
l inquiry had been made to him whether he was married to
ife; to Mr Fowler he owed it that that afternoon he received
e asking if it were true that his mother were now living on

parish relief. They would not ask him to deny these things, even deny them would degrade him; but he asked them what weapon man could use against a foe who trampled on his dead mother grave, and who struck at women, who at least ought to be safe fr attack?" * Later on, in a letter from America, he wrote in referen to this: "In consequence of Mr Fowler's language as to my soc morality, and my theories on marriage, I received anonymo letters inquiring if I had ever been married; my committee-m were actually formally asked if my daughters were illegitima and it was charged against me that my mother was now living receipt of parish relief. Protected by Mr Fowler's words—wh he dared not utter to my face—the oft-refuted 'watch story' v circulated with a dozen variations. And yet men wonder tha called the man 'liar and coward' who did this behind my ba and who refused me the opportunity of either public or priv explanation." The nomination took place on the 2nd of Octob and to Mr Joseph Gurney's name as proposer was added that Mr Thomas Adams, one of the truest and most loyal of men, a an honour to the town of Northampton, of which he was sev times Mayor. His devotion and friendship for Mr Bradlaugh always the same—steady, constant, and reliable—and was brok only by his death. This, there is too much reason to beli was hastened by overtaxing himself on my father's behalf wh suffering from a severe attack of influenza.

The extraordinary bitterness of feeling in the town awakened the personalities indulged in on the Whig side and Mr Bradlaug strongly expressed but quite natural resentment, had also reaction of intense devotion to my father's personality, and th were most pathetic evidences of this. When the polling-day ca one man ill in bed insisted upon being lifted out and carried to polling-booth, declaring he would go to vote for Mr Bradla even if he died on the way; another ardent supporter who broken his leg in two places a week or two before, in spite of father's expressed wish to the contrary, had himself conveye the polling-place in order that he might record his vote. Amo the working women were many of his most enthusiastic adhere and one poor woman, very ill indeed, dragged herself to window on the polling day, and, watching for my father, open as he passed to give him greeting and a cheer. Enthusiasm t

* See Mrs Besant's account in *National Reformer*, October 11th, 1874.

s in plenty, but unhappily not voting power enough to carry
n into Parliament, although indeed that was increasing rapidly,
when the poll was declared on the night of Tuesday the 6th, it
od thus:—

Merewether	2171
Fowler	1836
Bradlaugh	1766

In eight months therefore he had increased his vote by 113, and
d crept up to within 70 of the Whig candidate.

At the declaration of their defeat the Northampton Radicals, for
e first and only time, lost their self-control; the vile charges
de against the man they had chosen to honour had worked them
to a state of the extremest indignation and anger, which,
herto restrained, now in the first bitterness of their disappoint-
nt broke out in violence. An attack was made upon The
lmerston, Mr Fowler's headquarters; but Mr Bradlaugh was
n in the midst of the rioters, and using his utmost energy of
uke and persuasion succeeded in dispersing the crowd. Un-
tunately, he had to leave at nine o'clock to catch the Cunard
amship, the *Parthia*, at Queenstown. Relieved of the
traint of Mr Bradlaugh's presence, the rioting recommenced.
e Palmerston was once more attacked, and the *Mercury* print-
office, and the houses of some of Mr Fowler's supporters were
ieged, in some cases the windows and doors being very much
naged. Mr Fowler's effigy was carried round the town by a
nan, and was hooted and insulted until captured by the police.
hting commenced, and as the excitement increased, the quieter
more timid inhabitants began to feel greatly alarmed; the
liery was then called out, and the Riot Act read. At first this
ned only like pouring oil upon the flames, for these men, after
ir weeks of patience and forbearance, seemed for the time to have
all restraint; but little by little the tumult subsided, and then
fighting was over for good, leaving for the next day a legacy of
itement or despondency according to temperament, and a
cy also of many bandaged heads, which happily betokened
few really serious injuries. The whole fury of the rioters was
cted solely against William Fowler and his supporters, and it
teworthy that, although the Conservative quarters were close
The Palmerston, they were unmolested. The press was, as
l, for the most part very unfair to Mr Bradlaugh—some even
ing him responsible for the rioting which occurred after

he left Northampton. There were, however, a few exception and of these the *Times*, the *Examiner*, the *Newcastle Week Chronicle*, and the *Birmingham Daily Post* were the most notabl

Helping in the work of this election, we again find the name George Odger. Two years before there had been some talk asking him to become a candidate for Northampton, but he wou on no consideration allow himself to be put forward in oppositi to Mr Bradlaugh. Instead of coming to Northampton to stan against him, he came to try and win votes for him. Mr Wat and Mr Foote again unweariedly gave their services, and Mrs Ann Besant was in the town reporting the proceedings for the *Reform* under the pen-name of Ajax.

Captain Maxse was amongst the subscribers to the expenses this contest, and he wrote that he regarded Mr Bradlaugh's candi ture as a national one. One would never guess, to see the lo list of subscriptions (most in small sums, as always), that the same people had already supplied the funds for an election or before in that same year.

For upwards of five years the Liberals and Radicals of Engla had before them the melancholy sight of the Radical borough Northampton represented in the Commons House of Parliament two Conservatives. Even the Northampton Whigs began to f that keeping Bradlaugh out was costing the borough too de especially as the people, sometimes in their very families, w divided into personally hostile camps. Hence, soon after this l election, the representatives of both parties met together and forme agreed to unite in contesting the Municipal and Parliament elections. As the Municipal elections were close at hand, the g results of this alliance were immediately visible. I am bound say, however, that this amicable agreement between the Wh and the Radicals was not very enduring, and long before General Election of 1880 parties seemed almost as much divided ever. The more far-seeing among the Whigs realised after 1874 election that they must choose between being represented the obnoxious Bradlaugh, or the equally (if otherwise) obnoxi Tories, but the more obstinate and more prejudiced still cried " Bradlaugh," and it was not until the eleventh hour, when Labouchere was brought in to run as a joint candidate with father, that these yielded ; and even then, as the analysis of the clearly showed, there were many who did not vote straight.

End of Vol. I.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE UNITED STATES AGAIN.

Mr Bradlaugh had agreed to make a second lecturing tour through the States in the autumn of 1874, and he started on it under the most inauspicious circumstances. We have just seen how he was obliged to delay his journey—just as earlier in the year he had been obliged to hasten his return—to contest the election at Northampton, where he was once more defeated for the third and last time. He had originally taken his passage by the White Star Line, in the *Republic*, leaving on September 24th. At his request the owners obligingly transferred him to the *Baltic*, leaving October 1st. Unable to get away by this boat, he forfeited his passage, and leaving Northampton on the night of the poll, he just caught the Cunard ship the *Parthia* at Queenstown on the 7th. He started on his voyage despondent, utterly wearied, and with "a ghtish sensation about the heart," for he had hoped and believed ntil the last half-hour that he was going to win the election. He nought, too, that before he had left the town he had succeeded in acifying his disappointed and angry supporters in Northampton, ut the receipt of a telegram at Holyhead, telling him of the rioting ere and the calling out of the military, depressed him more than er.

When he got on board the *Parthia* a curious little incident ppened. As he was "standing gloomily, watching the last ckage carried on board," he wrote, "I was approached by a man, steerage passenger, who, reverently touching his billycock hat, id, 'Father, do you go with us to the other side?' For a oment I was puzzled; but seeing that the man was serious, I

answered, 'You are mistaken; I am not a Father.' The m looked dubious, nervously scratched the deck with a blackth held loosely in his left hand, and rejoined, 'No offence meant ask your reverence's pardon, but anyhow, it will be a blessing have you with us on board, Father.' That I looked clerical I h been told by the *Gaulois*, which described me in 1871, wh attending the Paris Courts Martial, as dressed like a bishop; but t man's evidently earnest disbelief in my repudiation of pries honours, coupled with his quiet acquiescence, made me do whether I was really the man who had been placarded a few ho before in Northampton as 'Bradlaugh the Blasphemer.'"

The journey began badly, and continued so until New Jer was sighted. The sea was rough, the *Parthia* rolled, and captain proved a churl. The embarkation of the steerage pass gers was managed with an "uncouth harshness" which was pain to witness; to threaten "to put a man 'in irons' for coming b to give a last wave of his hand to a weeping sweetheart," c mented my father, "was just a little too hard." On the 17th passengers on board the *Parthia* had the mortification of see the *Adriatic* (White Star Line), which had left Liverpool days after them, pass them, and forge ahead with a speed wh soon left the *Parthia* behind. Everything seemed combined render his journey unpleasant and vexatious.*

---

* In reference to Mr Bradlaugh's voyage in the *Parthia* I append an ext from the *New York Herald* for 7th September 1881, which purports to b account of an interview between the reporter of that journal and M Walter, M.P., of the *Times*:—

"THE BRADLAUGH INCIDENT.

"'Don't you think Bradlaugh was harshly treated?' 'Oh dear, no,' Mr Walter's eager response. 'That's all nonsense about his having erysip and having been so brutally treated. He's a perfect ruffian. A fel passenger on the *Bothnia* told me of Bradlaugh and some of his comr violently disturbing some religious services held on board the *Parthi* that Captain Watson was compelled to threaten him with putting hi irons before he would stop.'"

My father, of course, wrote to the *New York Herald* and to Mr Wa contradicting this, saying that the statement was "monstrously unt He made only the one voyage on the *Parthia*; he said: "No attempt of kind was made by any one to disturb religious services during that voy There was a disagreement between Captain Watson and the passengers the singing after dinner in the smoking-room, but it had not the sma

My father arrived in New York unfortunately too late for many his engagements. He was due to speak in Dartmouth College ew Hampshire) on the 20th, and he had barely time to get ere. On the way he was delighted to meet Henry Wilson in e train. They chatted long together, enjoying each other's mpany, and talking much of Charles Sumner, a man reverenced d honoured by both, who had died since Mr Bradlaugh's last sit to America. As it happened, too, Sumner's opinion of my her's first lecture in Boston had only lately been published in e Boston papers. It was given in a letter written by Wendell illips in reply to some inquiries made of him by the Secretary a lecture committee at Winchester, Mass. The letter ran:—

'DEAR SIR,—In reply to your note of October 1st would say: I ard Mr Bradlaugh the first time he spoke in Boston. What Mr mner, who sat near me, said of that lecture, will deservedly have re influence and weight than any opinion of mine. While Bradlaugh s speaking, Sumner looked to me and said, 'This is very fine.' At close of the lecture he remarked, 'This is, I think, the most eloquent ech I have heard for some years.' WENDELL PHILLIPS."
'BOSTON, *October* 2, 1874."

At Dartmouth Mr Bradlaugh lectured to the students in their urch, and the Rev. Dr Smith, President of the College, presided his lecture. Two days later he was speaking at Cambridge, ving this time a fine audience of over a thousand persons, luding most of the Cambridge professors and a strong force m Harvard College. At Philadelphia on the 25th he won the mpathies of a crowded meeting, although here he had been blicly preached against, and people had been warned not to go his lecture. At Charlestown (Mass.) he spoke in the Trinity thodist Episcopal Church, with the pastor, the Rev. Mark fton, as president. In Boston he spoke in the Rev. James eman Clarke's Church of Disciples, and at Winchester in the itarian Church—"and yet," he said, "miracles are not believed " On the journey from Bangor to Dexter my father, at the itation of the engine-driver, rode part way on the engine, and

---

nection with religious services. The particulars were given in a letter ed by the passengers, and which was published at the time in several of American papers. I never sang in my life, and was most certainly not one of the singers."

he relates how he found himself "perched on a nice soft seat a corner, with my toes near enough to the furnace to make forget that a sharp frosty wind was whistling; engine-dri Chase turned out to be quite a philosopher, and I had a pleas time." Presently they had to slacken speed; "there are cattle the track, three oxen and three full-grown calves. They run in front, sometimes crossing the line; we ring the bell, whis furiously, and puff-puff vociferously, till at last engine-dri Chase gets angry and says, 'It is no use, those cattle are as stu as your House of Lords.' 'Yes,' I answered, 'and will get down like the Lords, if they do not get off the track.'"

Senor Castelar stated after Mr Bradlaugh's death that he shunned by the ladies; but Senor Castelar's English was a li at fault. When my father was at Delaware he was taken by students to the Female College, "where," he said, "the presid introduced me to the senior ladies' class, who sang to me American national hymn. I was asked to make them a spe and am afraid I made myself supremely ridiculous. It is no j to be suddenly called on to say something to twoscore of extren good-looking young ladies. . . . They all looked happy, and g me a very pleasant greeting, one which made me think of own girls at home." The girls on their side were evidently equ pleased with their visitor, for just before my father commen his lecture that evening he received the following note:—

"The members of the Clionian Society, having made Mr Bradla an honorary member of the same, desire, if he has no serious objec to see him wear their badge this evening. ANNA C. LONG

He did wear the badge in his button-hole, "and very pret looked, and very pretty the donors looked too as they sat in opera-house in front of me," he said.

In continuing his journey west he lectured at Chicago, and time he was fortunately able to spend some hours with Hyp Carlile and her husband. At Milwaukee his visit created e ordinary enthusiasm. "Nearly all the prominent lawyers, div newspaper men, merchants, thinkers, and writers of the city, their wives, heard his first lecture; and they applauded at sh intervals than any lecturer ever was applauded here before. rare indeed that such an aggregate of intellect is seen gath

gether at one time in this city as was the case on Thursday, and at one man receives such approval." * The Milwaukee people gently begged for a second lecture, which a fortunately vacant te in the following week enabled him to give them.

Iowa was the furthest point west he reached on this visit, the ıole journey covering a distance of more than 4500 miles. hen he went west again in the following February he met with terrific snowstorm, generally described as the worst seen for ıny years. At Milwaukee the cold was so severe that at his ture the audience sat enveloped in furs and rugs, although the ıitor protested that he had used three tons of coal in his deavour to warm the Music Hall. "The next time," commented father, "I hope he will use thirty tons." The cold grew more l more intense, until at Fond du Lac (Wisconsin) which he ched on 10th February, the spirit thermometers registered forty grees below zero. On leaving Fond du Lac there was a wait ten hours at the station before any train came by which he ıld get to Oshkosh, where he was due that evening; at which ce—reached only just in time—he found a fine audience await- him in spite of the weather, if "weather" can be looked upon an adequate term for atmospheric conditions where one thermo- ter registers forty-five degrees below zero and the others are ıgealed. The following day he was due at Madison, but as ffic was suspended he remained for a short time snow-bound at hkosh. Towards the end of February his farewell lecture was en at Chicago to the largest audience he had had that winter. Every seat was filled, the stage was filled, the aisles were filled, l even the staircases were alive with people." † On this journey st he did a tremendous amount of travelling; in one stretch of ht days he was only two nights in bed.

In the Eastern States he had lectured at Salem (Mass.), with Loring once more for his host and chairman, and an audience o gave him a glorious reception, although, apart from the warmth heir greeting, nearly everything was in "a state of unmitigated eziness." At Bangor (Maine), where the snow was six feet deep

---

* *Chicago Tribune.*

† He spoke in M'Cormick's Hall to an audience of 3600 persons, of whom 0 had paid for admission; the hall had never been so full before, and the ience was as enthusiastic as it was large.

in drifts, and was nowhere less than two feet save on the mo travelled roads, the intense cold (twenty-three degrees) kept aw the audience; but amongst those who did "brave the element was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine, wi warmly congratulated Mr Bradlaugh at the end of his lecture. Lynn (Mass.), where he gave one of his last lectures in Ne England, in going from the railway station to the hall, he humo ously relates: "I sat down twice to reflect on the uncertainty human progress. To sit down in snow two or three feet deep not dangerous, but is cold, and most certainly is ridiculou especially when the sitter is tall and heavy. The second time sat down I broke one of my ribs—that is, one of my umbrella ri and I filled my gloves with snow. I was reconciled to my fa when I learned that the gentleman sent out to escort me, a whom I had missed, had sat down three times."

At Philadelphia he spoke before the Pennsylvania Peace Societ and was delighted to find amongst his auditors Mrs Lucretia Mo After the lecture Mrs Mott, on the invitation of the chairma stood up to speak, and, said my father, "I felt reverence for t white-haired dame, which was mingled with astonishment wh her voice losing the tremor of age noticeable in the first f sentences, she spoke as clearly and distinctly as though at le thirty years had been taken from the count of her full-spent li I valued highly the praise she gave me."

At Boston and at New York he was welcomed as heartily ever. After his first lecture this time at Boston it had been not that "for once" the great audience, who, it was said, seem completely under his control, remained to hear the last word; af the last it was agreed that his lectures had been the great success of the season. His headquarters had been this time Boston, and whenever he returned there from his lectur journeys receptions were given to him, and every one seem eager to show him some kindness or courtesy. Not the le valued mementoes of this visit were a complete and finely bou edition of Sumner's works, a handsome memorial volume prin in honour of Sumner, and three fine photographs of the d statesman. All these were brought him at different times by Hon. Joshua B. Smith, who idolised the great Abolitionist. brought these tokens of Sumner to my father because, as he o said, "Mr Bradlaugh was the friend of one I loved."

Although he was comparatively little at New York, still while
was there he met amongst others James Paxton, E. C. Stedman,
e poet, and Anna E. Dickinson, who greatly charmed him by her
parent sincerity, her eloquence, and her clearness of thought.

My father returned at the end of February, with the satisfaction
knowing that, despite its ominous commencement, his winter's
rk had been a success in every way. The liabilities incurred
his sudden departure from the United States the year before,
d his delayed arrival this year, had been met, and his indebted-
ss at home had been cleared to the extent of £1000.

He came home by the *City of Brooklyn*, and met with a very
rmy passage. There was a furious gale, the waves sweeping the
cks and bursting the doors. The wheel became unmanageable;
e wheelmen were flung right and left. "For five hours and
enty minutes," wrote my father a week later, "our engines were
pped; the sea played with our helpless vessel as with a toy, and
e whole of those on board stood near death's gates. Captain
S. Murray behaved in this terrible emergency with a courage
d self-possession for which no praise can be too high. The
ty of Brooklyn, too, proved to be a good sea boat, and the
rning light saw us out of danger; but in that twenty-four
urs we only made ninety-one miles, and the log recorded a
iolent hurricane with mountainous seas.'"

My father's departure for the United States for his third lectur-
tour, in the autumn of 1875, was very different from that of
e year before, or even that of 1873. Now, at last, Fortune seemed
smile upon him, and everything was propitious. He set out in
spirits and high hopes; his successes of the last two winters
d assured him a welcome when he reached the States, and there
s every prospect that by the time he came home again he would
able to lighten that terrible incubus of debt even more substan-
lly than before.

He sailed in the *City of Berlin*, then one of the largest and
st perfectly fitted Atlantic Liners afloat. He felt quite at home
her, for there were several familiar faces amongst the officers,
d the captain was so courteous that the passengers voted him a
cial vote of thanks. It is rather curious that this resolution
uld have been signed on behalf of their fellow-passengers by
Fessenden, N. Otis, and Mr Bradlaugh, because a little later Dr
s proved a friend in need to my father. On the voyage all

went well, the weather was good, and the *Berlin* made a reco passage of seven days eighteen hours.

After two or three days spent in New York my father went to Boston, to find that city in the throes of an election for t office of Governor of Massachusetts. He attended a "Republic rally" at the old Faneuil Hall, and as he sat listening to t speeches of Henry Wilson and others, the influence of the roo seemed to grow upon him; he remembered that it was the "that Otis pleaded against Lord North and George III.; it w there that the Boston men gathered that very December day which the tea was thrown overboard in Boston harbour; it w there that groans accompanied the reading of the Boston Po Bill." The meeting had the still further interest to him that was presided over by R. H. Dana, the man who had been coun for Anthony Burns.

Another question was also agitating, not merely Boston, but t whole country, and dividing parties into hostile camps, and th was the Currency question; and as upon this subject my fath and Wendell Phillips took opposite views, their relations were no means so friendly as heretofore.

The religious feeling which had been raised against Mr Br laugh every time was renewed with special bitterness this wint and created quite a panic amongst the managers of lect courses. It is much to their credit that the Rev. Dr Miner a the Rev. Dr Lorrimer had the courage to disregard the outcry, a invited him to lecture to their congregations as before.

At the end of October he was feeling very unwell, but persis in continuing his work, and for a week or two seemed rat better. Since the friendship which sprang up between them board the *City of Berlin*, Dr Otis and my father had not lost si of one another, and when he became worse again he consulted Otis, who strongly advised change of scene and climate, as p paration for the hard work and the cold which would have to faced on his Western tour. Hence, in the middle of Novem finding himself part way there, he went on to Washington. Washington he found that almost his only friend in the c Henry Wilson, the Vice-President of the United States, was ly sick unto death in the Capitol. He called upon him, but find him so ill, simply left his card. Mr Wilson, on hearing of visit, sent his secretary with a note—the last, I believe, that

er wrote—asking him to come on the following morning, but my
her never saw him again. He returned to the Fifth Avenue
otel, New York, sad and ill. Dr Otis saw him professionally
d in the report he sent to England early in December he said he
d been suffering from "much work and little rest" for several
ys; later he found him suffering from pleurisy and some threat-
ings of typhoid. As the fever rapidly developed, Dr Otis
ggested that he should go to St Luke's Hospital, where he
uld have the best care—professional and general—and on
y father agreeing, he took him there in his own carriage
30th November. At St Luke's Hospital Mr Bradlaugh
t that he owed his life "to the great skill and generous
ndness of Dr Leaming, to the unremitting attentions of Dr
obe, and to the patient and never-ceasing care of my nurse,
illiam Shaw." Even before he was allowed to leave his bed it
s decided he could do no more lecturing that season, and within
ur days from leaving his sick-bed he was on board the *City*
Richmond on his way home. Friends said he was rash—that
e journey would kill him. He was so weak that he could
rcely stand, and he shed tears almost directly a kind word was
d to him; but if his body was weak, his will was strong; he
uld go, and he was sure that he would grow stronger more
ickly moving on board ship than inactive in New York. A
py of "Alice in Wonderland" had been accidentally left in his
oin; he was so weak that it took him nearly the whole voyage
read this little book; he laughed over it and delighted in it
e a child. Afterwards, he always remembered it with a certain
joyment, and was ever ready to quote from it such touching
rses as "You are old, Father William," "'Tis the voice of the
ggard," or "Will you walk a little faster?"

Speaking of his sudden return a week or two later, Mr Brad-
ugh said: "I came back to England because I was advised that
would have been suicide in my weak state to face the Western
nter. I come back to Europe reluctantly, for I went to the
ited States to earn enough money to pay my debts, and I am
mpelled to return poorer than I left. Indeed, I owe it to Mr
oncure D. Conway's assistance that I was enabled, at the moment,
discharge the obligations my illness had created in New York."
Mr Conway has since told me that when he went to see my
her while he lay ill in the St Luke's Hospital, my father begged

him to make inquiries of nurse and doctors whether he had sa
or done anything during the time of his illness which could
construed into an alteration of his opinions upon religious subjec
He wished Mr Conway, in the event of his death, to be
testimony that his convictions had remained unchanged. M
Conway, whose own opinions were by no means so heretical
Mr Bradlaugh's, was nevertheless anxious to carry out the wish
of the sick man with the utmost exactitude, and therefore ma
the most scrupulous inquiries. But he only learned that M
Bradlaugh had been a most docile, uncomplaining, and gratef
patient, and that he had not uttered a single word which cou
afford the slightest justification for a suggestion of recantatio
That my father's dread of the usual "infidel deathbed" myth w
well founded we know by what has happened since 1891. Ev
as it was, although he recovered from his illness in New Yo
and was alive to contradict such fables, it was actually said that
had sent for a minister to pray with him, and one clergyman w
even reported to have specified the "minister" as a Baptist!
was long before my father entirely recovered from this illness, a
although formerly a smoker, after this he lost all desire for
cigar. It was not until a few years before his death that
renewed the habit, and even then only in a very modest way
a cigar in going to the House of Commons, a cigar in coming ba
he enjoyed; at other times he smoked little.

It is worth noting that while Mr Bradlaugh was in the Stat
whenever he had an evening to spare, wherever he might happ
to be, he generally devoted it to going to hear some lecture
sermon, or attending some meeting. In this way he hea
amongst others, Parker Pilsbury, Newman Hall, O. B. Fro
ingham, M. D. Conway, Horace Seaver, and Dr Miner. He t
or three times attended and spoke at Women's Suffrage meetin
and was invited on at least two occasions to take part in Maso
festivals.

Everywhere he went he made careful inquiries into the labo
conditions of the locality, and where possible, he visited mill a
factory, and talked with both workers and employers. He a
specially studied the workings of the liquor laws in the Sta
where they obtained, and the effect of his observations was
decide him against them. On each visit he wrote home weel
letters for the *National Reformer*, which were interesting for w

ey told about his own doings and about persons, and invaluable intending emigrants for the information they gave concerning bour in the different States which he visited. He afterwards blished the result of his investigation into labour questions in merica as a little booklet entitled "Hints to Emigrants."

CHAPTER II.

MRS BESANT.

In 1874 Mr Bradlaugh lost a friend and gained one. Betwe himself and the friend he lost the tie had endured through nea five-and-twenty years, of which the final fourteen had been pass in the closest friendship and communion, tarnished neither quarrel nor mistrust. By the death of Austin Holyoake r father lost a trusty counseller and loyal co-worker, and the Fr thought movement lost one who for fully twenty years had serv it with that earnest fidelity, high moral courage, and unimpeachal integrity which were amongst his most striking characteristi In health and in sickness he toiled incessantly to promote t interests of the cause he had at heart, and at no time of his l did he shrink from duty or responsibility.

Austin Holyoake died in the spring of 1874, and was buried Highgate Cemetery in the presence of a great crowd of sorrow friends. Just before his death he dictated his "Sickro Thoughts" to his wife, uttering the last broken paragraph onl few hours before he died. For three years he had known th death was near, and this final statement of his opinions on dea and immortality was purposely deferred until the last moment deemed it prudent, so that he might leave a record of his l deliberate opinions, and as such these "Thoughts" provoked ve considerable comment.*

Austin Holyoake, like his friend, lived and died a poor ma and my father pledged himself to him on his deathbed to rais sum of £650 to purchase the printing and publishing busin

* "My mind being free from any doubts on these bewildering matter speculation," he said, "I have experienced for twenty years the most perf mental repose; and now I find that the near approach of death, the 'g King of Terrors,' gives me not the slightest alarm. I have suffered, and suffering, most intensely both by night and day; but this has not produ the least symptom of change of opinion. No amount of bodily torture alter a mental conviction."

therto conducted by Mr Holyoake in the interests of Freethought erature. The money raised was to benefit the widow and the two ildren, and the business was to be handed over to Mr Charles Watts. A subscription which was started realised rather less than 550, and the National Secular Society determined to make up e balance out of a legacy left to the President by a Dr Berwick. nfortunately, however, Dr Berwick's trustee absconded with the oney, and consequently, as Mr Bradlaugh had promised his dead iend that the sum of £650 should be raised, he paid the ficiency out of his own pocket, by weekly instalments.

Austin Holyoake, the friend Mr Bradlaugh lost, was steadfast, yal, unassuming, and unswerving in his opinions; Mrs Annie sant, the friend he gained, was even more remarkable, though in very different way.

Having enrolled herself a member of the National Secular ciety in August 1874, Mrs Besant sought Mr Bradlaugh's quaintance. They were mutually attracted; and a friendship rang up between them of so close a nature that had both been e it would undoubtedly have ended in marriage. In their mmon labours, in the risks and responsibilities jointly under-ken, their friendship grew and strengthened, and the insult and lumny heaped upon them only served to cement the bond.

This lasted for many years until Mrs Besant's ceaseless activity rried her into paths widely divergent from those so long trodden her colleague, paths which brought her into close association th persons strongly inimical to Mr Bradlaugh and the aims to hich he was devoting his life. For some time before he died, he d, as Mrs Besant herself has written in her recently published *tobiography*,* lost all confidence in her judgment; she had appointed him, and it would be unworthy of both not to ognise that the disappointment was very bitter, though his sire to serve her and shield her always remained unchanged. r thirteen years she had stood upon the same platform with n; and when she one day said that for ten years she had been satisfied with her own teaching, he felt it very keenly, but he ther uttered a word of blame himself, nor would he allow any else to blame her in his hearing.

---

* See page 322.

Every movement, every cause, has its ebbs and flow there seems to be only a certain amount of activity possi to men in the mass, and now it flows in one direction, n in another. The Freethought movement, when Mrs Besa came into it, had for some years been slowly but surely creasing in activity and prosperity. The National Secular Socie although not so complete an organisation as it was soon become, was nevertheless to be found in all the great centres population. The *National Reformer*, the representative organ Freethought, in the five years which lay between 1867 and 18 had nearly doubled its circulation, and was read in almost all pa of the world. It was sent to the three presidencies of India, United States and Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the Cape Good Hope, the West Indies, Egypt, France, Belgium, Ita Spain, and Germany. On its staff there were several very a writers, and if it was not exactly a profitable property, it at le paid its way.

People have sometimes deliberately asserted that Mrs Besa desertion and Mr Bradlaugh's death inflicted an irremediable inj on the cause of Freethought, but this is merely an assertion, one which will not bear a moment's investigation. Happily the human race, the growth of public opinion does not dep upon any single man or woman, however able, however energe he or she may be. The loss of a leader amongst men may fo moment check the onward movement, and it may be there is e a temporary reaction—a swing back—but never in the histor the world has the loss of one of its pioneers proved an "irrem able injury" to the cause of progress.

If indeed it should be thought, and it is a proposition tha am not in a position to deny, that this is a moment of ebb in tide of Freethought, the fact would only be in harmony with general tendency of the times, and would prove nothing aga the ultimate acceptance of the truths of Materialism. The gro of population in our great cities has caused the evils of pov to press more closely upon general attention, and the public ene is directed towards seeking a solution for these immedia important problems, rather than for those more abstract theor arising out of religious speculation.

Mrs Bessant was herself obeying this tendency when, in 1 she thought she had found in the optimistic dreams of Socialis

nedy for this most bitter of human ills. This was the point on which she first diverged from Mr Bradlaugh, and once having parated her thought from his, the breach swiftly widened. cialism was, as it were, the fork in the Y of their lives. Nothing, think, will show how far these two had drifted asunder more than at Mr Bradlaugh should first learn of Mrs Besant's adhesion to e Theosophical Society through an article written by her in a eekly paper, and not from her own lips.

Mrs Besant's first contribution to the *National Reformer* appeared its issue for 30th August 1874, and with that she entered good earnest upon the work which was to engross her for many ars to come. Over the signature of "Ajax" she commenced a ies of notes, entitled "Daybreak," which were to mark "the ing of the sun of liberty . . . when men should dare to think themselves in theology, and act for themselves in politics," and ese notes were continued weekly for several years. From ugust 1874 to April 1891 Mrs Besant remained connected with e *National Reformer*, first as contributor, and then as sub-itor, becoming shortly afterwards co-editor and co-proprietor. e co-editorship was resigned in October 1887 for reasons forth by Mrs Besant in her *Autobiography*,* and the proprietorship ceased with the dissolution of the partnership tween herself and Mr Bradlaugh, in December 1890.

When my father heard Mrs Besant's first lecture in August 1874, the Co-operative Society's Hall, Castle Street, upon the Political Status of Women," it impressed him as "probably the st speech by a woman" he had ever listened to. It was not til the following year, however, that Mrs Besant started defin-ly as a lecturer upon the Freethought platform, but from that e forward she was indefatigable. She was very fluent, with a at command of language, and her voice carried well; her throat, ak at first, rapidly gained in strength, until she became a most cible speaker. Tireless as a worker, she could both write and study ger without rest and respite than any other person I have known; l such was her power of concentration, that she could work under cumstances which would have confounded almost every other son. Though not an original thinker, she had a really won-ful power of absorbing the thoughts of others, of blending them,

* See p. 320.

and of transmuting them into glowing language. Her indus her enthusiasm, and her eloquence made of her a very powe ally to whatever cause she espoused.

Mrs Besant had been connected with the Freethought party about two and a half years when an incident occurred which destined to have considerable and lasting results. In the wi of 1876 a man, alleged to have an unpleasant reputation as a se of indecent literature, was convicted at Bristol for sellin pamphlet, written by an American physician of repute, Charles Knowlton. This pamphlet, entitled "Fruits of P osophy: An Essay on the Population Question," had been on in England for forty years, and this was the first time it had b prosecuted. It had been openly sold by James Watson, a p lisher of the highest repute, who had been dead only a short ti by Mr G. J. Holyoake; by Austin Holyoake up to the time of death; and by others both in England and America. Charles Watts had bought the plates of this and other works f the widow of James Watson, and, acting upon Mr Bradlau advice, Mr Watts went to Bristol, and declared himself the sponsible publisher of the book. He was himself arreste 8th January 1877, and on 12th January was committed for at the Central Criminal Court. The trial was to be heard 5th February, but before that day arrived Mr Watts came to conclusion that the pamphlet was indefensible, and decide withdraw his plea of "not guilty," and to plead "guilty" inst Upon learning this, Mr Bradlaugh felt exceedingly angry. "I pamphlet now prosecuted," he said, "had been brought to m publication, I should probably have declined to publish it, because of the subject-matter, but because I do not like its st If I had once published it, I should have defended it until the last." He was strongly of opinion that the matter ought t fought right through; and differing so widely on a matter of ciple with Mr Watts, he determined to sever all business conne with him. He gave his reasons for this course as follows:—

"The Knowlton pamphlet is either decent or indecent decent, it ought to be defended; if indecent, it should never

---

* The late Mr Grote, however, thought sufficiently of this pamph preserve it in his own library. He, moreover, presented a copy to the l of the London University, where it was at the time of this prosecution.

en published. To judge it indecent, is to condemn, with the ost severe condemnation, James Watson, whom I respected, and ustin Holyoake, with whom I worked. I hold the work to be fensible, and I deny the right of any one to interfere with the ll and free discussion of social questions affecting the happiness the nation. The struggle for a free press has been one of the arks of the Freethought party throughout its history, and as long the Party permits me to hold its flag, I will never voluntarily ver it. I have no right and no power to dictate to Mr Watts e course he should pursue, but I have the right and the duty refuse to associate my name with a submission which is terly repugnant to my nature and inconsistent with my whole reer."

When Mr Watts' case came on for trial he pleaded "guilty," d was released, on his own recognisances of £500, to come up judgment when called upon. It was contended at the trial at it was unlawful to publish such physiological details as were be found in Dr Knowlton's pamphlet, even for a good purpose. Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant (who had now entered into a mal partnership under the style of "The Freethought Publish- Company") determined to republish the pamphlet to test the ht of publication.

A great deal was said at the time by way of blaming Mr dlaugh for allowing Mrs Besant to associate herself with him in s struggle, and of lauding Mrs Besant for her great courage in s defence. Many were the unworthy taunts cast at Mr Brad- gh for "sheltering" himself "behind a woman," though not of those who sneered stayed to reflect that even if this ociation had some advantages it also had distinct disadvantages. e gain was both to the principles involved, and to my father sonally. To see a woman brave enough to stand by the side of a n in defence of the free publication of unpopular doctrines, was ncentive to the public to investigate those doctrines with a v to forming an independent judgment upon them; it was also nspiration and a constant spur to the man—had he been the to need spur or inspiration in such a cause. Mrs Besant's earying industry in working up the extra-legal side of the case, hunting up in other works statements of physiological fact tly similar to or stronger than those found in the prosecuted phlet, was invaluable. In the week which intervened

between the verdict and the sentence on their own case, Bradlaugh took the opportunity to express his appreciation Mrs Besant's work, and this despite the fact that her decision join in the defence was contrary to his wish and advice. wrote :—

"I have often faced hard toil, but I have never had to encoun persistent, wearying, anxious labour greater than that of the l three months. And here—while my hand is yet free to pen th lines—let me record my deep sense of gratitude to the woman w has shared my fight, aided me by her help, encouraged me by steadfastness, and strengthened me by her counsel. It is not al the brilliant eloquence, patient endurance, and sustained eff manifested for so many hours in the Court—qualities displayed Mrs Besant, which, coupled with her great tact, won repeated pra from the Lord Chief Justice, and congratulations from almost whole of the barristers who crowded the Court—so much of M Besant's work has been recorded by most of the press in terms the highest laudation. The personal acknowledgment fr myself is more due for the weeks of unrecognised but n wearying and continued drudgery in analysing a mass of scient works, searching out authorities, and generally preparing the h body of materials required for use on the trial. Few can appreci the enormous labour involved in the careful analysis of medi works, and their comparison, line by line, with the Knowl Pamphlet. Yet, without this labour, the defence would have b impossible."

The disadvantages of the dual defence were considerable, they were known to very few, and were moreover purely perso Upon Mr Bradlaugh lay the whole responsibility of the defen his was the mind that planned it, and he had to conduct the fi not merely for himself, but for the woman beside him; he had consider two briefs instead of one, and as Mrs Besant was at t time totally unfamiliar with the procedure of the Law Courts, had to instruct her, not only in the things it was desirable should say, but also in those which were better left unsaid. was but too well aware that Mrs Besant risked not alone imp onment, but also the loss of her child; and in the event failure, and the imprisonment of both himself and his collea the problem naturally presented itself, Who was to edit *National Reformer* and to look after the new business? Mr W

a of "guilty," followed by Mr Bradlaugh's indignation, had for e moment produced considerable division amongst former friends, d there had been hardly time to reckon which were friends and ich were foes. Nothing could better mark the extent of my her's difficulty than the fact that he had to hand over these erous duties to us, his daughters, two girls fresh from a dreary untry life, and hardly out of our teens. Hence, although he s justly proud that a woman whom he held in such esteem ould stand by him publicly at such a moment, it increased his xieties and his responsibilities enormously that Mrs Besant's risks re so heavy, and there was thus no trusty colleague free to dertake the burden of a weekly journal, and the drudgery of e management of the new publishing business.

Some at least of these difficulties were pointed out to Mrs sant; friends besought her by every argument they could think not to risk the loss of her child; but she had chosen her urse, and she adhered to it in spite of all entreaties. And such the irony of fate that she lost the society of her daughter for years, and was subjected to the grossest insult from Sir George ssel, as Master of the Rolls, for defending doctrines she now udiates.

CHAPTER III.

PROSECUTION OF MR BRADLAUGH AND MRS BESANT.

On Friday, 23rd March, Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant we together to the Guildhall, to deliver the earliest copy of the n edition of the Knowlton pamphlet to Mr Martin, the Chief Cle with a notice that they would personally attend, at a certain ho on the following day, to sell the pamphlet. Similar notices we left at the chief office of the Detective Department, and at t office of the City Solicitor. On Saturday afternoon Stonecut Street was thronged with a crowd of persons anxious to purch copies of the pamphlet from Mr Bradlaugh or Mrs Besant, a amongst these purchasers detectives were easily identified Mr Bradlaugh's quick eye. A few days later the partners we arrested on a warrant—not served with a summons—and march off to Bridewell, after a fruitless search for compromising literat had been made on the Stonecutter Street premises. From t Police Court, where Mrs Besant had to endure the indignity being personally searched, they were conveyed to the Guildh Mr Alderman Figgins heard the charge, and remanded the c until the 17th of April.

A defence committee was formed, which soon included t names of many well-known men and women, both in England a abroad, and a fund was started to meet the expenses of the defen The long lists of subscribers which appeared week by week in columns of the *National Reformer* give unmistakable proof of widespread sympathy.

When the further hearing of the case came on at the Guildh the prosecution was conducted by Mr Douglas Straight and Mead, instructed by Mr Nelson, the City Solicitor. Mr Figg was again the presiding magistrate, and there were several ot aldermen on the Bench. At this hearing—which lasted a cou of days—Mr Straight offered to proceed against Mr Bradla alone, letting the charge against Mrs Besant drop · but to this

tter would on no account agree. At the conclusion they were perated on their own recognisances, to appear at the Central riminal Court on 7th May. The prospect of standing in the ock of the Old Bailey was not very alluring to my father, so he ent to the Court of Queen's Bench and made an application to e Lord Chief Justice (Sir Alexander Cockburn) and Mr Justice ellor for a writ of *certiorari* for the removal of the case to that ourt, to be heard before a judge and a special jury. After some gument the Lord Chief Justice said:—

"If, upon looking at it [the pamphlet], we think its object is the gitimate one of promoting knowledge in a matter of human interest, en lest there should be any miscarriage resulting from any undue ejudice, we might think it is a case for trial by a judge and a special ry. I do not say it is so, mark, but only put it so; that if, on the ner hand, science and philosophy are merely made the pretence of blishing a book which is calculated to arouse the passions of those o peruse it, then it follows we must not allow the pretence to prevail, d treat the case otherwise than as one which may come before anydy to try. If we really think it is a fair question as to whether it is cientific work or not, and its object is a just one, then we should be posed to accede to your application, and allow it to be tried by a dge and special jury, and for that purpose allow the proceedings to be noved to this Court. But before we decide that, we must look into e book, and form our own judgment as to the real object of the rk."

Their Lordships took the book to consider on its own merits, and used to read the evidence given at the Police Court. A few ys later the writ was granted in the following words:—

"We," said the Lord Chief Justice, "have looked at the book which the subject-matter of this indictment, and we think it really raises a r question as to whether it is a scientific production for legitimate rposes, or whether it is what the indictment alleged it to be, an scene publication. We think that is a question which will require be decided by a judge, and, we think, by a special jury, and therefore re will be a writ of *certiorari* granted."

Mr Bradlaugh's recognisances for £400 for the costs of the osecution were accepted. He regarded this granting of the writ the judges, going hand in hand, as it were, with the very plain guage of the Lord Chief Justice, as a most favourable sign; and the matter of the recognisances Mrs Besant wrote: "They

become as we go on small by degrees and beautifully less. V
began by arrest on a warrant; from a warrant we passed to liberati
on bail, four sureties and our own recognisances being require
from this we proceeded to liberation on our own recognisances on
and now we are free on Mr Bradlaugh's sole recognisance."

The name of the prosecutor had not yet transpired, though
the outset it was assumed that the city authorities w
responsible for the proceedings, since at the first hearing bef
Mr Figgins the name of the City Solicitor had been mention
while at the second counsel appeared instructed by him. In M
however, the identity of the prosecutor had sunk into still grea
obscurity, for on the 4th of that month Mr Nelson (the C
Solicitor) declared in writing that "the Corporation of Lond
has nothing and never has had anything to do with the prose
tion." He further stated "in general terms" that the prosecuti
was instituted by the Police. When, however, Colonel Jam
Fraser, the Commissioner of Police, was applied to, he evaded a
direct answer by referring my father to the sworn "informatio
which of course only gave the name of the detective, W
Simmonds, who, as informer, had bought the pamphlet. Si
monds was formally asked if he were the responsible prosecut
but he merely acknowledged the receipt of Mr Bradlaug
letter. My father, on 11th May, applied to Mr Justice Lush
Chambers, for the name of the responsible prosecutor, but while
judge expressed his opinion that he ought to know, he regret
that he had no power to help him.

At this time the public excitement was further increased by
action of the Government, which commenced to make seizures
the Post-Office of literature sent out from the Freethought P
lishing Company's office. Not only were open book packets seiz
but in some cases even sealed parcels were suspected of be
tampered with.

Not merely was Knowlton's "Fruits of Philosophy" confiscat
but also copies of the "Freethinker's Text-book," and a pampl
written by Mr Bradlaugh entitled "Jesus, Shelley, and Malthus,
well as a considerable number of copies of the *National Reform*
Concurrently with this a raid was made upon the shop of t
brave old man, Mr Edward Truelove, in High Holborn, and a la
quantity of Robert Dale Owen's "Moral Physiology," as well
another pamphlet "Individual, Family, and National Power

ere seized by persons representing the Society for the Suppression f Vice, who immediately commenced a prosecution against Mr ruelove.

In the last days of the month Mr Bradlaugh made an applica-ion to the Court to take the case at an early day; it was fixed for he 18th June, and shortly afterwards it became known that the olicitor-General, Sir Hardinge Giffard, Q.C., M.P. (now Lord alsbury) was chosen the leading counsel for the prosecutors—hoever they might be. Up to this point—the eve of one of ose great forensic contests which marked various periods in Mr radlaugh's life—he felt that the press as a whole had not been nfair, although indeed there had been some journals coarse and ul in attack, usually on the ground of Mrs Besant's association ith himself. As regards the issue of the struggle, he wrote at to predict the verdict would be worse than folly, though, should the deliverance be against us," he urgently begged his iends to aid his daughters in keeping his journal afloat until he ould be free to edit it again. Mrs Besant's descriptive accounts the various preliminary legal proceedings are all written in a ght, often jesting, vein; indeed, I am inclined to think that she rdly realised all the gravity of her situation; a true sense of e possibilities involved was perhaps somewhat obscured by the mosphere of excitement and admiration in which she was living.

On the trial it was Mr Bradlaugh's object to show that the ctrine of the limitation of the family was to be found in many her works in general circulation dealing with economical estions; and that in medical works, many published at popular ices, and some specially intended for the use of young people, ere were physiological descriptions set forth in identical or even onger language. Amongst other witnesses Mr Bradlaugh sub-enaed Professor and Mrs Fawcett (to formally prove certain tements in Prof. Fawcett's book), Charles Darwin, the Rev. W. Horsley (Chaplain of the Clerkenwell House of Detention), d the Rev. S. D. Headlam—the two latter to give evidence as overcrowding. Prof. Fawcett refused to take his subpœna, and clared he would send Mrs Fawcett out of the country rather an that she should appear as a witness in the case. A second empt was made to induce him to take the subpœna in a friendly y, but he again refused, putting his hands behind his back so at the paper should not be surreptitiously put into them—of

which he need have had no fear. Charles Darwin wrote h thanks for the courtesy of the notice, saying :—

"I have been for many years much out of health, and have be forced to give up all society or public meetings ; and it would be gre suffering to me to be a witness in Court. It is, indeed, not probab that I may be unable to attend. Therefore, I hope that, if in yo power, you will excuse my attendance. . . . . If it is not asking t great a favour, I should be greatly obliged if you would inform m what you decide, as apprehension of the coming exertion wou prevent the rest which I require doing me much good."

As Mr Darwin was going away from home, he gave address where he might be found if he was wanted. But of course it w decided to manage without his evidence. Mr Horsley and M Headlam were both most courteous, and there was one volunte witness whose help was invaluable—Mr H. G. Bohn, the found of the well-known Bohn's Library. Dr Drysdale and Dr Ali Vickery also gave their assistance with the utmost cheerfulnes The trial was heard before the Lord Chief Justice, and extend over four days. The ability of the defence excited univers comment, and the masterly summing-up of the Judge was spok of in the papers as being strongly in favour of Mr Bradlaugh a Mrs Besant. But in spite of defence and summing-up the ju after an absence of an hour and a half, brought in the followi verdict: "We are unanimously of opinion that the book question is calculated to deprave public morals, but at the sa time we entirely exonerate the defendants from any corru motives in publishing it."

The Lord Chief Justice instructed the jury that this was verdict of guilty. The foreman bowed acquiescence. The Cle asked if they found the defendants guilty upon the indictme The foreman again bowed, and a verdict of guilty was record Sentence was not pronounced immediately ; it was postponed fo week. The jury, however, were by no means so decided at he and so unanimous as the prompt bow of the foreman led one believe. One of these twelve "wise men and true" applied to t Associate for £4, 4s. as payment for his attendance ; two oth returned each their guinea fee to be put down to the defence ; o wrote that he did not agree with the verdict, subsequently stat that six of the jury did not intend to assent to a verdict of guil and that it had been arranged that if the Lord Chief Just

uld not accept their special verdict they should again retire and
nsult. During the time they were locked in they discussed
loudly that they were heard outside, and their discussion
s found to be by no means confined to the offence which they
re supposed to be considering, as it included amongst other
ngs the heretical views of the defendants.

On the 28th June Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant attended the
urt of Queen's Bench to receive judgment from the Lord Chief
stice and Mr Justice Mellor. My father had thought it likely
t there might be a heavy fine, but unlikely that there would be
sentence of imprisonment. He drew £250 from the bank, and
wed me the notes as he put them in his pocket-book, bidding
, in the event of a sentence of imprisonment, take the notes
m him and pay them into the bank again; and my sister and I
ompanied him and Mrs Besant into Court. The Solicitor-
neral opened by moving the Court for judgment; some
cussion arose on the absence of the *postea*, and then Mr
dlaugh submitted three propositions to the Court: (1) A motion
quash the indictment; (2) a motion for arrest of judgment; and
a motion for a new trial. But the Lord Chief Justice would
ther consent to a new trial nor to a rule for an arrest of judg-
nt; he left the decision as to quashing the indictment to the
rt of Error, declining, however, to stay execution until error
s determined. The arguments over these points took up the
ole morning, and after luncheon the Solicitor-General, in order
influence the Judge in his sentence, brought forward two
davits, one asserting that Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant
continued to sell the pamphlet since the verdict, and the other
ing that Mrs Besant, in a speech at the Hall of Science on the
vious Sunday, had represented the Lord Chief Justice as being
ourable to them, and the verdict as against his summing-up.
Alexander Cockburn was greatly incensed at the alleged
erence to himself, and regarded the continued sale in the light
"a grave and aggravated offence." My father offered that if
Lord Chief Justice would stay proceedings until the writ of
r was argued, he would pledge himself that no sort of advan-
would be taken of the indulgence of the Court to continue
sale of the condemned book; but as yet the Judge was
urate. "I think we must pass sentence," he said. "Have
anything to say in mitigation?"

"I respectfully submit myself to the sentence of the Court," father replied in his gravest tones. "I have nothing to say mitigation of punishment," added Mrs Besant.

The Judge then proceeded to sentence them to imprisonment six calendar months, to a fine of £200 each, and to enter i their own recognisances for £500 each for two years.

The judgment was delivered towards the end of a long day hard and wearisome fighting, and my father, who, with Mrs Besa had of course received the sentence standing, was very white; voice, however, was quite firm when, the Lord Chief Just having concluded, he quietly and respectfully asked, "Wo your lordship entertain an application to stay execution of sentence?"

"Certainly not," was the answer. Mr Bradlaugh bowed; officer of the Court moved forward to take him and Mrs Bes into custody; my father gave me his pocket-book, and bade follow him as far as we were allowed. We had nearly reac the door when the Lord Chief Justice spoke again. In mil tones he said: "On consideration, if you will pledge yoursel unreservedly that there shall be no repetition of the publicatio the book, at all events until the Court of Appeal shall h decided contrary to the verdict of the jury and our judgment we can have that positive pledge, and you will enter into y recognisances that you will not avail yourselves of the liberty extend to continue the publication of this book, which it is bounden duty to suppress, or do our utmost to suppress, we stay execution, but we can show no indulgence without suc pledge.

Mr Bradlaugh replied: "My lord, I meant to offer that ple in the fullest and most unreserved sense, because, although I h my own view as to what is right, I also recognise that the having pronounced sentence, that is quite another matter so fa I, as a citizen, am concerned. I do not wish to ask your lord a favour without yielding to the Court during the time that I advantage of its indulgence." My father added that he wishe to be quite clear that he only pledged himself to stop the cir tion of the book until the decision of the Court of Error. Judge was satisfied with this assurance, although the Solic General was not, and Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant were liber on their own recognisances of £100 each.

This "on consideration" of the Lord Chief Justice entirely hanged the course of events. In the following February (1878) he case was argued in the Court of Appeal before the Lords ustices Bramwell, Brett, and Cotton, who in a very elaborate dgment gave their decision in favour of Mr Bradlaugh and rs Besant; and the indictment was quashed on the ground at the words relied upon by the prosecution as proving their se ought to have been expressly set out. Two American ses brought forward by the Solicitor-General before the Lord hief Justice as against Mr Bradlaugh's argument were regarded the Lord Justices of Appeal as of no weight; while any value ey might have had was absolutely in favour of the defendants.

The total amount disbursed in this defence and provided by blic subscriptions was £1065. The expenses of the prosecution ust have been enormous; but to the end the name of the osecutor was refused. In March 1878 Mr Bradlaugh wrote: It is not the Government, we are assured on the highest thority; it is not the Vice Society; and it is positively stated at it is not the city authorities, and yet the City Solicitor structed counsel, and the proceedings are conducted from the w offices of the Corporation. However, in spite of the positive tement of the City Solicitor, the official report of the Common uncil mentioned that the prosecution was ordered by Alderman lis; and later, at a meeting of the Common Council, presided er by the Lord Mayor, the Solicitor, in answer to a question, d the prosecution was instituted by the city police and carried by him under the direction of Alderman Ellis. The actual sts of the prosecution would be, he thought, "about £700." Mr Bradlaugh commented: "This becomes embarrassing; 4th May 1877 Mr T. J. Nelson wrote that 'the Corporation London has nothing and never has had anything to do with e prosecution.' If so, why do the city authorities pay even 00 towards the costs? And who pays the rest? For with ee counsel to fee all through, £700 will most certainly not er the bill. . . . Why, unless the Solicitor-General, as a our of love, worked half-price, his fees alone would spoil the 00." And, as my father further asked, "Why did Alderman lis direct the prosecution?" for he was not even the sitting gistrate.

In addition to the main proceedings in the Court of Queen's

Bench and the Court of Error there were a number of e
issues which were heard before other Courts; points were argu
in *banco;* an application was made to Mr Vaughan for the 6
copies of the Knowlton pamphlet seized by the Vice Soci
at Mr Truelove's. An appeal was lodged at the Gene
Sessions against Mr Vaughan's order for their destruction,
successful application was made to the Court of Queen's Bench
quash Mr Vaughan's order, and a summons heard against Inspec
Wood for unlawfully detaining the pamphlets. Not a few w
the comments in the press when twice within six months
Bradlaugh succeeded in getting quashed decisions given agai
himself (first, the indictment, and with it the sentence of impris
ment and fine, and next the magisterial order). One jour
even suggested that "much loss of time might be avoided"
Mr Bradlaugh were appointed "to consult with our le
luminaries and revise their decisions."

In the meantime Mr Edward Truelove had been twice tr
At the first trial the jury did not agree; but at the second, wh
took place in May 1878, he was sentenced to four months' impris
ment and a £50 fine. Scores of purses were eagerly opened
furnish the fine, but no one, alas! could relieve this brave h
from the hardships of a prison. Mr Truelove, suffering for
opinion's sake, was obliged to wear the garb of common felons
to associate with them, and although nearly seventy years of
he was compelled to pick oakum and to sleep upon a plank bed

The immediate effect of these prosecutions was to draw pu
attention to the teaching of Malthus and his disciples. We
upon the population question were eagerly bought and read;
as the subsequent gradual lowering of the birth-rate in Engl
testifies, the idea of the limitation of the family to the m
has certainly, if slowly, made some way. The Malthu
League, first started by Mr Bradlaugh in the early sixties,
in 1877, revived on a much larger scale; its branches and
literature soon spread to all parts of the kingdom, and enorm
meetings were held everywhere. In November Mrs Be
brought out a pamphlet to supersede the Knowlton essay, ent
"The Law of Population: its Consequence and its Bearing
Human Conduct and Morals." It was dedicated to the poor,
was eagerly welcomed by them. Mrs Besant in 1891 withd
her pamphlet from circulation, a step which matters the les

nce 1877, there have been other books written by medical
en dealing with the same subject and issued at popular prices.
ut although there was this distinct gain to the public, not only
the stand made for the free discussion of such a question of
tal economical importance, and in the sweeping away of general
dictments, the cost to the principals in the drama was heavy
deed. Mr Truelove, a man of unimpeachable integrity, was,
I have just said, cut off from his family, and made the associate
felons. In April 1878 Mr Besant appealed to the law to
ve him the custody of his daughter.* The litigation arising
t of this lasted many months; Mrs Besant lost her child, was
ossly insulted by Sir George Jessel, and at length, the strain
oving too much even for her strong constitution, her health gave
ay, and she was thrown upon a bed of sickness.

Nor was the position much less trying for Mr Bradlaugh. It
ust not be lost sight of that the ultimate responsibility for the
fence, in every detail of these different law proceedings con-
nuing over several years, remained with him: his hand was in
all. He made a great fight, but his days and often the
eater part of his nights were spent in constant work and
xiety.

* One of the reasons given for withdrawing Mabel Besant from her mother's
arge was that while with her she was liable to come in contact with
arles Bradlaugh.

CHAPTER IV.

AN UNIMPORTANT CHAPTER.

In the foregoing account of the prosecution of my father an Mrs Besant I have thought it best not to burden the narrati with any side issues not immediately important. As, howeve it is my object in this book to picture my father and h surroundings as clearly as possible, so that from the picture just judgment of his character may be derived, I will now devo a few pages to passing details more or less directly connected wi this prosecution or arising out of it.

As soon as Mr Watts decided to plead "guilty," under th circumstances which have already been mentioned, and it becam known that Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant had determined to publis the prosecuted pamphlet, it was found that there were would-b prosecutors eager for the fray, and ready to commence on an thing else, whilst awaiting the new issue of Knowlton's essay.

One morning I was seated on the floor (chairs were a scar commodity at Turner Street) in my father's study sorting son pamphlets when a knock was heard at the street door; th landlady opened it, and then came to say that a man had calle who particularly wished to see Mr Bradlaugh. "Ask him in said my father, and I began hurriedly to rise from my low position, but a "Stay where you are" nailed me to the floo "What can I do for you?" asked Mr Bradlaugh pleasantl as a thick-set man of middle age, with a reddish beard, entere the room. The man replied that he wished to buy a copy a book written by my father and entitled, "Man, whence an how." Rather to my surprise, because as a rule he refused sell any literature from his Turner Street lodgings, and indee kept none there for sale, my father hunted up a copy of th Freethinker's Text-Book, Part I., entitled "Man, whence an how? or Revealed and Real Science in Conflict," carefully duste

and handed it to the man, asking suavely, "Is there anything re I can do for you?" The man replied that that was all, put book in his pocket, paid for it, and went away. He was rdly outside the door when my father began to laugh. "Did you his boots, Hypatia?" he asked. "His boots!" I repeated guely, wondering rather what the joke was. "Yes; he actually ne in the regulation boots," he said. "That was a detective, l those who instructed him evidently think that 'Man, whence l how?' is some book upon the population question." doubtedly it is a book upon the population question, but exactly from the Malthusian point of view; and if it was ght in that idea, the purchasers must have felt rather foolish en they read the first lines referring to the Hebrew chronology l the alleged creation of Adam and Eve!

In 1876 my father was relieved from the pressure of those debts ich had been burdening him for so long. First of all a Liverpool nd died, bequeathing to Mr Bradlaugh £100, less legacy duty. s is a "new experience," said my father on receiving the ney, adding, "I owe £90 less than I owed last week." Then August he received £2500 through a compromised will suit. Henry Turberville, brother of Mr R. D. Blackmore, had a very at admiration for my father; so much so that the year before death, when my father was about to go to the United States, felt so anxious not to lose sight of him that he offered to pay whole of his debts if only he would not go. He made a will ving the bulk of his property, valued at £15,000, to Mr Brad- gh, and to simplify matters he also made him his sole executor. long after this Mr Turberville, while staying at Yeovil, died denly, having a few hours before made his will in favour of a ghter of a chemist of the neighbourhood. Mr Blackmore ed the Court to pronounce for an intestacy, and he joined with Bradlaugh as against the propounders of the new will. At a compromise was agreed upon, by which Mr Bradlaugh ived £2500 in addition to his costs. Like the £90 legacy, the 00 was immediately applied by my father to the discharge of his ilities. I was in Court with him when the suits were com- nised, and we went straight from the Court to the office of his f creditor. "That was only just in time, my daughter," he , as we turned towards home.

As one or other of us girls was now almost continuously w
my father, and his books were bursting all available bounds
Turner Street, in February 1877 he decided to seek some m
wholesome and more commodious lodging. Turner Street l
much to be desired from the sanitary point of view. I rememb
one hot summer's evening a kindly, enthusiastic gentleman, w
lived in the west of London, came eastwards to speak at one
the working-men's clubs. My father was to take the chair
him, and he came to Turner Street before going to the club.
all walked down together, and this gentleman, turning wi
enthusiasm to my sister and me, said, "I think your father livi
here is just the right man in the right place!" My sister and
looked at one another; it had been so hot that day, yet we h
not been able to open our windows to let in the air because of t
abundance of smells which came in with it. If Turner Street w
the "right" place, we, at least, did not appreciate it.

At the end of February we removed to 10 Portland Place (as
was then called), Circus Road, St John's Wood. It was a queer
arranged house; we had the top floor and the basement, with
bath-room on the first floor, the ground floor and the rest of t
first floor being occupied by a firm of music-sellers. In the ba
ment was a very large and dark room, which we used for mea
and in which at first our tiny table and four chairs looked ve
desolate. On the top floor was one large room given over to
father's study, the other rooms being quite small. The libra
again outgrowing its bounds, in 1880 it descended to the s
larger room on the first floor, whence the books were sold after t
death of their owner in 1891.

At Circus Road my sister and I started housekeeping for
father, with one little servant much given to fainting. I w
appointed head cook to the establishment, and my father and sis
uncomplainingly devoted themselves to the task of swallowing
experiments in the culinary art. Never once, either while
cooked for him myself, or later when we ordered his dinners
him, do I remember my father grumbling at the food we set bef
him. His meals had to be punctual to the moment, or, if ask
for at an unaccustomed hour, they had to be promptly serve
if that was done, he was content with whatever was giv
him.

We had been only a few weeks at Circus Road when the n

tion of the Knowlton pamphlet was printed. Mr Bradlaugh s away in Scotland, and as Mrs Besant's mind was filled with idea of the possibility of a police raid and seizure of the stock, hid parcels of the pamphlet in every conceivable place. buried some by night in her garden, concealed some under floor, and others behind the cistern. When my father was ormed of this cleverness he was by no means pleased, and sent rd immediately that there should be no more hiding; and as n as he came home again the process began of finding as quickly possible these well-hidden treasures—some indeed so well den that they were not found till some time afterwards. He knew that a search was possible, but he had no wish to look remely ridiculous—to put it no more seriously—by parcels ng found in all these eccentric places.

When the Saturday came on which Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs ant attended at Stonecutter Street to sell the new edition of Knowlton pamphlet, my sister and I went with them: not to the book—that my father would not allow—but to help in the hanical work of counting out dozens or in giving change; for hough there had been no other advertisement than the one ouncement in the *National Reformer*, the crush of buyers in the le shop was enormous, and in the course of twenty minutes r 500 copies changed hands, in single copies or in small nbers. Several days elapsed between this formal sale and the st, but my father had told me that in the event of such an st I was immediately to go home and fetch his volumes of ssell "On Crime and Misdemeanours," while my sister was to ain with them to take any instructions at the moment. Mr dlaugh notified the police headquarters that he and Mrs Besant ld attend at 28 Stonecutter Street from 10 to 11 A.M. for the venience of the arrest. The police accordingly made their earance promptly at ten o'clock one morning; I flew off to St n's Wood, collected the great books, and caught the next train he city. It was a warm morning, I was hot with running, and ious, for I rather think that I had some sort of notion that ussell" was a sort of golden key to unlock all legal difficulties. men in the train, going to their ordinary business, looked at me er curiously as I sat in the carriage closely hugging those three y red volumes (which would slip about on one another, for I not stayed to tie them together) on criminal procedure, of all

things for a girl of nineteen to be carrying about with her on
sunny April morning.

But my sister and I felt very, very lonely and very cold at hea
as we sat in the dreary Police Court at the Guildhall—I hardl
know how we got there—listening to cases of drunkenness
assault, and waiting, with a shudder of horror and disgust at th
thought, for our father and Mrs Besant to come and take the
places in that dock which we had seen occupied by some of th
lowest specimens of London low life. The time came for peop
to snatch what lunch they could get; and a kindly gentlem
with a slightly foreign accent came to us and wanted to take us
lunch. He knew us, for he was my father's very good friend, M
Joannes Swaagman, though we did not know him. However,
talked to us of our father, and found the way to persuade us,
we went with him; and I shall never forget the feeling
gratitude towards him, and the sensation of comfort we felt
seeing his friendly face and hearing his friendly voice. W
attended the first day's hearing at the Guildhall, but at our fathe
wish we were not afterwards present during the trying of the ca
either at the Guildhall or at Westminster. After they we
committed for trial Mr Bradlaugh proceeded to make his arran
ments for the conduct of his paper, and of his new business in case
a hostile verdict. The course he then took proves, as I have sa
in a startling way how utterly alone he felt at that moment—
ties were broken, new ones were not yet tested; to whom could
turn to help him in this emergency? There was no one but
daughters—girls with no experience, and in many ways you
for their years. But we might be ignorant, we might
stupid; still we loved him so well that we could not h
being absolutely faithful to any trust he might confide to us.
was apt to be more forward than my sister; she was nearly t
years my elder, but she was needlessly distrustful of herself,
so I was the one whom my father selected to instruct in
possible editorial duties. I sat with him, note-book in hand, w
fainting heart at the frightful prospect, and meekly took n
of all his wishes. I was then taken into the bank, introduced
the manager, and recorded my signature, for I was to be
financial agent also!

During the long hours of the four days' trial at Westmins
my sister and I used to walk up and down the great hall, watch

or any one to come out with any news of how the case was going
n. Melancholy figures we must have looked, nearly always alone,
ressed in black gowns—for our mother had died suddenly in the
idst of all this—and very frightened at heart at what might
appen. There was one person who used invariably to step out of
is way to speak to us as he passed up the great hall to his
lace in the House of Commons, and that was Joseph Biggar, the
Iember for Cavan. A little kindness at an hour such as this
akes an impression on the mind that nothing can efface, and my
ster and I never afterwards heard Mr Biggar's name mentioned
ithout recalling how he thus kindly went out of his way to say a
leasant word to a couple of girls miserably walking up and down
utside those Law Courts at Westminster. On the fourth day we
ere summoned inside the Court. The jury had retired, and every
ne was so sure of a verdict for the defence, that my father thought
e should like to hear it—for in spite of all his worries and
nxieties, he could yet think of us at such a moment. When the
erdict came it was a shock, the more so that until a few minutes
efore, when an idea of the truth somehow reached the Court,
favourable one had been anticipated.

On the first day (Monday) of the trial, in giving the history of
ne Knowlton pamphlet, Mrs Besant, as a matter of course,
entioned that it had been sold by Messrs Holyoake & Co.,
ying, "One of the firm is Mr George Jacob Holyoake, whose
ame is probably well known to you. The other is Austin
olyoake," and further, "from Mr Holyoake the book went into
e hands of a Mr C. Watts." On Wednesday, the third day, a
mmunication from Mr G. J. Holyoake appeared in the *Times*, in
hich he attempted to explain away his connection with the
mphlet, adding, moreover, that after the Bristol trial he advised
r Watts to discontinue its publication. As the only effect of
is letter could be to injure the defendants, it may be imagined
at my father did not take it as a very kindly act.* Indeed,

* From the time when Mr Holyoake refused to continue to publish "The Bible: what it is," there were several instances of a want of friendliness on his part towards Mr Bradlaugh, and sometimes—as at this trial and the Parliamentary struggle—these occurred at a most critical moment in my father's career. Mr Bradlaugh, of course, generally retaliated; but when the first vexation and anger had passed, he always showed himself willing to forget and forgive. One of the very first things he did on his

Mrs Besant put it that the letter was one "carefully calculated to prejudice the jury against us, and sent to the very paper with which one of our jurymen* was connected." As Mr Holyoake had been silent so long, "silent while he sold it, silent while he profited by the sale, would it have been too great an exercise of self-control," she asked, "if he had maintained his silence for two days longer?"

The next week my sister and I were with my father and Mrs Besant all day in Court when sentence was pronounced; but in spite of all our vague fears, I do not think we altogether realised what imprisonment could mean until the Judge pronounced the awful words. The whole Court seemed to fade away as I listened, and it needed the knowledge that my father relied upon me to do something for him to bring me to myself. I took his pocket-book from him as he had bidden me, and was with my sister mechanically following him from the Court when we were stopped by the Lord Chief Justice, his mild tones forming a contrast to the last sharply uttered words. It seemed, indeed, as though ages of agony had been lived through in those few minutes.

Apparently Sir Alexander Cockburn had been told of our waiting outside, and had noticed us in the Court, as afterwards some very kindly words which he had said of Mr Bradlaugh and ourselves were repeated to my father.

When, later on, Mrs Besant was directed by order of Sir George Jessel to give up her daughter, my father knew that Mr Besant's advisers would not lose a moment in claiming her. By his instructions we drove at once to Mrs Besant's house and carried off Mabel to Circus Road. We then took her by road to Willesden Junction Station, and there gave her into Mrs Besant's keeping as she was passing through on her way to fulfil a lecturing engage-

---

return from America in 1875 was one in an effort to buy an annuity for Mr Holyoake, who had been so prostrated by illness that at that time it was thought that he would not be capable of continuous work again. Notwithstanding old differences, some of which had been extremely and bitterly personal, my father joined in the appeal with the utmost heartiness, and expressed his vexation that the readers of the *National Reformer* had not been permitted to be amongst the earliest subscribers to the fund.

* Mr Arthur Walter, son of the principal proprietor of the *Times*, was on the jury.

ent at Manchester. Thus the poor mother was able to take er farewell of her child in peace, instead of having her torn om her arms at a moment's notice. Then when Mrs Besant's ealth gave way we nursed her through her illness, and went ith her to North Wales, where she rapidly regained her rength.

Up to the time of Mrs Besant's illness she used to ride with us gularly when time permitted, but after that she gave it up for a hile. I was never very strong, and one day the doctor had said me, "If you were a rich young lady, I should order you horse xercise," to which my father, who was with me, replied, "She is ot a rich young lady, doctor, but we will see what can be done." nd my riding, which was purely the outcome of fatherly love id a desire for his daughter's health, has been turned by some eople into a sort of crime against Mr Bradlaugh!

My sister cared very little about riding, so after Mrs Besant ve it up I used to go out alone, riding a little mare, Kathleen, hich Mrs Besant then kept at livery stables. As Kathleen had veral little peculiarities of temper, and I was accustomed to ride ite alone, I used to ride her in Regent's Park in the quiet of e morning. One snowy morning in March she bolted with e, and after a considerable run we fell together just within the arence Gate. I was carried insensible to the nearest doctor, and y sister was summoned by a passer-by who recognised me. r Bradlaugh had been lecturing in Scotland, and was travelling night so that he might reach London in time to be in the ppeal Court at half-past ten, where Mrs Besant was appealing ainst the decision of the Master of the Rolls. When he was ar home some one stopped my father's cab, and he came on at ce, to find me lying unconscious on the floor of the doctor's rlour. Nothing had been done for me; the doctor could not en say whether any bones were broken; his wife had indeed ought me a cup of tea, but of that I knew nothing. To make for any lack of attentions to my poor body, they turned their oughts to my sister's soul, and in the afternoon the doctor's wife rote to my sister that she would pray to her "Heavenly Father" at "in this great affliction you may be led to know Him as your viour and Comforter." If a Freethinker wrote to a Christian o was sick or in trouble that hell was a delusion and heaven a th, it would justly be considered an outrage, but the zealot has

two codes of morality—one for those who differ from him, an
another for himself.

It must have been very hard for my father that day in Court
three lectures the day before, travelling all night, and at home
daughter who, for aught he had been able before leaving to learn
to the contrary, might be dying or permanently injured.

April 1874 the preliminaries for a six nights' discussion tween Mr Bradlaugh and the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., were anged. It was to be held in the Bow and Bromley Institute, d to commence on the 20th of May. It will be remembered at Mr Grant was no novice in debate, and had in fact several nes previously met Mr Bradlaugh on the platform. These counters had been so unpleasant that my father quite shrank om any renewal of them, and the present debate was brought out mainly through the mediation of the Rev. A. J. Harrison, A. On the first three nights Mr Grant was to attack Secular-n, and Mr Bradlaugh to defend, and then Mr Bradlaugh was to ail Christianity, and Mr Grant defend. On the first evening e chair was taken by the Rev. Arthur Mursell, and Mr Grant as e opener had the opportunity to set the course of the debate, t so little did he realise his responsibilities that in his opening eech, almost indeed in his opening words, he fell back upon his l tactics of vulgar personalities, and this, of course, provoked ne reply from Mr Bradlaugh. On the second night the Rev. ewin Grant was perhaps not quite so bad, and my father for his rt had resolved to try and endure the taunts levelled against nself, and against those with whom he worked. With the rth night, when the chair was taken by the Rev. Mr Driffield, ctor of Bow, came Mr Bradlaugh's opportunity, and he made e most of it; this time he was the first speaker, and he opened e debate in a careful and closely reasoned speech, but unfortun-ly Mr Grant was not content to follow him. The *Eastern Post*, an article on the first four nights, remarked that if the Rev. ewin Grant was selected by the churchmen of the district, the oice did "no credit to their judgment." The writer went on to nt out that although Mr Grant had the advantage of being able prepare his speech for the first three nights, he did not show

himself capable of speaking with any sequence or coherence, h
instead he flung all sorts of opprobrious charges at Mr Bradlaug
and introduced the most trivial personalities, which had not th
remotest bearing upon the subject. "Mr Bradlaugh in his fir
speech gave his definition of Secularism, which ought to hav
furnished excellent material for criticism and debate; but hi
reverend opponent adhered to the system of personal disparag
ment, and at last Mr Bradlaugh retaliated. . . . Things improve
somewhat on the fourth night, but this was perhaps due to th
fact that the exponent of Secularism led the debate."* Thi
from the pen of an outsider, will serve to show the impressio
produced upon those who listened to the speeches. The chairma
of the committee of the Bow and Bromley Institute waited upo
Mr Bradlaugh after the first night, and told him in the presenc
of the Rev. Mr Schnadhorst (one of Mr Grant's committee) th
in consequence of Mr Grant's conduct they had received a requis
tion, in which clergymen had joined, asking them to put an end
the debate.

On the fifth night the North London Railway Company,
whom the Institute belonged, stepped in and closed the hall ju
as the people were assembling to go in. As there was no prop
legal agreement for the hire of the hall, there was no redres
There had been no notice of the closing of the hall, hence M
Bradlaugh and Mr Grant, the chairman and the committees, we
all in attendance at the Bow and Bromley Institute, as well as th
audience who had paid their money to hear the debate. It w
decided, on taking a vote of those present, to adjourn to th
nearest available place and finish the debate there. The Cl
Hall grounds were suggested, and there is an amusing account
Mr Bradlaugh proceeding to this place followed by the audienc
who were considerably added to from the general public *en rou*
The proprietor was at first rather alarmed at the advent of such
besieging party, but a reassurance from Mr Bradlaugh and a pa
ment in advance soon calmed his fears. Mr Grant, however, f
reasons best known to himself, did not come to Clay Ha
although the Revs. A. Mursell, W. Schnadhorst, S. Bardsley, a
W. Loveridge came, as well as other friends of Mr Grant. Mr
D. Conway, who was to have taken the chair, also followed t

* *Eastern Post.*

ty to the Clay Hall grounds, where he presided at the informal eting then held. The whole matter was discussed, and the dly words on both sides cleared away much of the ill feeling ich had grown up during the debate; and at the conclusion of meeting, in replying to the vote of thanks, Mr Conway said:—

GENTLEMEN,—I must say that I came to-night with a good deal of and apprehension. Though I accepted the invitation to preside at discussion, I did so in the interests of truth, and from my desire to note anything like honest discussion. When I read the debate as rted in the *National Reformer* for the first time, I thought that Bradlaugh seemed to resemble St Paul—that is, that he was fight- with beasts; and I came down with a great deal of apprehension there might be scenes that were not decorous. I quite felicitate and myself that instead of that, and instead of such recriminations, happen to be in the presence of gentlemen on both sides who have cated so much fairness and so much fine spirit. I will say for istians, that if what has been levelled at Mr Bradlaugh, as it seems ne, has conveyed any impression against the Christian religion, as aps it has to some minds, the extremely gentlemanly discourse of e of the Christians we have had here to-night is calculated to recall ."

Ir Mursell spoke to Mr Bradlaugh as to fresh arrangements, Mr Bradlaugh had never wanted to meet Mr Grant, and now ld only do so if a dozen clergymen put him forward as their esentative; "then, and then only," he said, he would meet him, t as Mr Grant, but as the representative of those dozen gymen." For his part, he would be no party to doing anything ntarily towards renewing such scenes as they had just had. nge as it must seem to any one who has read the pages of these ates, Mr Grant found fifteen clergymen willing to vouch for him fit and proper person to represent their views on Christianity, another (and happily, final) debate was arranged for the wing year. My father, in order to show that he did not sure all clergymen by Mr Grant's inches, selected Mr Mursell epresent him in the preliminary arrangements, just as on the ious occasion he had consented to abide by the decision of the A. J. Harrison. The debate was to be held on one night in week for six weeks,* and by securing South Place Chapel as

* June and July 1875.

the building in which it should be held the Committee w
ensured against the possibility of intolerant proprietors closing
doors of the hall upon them in the midst of the discussion.
subject to be argued as chosen by the Committee was, "Is Athei
or is Christianity, the true Secular Gospel, as tending to the impro
ment and happiness of mankind in this life, by human effo
and material means?" Mr Grant was to lead on the first th
nights, with objections to show that Atheism was not the t
Secular Gospel. Mr Bradlaugh on the remaining three nig
was to show thatChristianity was not the true Secular Gos
As might have been expected, this debate was only a modif
repetition of what took place on the previous occasion; Mr Gr
was certainly less free of speech, but with all that he co
not keep clear of personal accusations and epithets which
times provoked much unseemly uproar and confusion.

Much has been said at one time or another about
Bradlaugh's adoption of the views of Spinoza, and to leave
position perfectly clear on that head I will quote the words
himself used in answer to his opponent on the third night of t
debate. "It is perfectly true," he said, "that the argument as
one existence was adopted from Spinoza. . . . The precise
tinction between the views of Spinoza and myself is this: Spin
contended for the infinite attributes of extension and intellige
I cannot conceive the possibility of attributes, except as
characteristics of the thing conditioned, the mode thought, a
therefore, cannot conceive infinite attributes at all. Spinoza h
one existence, which, to him having infinite intelligence, made
a Pantheist; and I, not able to conceive that, stand to Spinoz
the relation of Atheist, and that is just the distinction betw
my thought and that of Spinoza."

On the fourth night the Rev. A. Mursell took the chair,
made kindly acknowledgment of the uniform courtesy he had
through received from Mr Bradlaugh. On this, and for
remaining nights, my father, according to the arrangements,
the debate. On each occasion his opening speech was caref
prepared, and was listened to with the most profound attenti
but although a man may "lead" a debate, he cannot compel
antagonist to follow, and on the fifth night the Rev. Brewin G
actually brought a manuscript prepared beforehand, which, un
by the merest coincidence, could obviously be no kind of repl

rguments Mr Bradlaugh was advancing. This MS. he read quickly, and often almost inaudibly, and again his conduct ted in uproar and confusion. At the conclusion of Mr Brad-'s final speech, although there was still one to come from the Brewin Grant, the audience had become so incensed with gentleman that the majority determined to leave. Mr Grant upon bent down to his own reporter, and read to him from IS. quickly and in a low tone of voice. As it was impossible gue upon propositions which he could not hear, Mr Bradlaugh ose and left the building. On the sixth and last night Mr . Conway occupied the chair. At the very outset consider-confusion was caused by Mr Grant's demand that some rules d be read from a book which Mr Bradlaugh objected to as rect and unauthorised. At length the chairman settled the r by saying to Mr Grant, "If you can give me the Divine ority for the infallibility of this little volume, I will read it When Mr Bradlaugh sat down after his last speech, he had ved the audience that they called for three cheers for him; e begged them, if they thought he deserved praise, to show remaining perfectly quiet during the fifteen minutes that Mr had still to address them. His hearers responded to his l, and listened mutely to the end.

few words from a speech delivered by the Rev. Arthur ell, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in the spring of the ing year,* give some insight into the impression Mr Brad-'s eloquence produced, even under such difficult circumstances se of a debate with Mr Grant. Said Mr Mursell:—

am indebted to one whom the world calls an Atheist, and who s the designation, but whom, in social intimacy, I would rather y friend than thousands of the Christians whom I know; a man while casting doubt upon Him I call my Master, has shown more spirit in the practical intercourse of life, as far as I know it, than a champion of orthodoxy; a man of honest, though religiously ited creed, and eloquent tongue; to such a man I am indebted stimulus to fervour in the cause of what I deem the vital truth, prompts me to attempt to press it home with emphasis upon you In public debate upon the principles of Christianity which he d, he closed a speech, smarting under what he deemed the too t satire of his antagonist, in words something like these:—'If I

* April 23rd, 1876.

believed in a God, which I do not; if I believed in a hell to be esc
which I do not; if I believed in a heaven to be won, which I do
do you imagine I could allow myself to rack my brain in coinin
paltry jests of a buffoon, and tickling the groundlings' ears with
and quirks? No! I would exhaust the logic of my brain, and
passion of my heart, in seeking to convince and persuade mankind
they might shun the one and gain the other, and try to seal a testi
which should be worthy of my conscience and my creed.' I felt
demned at my own apathy, as the eloquent sceptic lifted before m
standard of fidelity."

The debate held ten months later with Mr Walter R. Bro
M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is both pleasant
instructive reading. The question discussed was, "Can mir
be proved possible?" and the debate arose out of some lec
upon the subject of Miracles, delivered a little while befor
Mr Browne in Leeds. The discussion was held in the A
Hall, Leeds, on two evenings in April 1876. The Mayor (A
man Croft) presided at the request of the Vicar of Leeds, an
both evenings there was a large audience of earnest and or
people, who gave the closest attention to the whole proceed
The report is pleasant reading, because one sees the undou
intention on the part of each disputant to make his position
to the other and to the audience; that he was influenced b
mere desire to catch the other tripping for the sake of a mom
applause. The moods of disputants and auditors seeme
complete harmony, and throughout there was not the slig
sign of disturbance or disorder. Mr Browne at the outset expr
his small confidence in the utility of public debates as a mea
arriving at truth, and thought they were of little advantage e
to the debaters or to the audience; but Mr Bradlaugh met th
remarking that he thought "that every objection which appli
a debate in public between two persons, applies with equal, i
greater, force to an *ex parte* statement made by one person in p
and that the mere delivery of controversial lectures upon s
subject necessitates that the person delivering the controv
lecture should be prepared to recognise at least as much u
in the clashing of his thought publicly with another m
disagreeing with him, as in the mere utterance of his
thought where there is no one to check it at the moment."

The instructive character of the debate does not lie in

te conclusion which might be arrived at by a reader in doubt the possibility or impossibility of miracles, but rather in a ation of the difficulty two capable men with different points ew may have in settling upon a common meaning for n words. In Mr Browne's first speech he defined a miracle "a supernatural marvel wrought by God," but this was a tion upon which they could not agree, because Mr Browne l not accept Mr Bradlaugh's meaning for "nature," as "the ty of all phenomena," and as equivalent to the word "exist-," or the word "universe," nor would he himself define ," for that, he said, was "beyond definition." The meaning e words "force" and "creation," the idea of "perception," octrine of "free-will," and the existence of evil, all proved olingblocks to the smooth course of the debate; but as Mr ne truly said in his concluding speech on the first evening, it was true that they had not at that time advanced very the argument, it was better to make the ground sure as went along than to attempt too much before their conceptions clear. Some of Mr Browne's arguments were, for a trained er and debater, amazingly feeble. For example, his objection Bradlaugh's definition of the word "nature" was founded "the simple reason that such words as 'supernatural,' 'pre-ural,' and 'unnatural,' are certainly used amongst us," and it ot seem to have occurred to him that these might be merely ces of a popular misuse of words. He also thought that the ican War, which resulted in the abolition of slavery, showed lusively that there was a God who governs the world;" in ase his mind seemed to dwell only on the one fact of the ion of slavery, and to ignore the waste of human life and orrors of the war as well as the prior fact of the slavery

Bradlaugh has often been accused of talking about the nowable," but a passage from this debate will show in what he used the word—if, indeed, he ever did use it. Refer-o the allegation of creation, he said: "To me creation is a without meaning; I only know creation in relation to change. not mean by it origination of substance; I only mean change dition. I do not mean the bringing into being that which was only mean the conditioning existence by characteristics by I had not hitherto conditioned it. I cannot conceive the

possibility of a period when existence was less than it is
I do not mean that because I cannot conceive it, therefore
not true. But I do mean that, as I cannot conceive it, you
say you can are bound to give me your conception of it. U
stand me clearly, I do not put any such monstrous propositio
this debate as that the inconceivable is therefore the untru
that because a position is inconceivable to me, therefore I ha
right to call on all other men to reject it. But I do put it,
you have no right to call upon me to accept any position whi
inconceivable to me; that you are bound to tell me how
conceive it before you have a right to ask me to accept that
possible." I do not remember to have heard Mr Bradlaugh s
of the "unknowable;" and that he should use such a term is
contrary to the whole of my experience of his careful metho
speech. In any case the above will serve to show that he w
not be likely to put "any such monstrous proposition," as tha
to him "unknowable" was therefore unknowable to men
wider means of knowledge.

In June of the same year Mr Bradlaugh held a debate
Mr Robert Roberts, a leader of a sect called the Christadelph
He had challenged Mr Bradlaugh to the discussion, and the su
selected was, "Are the Scriptures the Authentic and Rel
Records of Divine Revelation?" The question was to be ar
for six nights, two at Leicester and four at Birmingham. Aft
two nights at Leicester Mr Bradlaugh avowed his disappointm
he had hoped that at any rate the discussion would bring out
new thought, but after two evenings' experience, he do
whether that result would be attained. "He may be a
preacher," said my father; "he is most certainly not a good
putant." At Leicester the audience were small; at Birmin
they were larger, but the debate does not seem to have been
more enlightening. Mr Roberts was described by one o
Birmingham auditors as "a man of considerable fluency of sp
and overflowing with religious enthusiasm," and also "i
respects a courteous gentleman," but unfortunately those qu
did not make him a debater. On each evening a quarter
hour was occupied by each disputant in questioning his anta
according to the Socratic method, and this feature of the pr
ings seemed specially to attract the audience, although i

nust require considerable practice and skill before it can be cessfully carried out. Mr Roberts challenged Mr Bradlaugh further debate, but this the latter felt obliged to respect- y decline on the ground of the challenger's "utter incom- ency."

a few days later Mr Bradlaugh was at Liverpool discussing the essity for disestablishing and disendowing the State Church. antagonist was Mr William Simpson, the working men's lidate at Liverpool at the general election of 1874. The cert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, was densely packed, and it was that there were thousands unable to obtain admission. The uments were closely followed by those present, and although e was no sort of disturbance, the audience were sufficiently ted to give audible expression to their appreciation or pproval, and such interruptions were generally met by a sharp rtee from the speaker of the moment.

Ir Simpson, while praised for his fluency, courage, and urce, was not thought equal to his task,* and in reading the batim report of the debate, one is drawn to the conclusion he scored his greatest successes when making his greatest s.

My father had an unusual number of debates this year, and a e later in the summer was at Darlington discussing with a Mr I. Gordon on the question of "Atheism, is it rational?" The eeds, after paying expenses, were given to the Darlington pital. There was no shorthand report, but in an article very ile to Mr Bradlaugh which appeared in a local paper, there is a ription of him well worth reproducing. The writer professed ink that my father's Atheism—which he said, with that calm rance born of ignorance, paid him well "in money and fied vanity"—was not a matter of conviction, but merely the t of a desire to be in opposition to the majority. He further ured to prophesy that in Parliament he would be a failure.†

Liverpool Post.

† 'At the Bar he would be a bully, in the pulpit a passing sensation, on tage a passion-tearing Othello, in the Press a competent American . in Parliament a failure."

The following portrait of Mr Bradlaugh sketched by a pen unfriendly, is a singular testimony to his power :—

"Mr Bradlaugh is a tall, muscular man, who stands firm on his leg with broad shoulders, between which is a massive, square, powerf head. He dresses in plain black, relieved only by an ordinary displ of linen, and a slender watch chain. He is closely shaven as a Rom priest. His features are large and open, his eyes are of a grayish hu and his hair, which is fast turning gray, falls back from a brow which intelligence, perception, and power are strongly marked. H has a face which can be very pleasing and very stern, but which co ceals the emotion at will. As he sits listening to the denunciations his opponent the smile of incredulity, the look of astonishment, t cloud of anger, pass quickly over his countenance. Rising from h seat, and resting one hand upon the table, he commences very quiet in a voice which, until the ear is accustomed to it, sounds unpleasa and harsh, but which, when it becomes stronger, loses much of its twan and sounds almost musical. His enunciation is singularly distinct, n one word being lost by the audience. He addresses himself to all pa of the house—gallery as well as body. When warmed by his subje he advances to the centre of the platform, and looking his audience f in the face, and with right hand emphasizing every important senten he expresses himself in tones so commanding and words so distin that his hearers may be hostile or friendly, but cannot be indiffere One may retire horrified at his sentiments, even disgusted at irreverence and audacity — from a Christian's standpoint — but one would go to sleep under him. He can be complimentary a humorous, but is more at home in sarcasm and denunciation. He never ponderous; nevertheless, the grave suits him better than the g Cheering does not seem to affect him, though he is by no mea indifferent to it; but he is quick to perceive disapproval, and is m powerful when most loudly hissed. With head erect, face colou with a flush which has in it a little of defiance as well as earnestne now emphasising with his right hand, now with folded arms, n joining the tips of his fingers as if to indicate the closeness of reasoning, as he would have the audience believe it, he stands defy opposition, even going out of his way to increase it, and revelling in Ishmaelism."

Then, comparing him with his opponent :—

"Mr Bradlaugh has not much action, but what he has is dignified, wh Mr Gordon's never is. He can be severe, even harsh, but never petul and peevish, which Mr Gordon frequently is. Mr Bradlaugh may abuse opponent, but it is boldly, not like a bad-tempered school-girl. He ca pleasant, but never assumes the grimaces and gestures of a Merry Andr

s features are expressive, but he never pulls faces. He is essentially a ong man, strong in his language and his oratory, self-sustained, bold the way he meets and even avoids the topic of dispute." *

There are, of course, some phrases in this description which I uld contravene, but apart from these, it is a most vivid l lifelike picture of my father as a speaker. It is, however, nistake to suppose that Mr Bradlaugh wantonly went out his way to increase opposition, or revelled in his "Ishmael- ;" what is quite true is, that if in pursuing the path he l marked out for himself he increased opposition, he went just the same, and did not turn away by so much as a hair's- adth to avoid it. At heart he might be bitterly wounded, but t did not make him falter. To take, for example, one of the st cases: when his attitude on the Employers' Liability Bill voked such a storm of opposition from the very men for whom worked, he wrote pathetically to a friend: "It is a little dening to me to find that in the close of my life I am to be arded as doing disservice to the men whom I desire to serve." although he felt the men's distrust thus keenly, he did not itate nor turn from his course.

Nor did he revel in his "Ishmaelism;" he had no pride in being outcast, neither had he any shame in it; the shame of his ition was not his, it was theirs who thrust him into it. It ws a complete lack of appreciation of the facts to suggest that nan like Mr Bradlaugh could delight in being regarded as a of moral leper by his fellow-men, who indeed neglected no ans to exclude him and his from society.

have noticed these two points because it has been a common r to assume that because my father did not quail before opposi- , therefore he courted it, and that because he was not ashamed en the law said, "You are an Atheist, and as such you are side our protection," therefore he rejoiced in being so distin- shed. Both assumptions are equally and entirely without ndation.

n the same year also Mr Bradlaugh held a written discussion n the Rev. John Lightfoot, of Wolverhampton, on the subject of rnal Torment. This controversy consisted of four letters from

* From the *Darlington and Stockton Times*.

each disputant, and was printed in the *National Reformer;* it
afterwards issued in pamphlet form, and is still obtainable.

In 1877 he had too much work to allow him to ind
in public discussions on theological subjects, but in 1
he held a debate with the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, a Unita
minister much respected in Nottingham. This encounter was
result of a lecture given by Mr Bradlaugh in Nottingham
defence of Atheism, and as a reply to some lectures delivered
Professor Max Müller under the Hibbert Trust. Mr Armstr
offered some opposition at the close of Mr Bradlaugh's address,
a debate was suggested. Nothing further was said at the ti
but the local Secular Society took the matter up, and pressed
Armstrong in such "courteous and earnest terms," that after
sultation with his friends, he agreed to accept the challenge.
subject selected for discussion was, "Is it reasonable to wor
God?" and the time appointed was the 5th and 6th of Septem
The debate was a great success, not indeed as furnishing
audience with a cut-and-dried answer "Yes" or "No" to
question argued by the disputants—a result rarely, if e
attained—but both sides of the question were put forward wit
calm and serious earnestness which must have been very plea
to listen to. Mr G. B. Rothera made an admirably impa
chairman, and the audience, which crowded every corner of
Co-operative Hall long before the hour fixed for commencem
listened throughout with close and appreciative attention.

On the morning of the 5th Mr Bradlaugh had gone earl
Coldbath Fields Prison to attend the release of Edward True
from his six months' imprisonment in defence of a free press.
had been a dull, close morning, damp with the rain which had
long ceased falling; inside the gaol the chaplain, not seeing
father and Mr Truelove's son, had sneered at the crowd of
thinkers waiting in the damp and gloomy street without;
sneered, too, at the Freethinker, the prisoner, within, whose
might have been his protection. This was a sorry preparatio
debate, but when the evening was over my father said, "I
London in no mood for debating. Coldbath Fields atmosp
hung about me all day, but the debate, as far as the first nigh
gone, is the most pleasant one in which I have ever taken par

The discussion was afterwards republished as a pamphle
which Mr Armstrong added, by invitation, a few prefatory w

ng his reasons for taking part in it, and suggesting books
study to those who wished to learn more of the positive
ument for Theism and Worship.

The last debate in which Mr Bradlaugh took part prior to 1880
one in the early part of March 1879, with the Rev. W. M.
sterby, a Congregational minister of Burnley. The subject
ed upon, and worded by Mr Westerby, was, "Has, or is, man a
?" The chair was taken on each of the two evenings by the
. R. Littlehales, Baptist minister, and the audiences were large
orderly. "The Rev. R. Littlehales was thoroughly impartial,"
Mr Bradlaugh, "quite doing his duty, but scarcely saying a
l that was not absolutely necessary." Of his opponent Mr
sterby, he spoke as "an able speaker, with considerable tact
judgment, and showing the utmost courtesy." The proceeds
e given to the Blackburn and East Lancashire Infirmary, with-
any deduction for the expenses of the disputants. That was
very well as far as Mr Westerby was concerned, for the
ussion took place in his own town; but Mr Bradlaugh had to
ney from London to Burnley at his own cost, and pay his own
l expenses. This heavy tax he rightly regarded as unreasonable,
such as should not have been demanded of him, nevertheless
hought the result was worth the sacrifice, and was glad he had
e it. Indeed, this debate is regarded by many as one of the
in which Mr Bradlaugh ever took part. Amongst them, the
nley and Preston papers gave about thirty-five columns of
rt; leading articles were written and sermons were preached
n the subject, and in that part of Lancashire, at least, the
ments were pretty thoroughly discussed. A verbatim report
published,* and in that and in a little pamphlet† issued many
s before this discussion, Mr Bradlaugh's position on the question
ne "soul" is fully set out.

Has, or is, Man a Soul?" Two nights' debate with Rev. W. M. Westerby.
Has Man a Soul?" Theological Essays by C. Bradlaugh, vol. i.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME LATER LECTURES.

Mr Bradlaugh addressed an audience in Oxford for the first
early in May 1875, when he spoke upon the subject of "I
and Labour." Some difficulty had been made as to the us
the Town Hall, and a smaller hall, known as the Holywell M
Room, was engaged. A number of undergraduates put in
appearance, but as Mr A. R. Cluer, who was also present, obser
it was evident that they had come "more with the intentio
attempting to interrupt than to listen quietly. But after the
few sallies of undergraduate wit had been effectively met
replied to by Mr Bradlaugh, in which encounters the laugh al
remained on his side, the audience was tolerably peaceful."
Oxford papers gave their different versions of the lecture, but
all joined in the announcement that the chairman was a swee
trade, whereat my father immediately wrote, "If Mr Hines is
ashamed to again preside for me, I shall be glad to ask him to
the chair at my next meeting." The "next meeting" foll
close on the heels of the first, for on the 26th Mr Bradlaugh
again in Oxford, speaking in a room crowded to excess, upon
subject of "One Hundred Years of Tory Rule." The majorit
the audience was composed of undergraduates, and the interru
kept up by these gentlemen in embryo was so continuous tha
complete sentence was almost impossible." Appeals to the
sense and decency of the audience were in vain; cigars and
were lit and smoked; shouts, yells, hisses, and insulting rem
were continued throughout the lecture. One of the most prom
of the disturbers was said to be Lord Lymington, son of the
of Portsmouth, who not only himself misbehaved, but also en
aged others to do likewise. In January 1877 my father was
more in Oxford, lecturing this time in the Town Hall. Again
undergraduates mustered for a disturbance, and at one time,

wnsman was knocked down by a gownsman, it seemed as gh a general *melée* was imminent.* This time, however, ness and good temper brought all things right, and the lecture allowed to come to a peaceful termination. It was succeeded a sharp fire of questions, enjoyed no less by the person tioned than by the questioners.

subject which Mr Bradlaugh lectured upon very much in 1876, ially during the early part of the year, was the Suez Canal. ad only just returned from America when he learned privately ie purchase by the English Government of the Viceroy of t's shares in the Suez Canal. Ill as he was—he was just alescent from typhoid fever—he at once gave a lecture sting against the purchase, a protest in which for some time ood quite alone. He wrote a stirring article asking, "Why d the people of England pay £4,000,000 to the Viceroy of t?" and he lectured against the purchase week after week. About or five weeks later others also began to protest. Sir Geo. bell, M.P., in the the *Fortnightly Review*, was one of the to take ground against the Government. Inspired by Mr augh, resolutions of protest were passed in different parts e country, and so thoroughly did public opinion change that e end of March the *Standard* itself was corroborating state- s my father had made early in January.

amusing circumstance happened at Darwen when Mr augh was lecturing there in the summer of 1876. A h Christian challenged him to pay a visit of consola- to an old bed-ridden woman named Peggy Jepson, and d him a sovereign if he would go. Amidst much laughter heering, he took the sovereign, and carried it straight to d woman, who was of course surprised and delighted beyond ure with the unexpected gift; this was a form of "consolation" met with her decided approval. Not so with the Christian nger, however. He was so irritated that he threatened

* though the lecture was purely political, the subject being "National on," the *Oxford Times* attempted to justify this rowdyism by saying, an who identifies himself with a creed which denies the doctrine of and punishment in the future life cannot reasonably expect toleration

Mr Bradlaugh with County Court proceedings for the return
his pound.

At the end of September in this year my father and
Besant had been invited to lecture at Congleton on two success
evenings, and to be the guests of Mr and Mrs Wolstenho
Elmy, at Buglawton, during their stay. The Town Hall hav
been refused for their lectures, the Salford Mill, an old silk m
was engaged. Mr Bradlaugh spoke the first evening on "The ri
to speak and the right to think," but a certain section of
inhabitants of Congleton thought so little of these rights t
they kept up a perpetual din outside the mill, and smashed
windows by throwing stones. While the attention of those
the platform was distracted by the removal of a little child ou
reach of the falling glass, some coward threw something at
Besant, striking her a severe blow on the back of her he
After the lecture the little party had a mile and a half to w
to Buglawton, which they did accompanied by a noisy cro
which alternately used language of opprobrium and sang "S
in the arms of Jesus." When the escort got too demonstra
Mr Bradlaugh and Mr Elmy turned about and faced them,
then, like sheep, the crowd turned about too. A woman
struck full in the face by a Methodist shoemaker, whom she
detected in the act of throwing mud and had reproved. At
house the crowd remained yelling outside until midnight.
if Monday (the first night) was bad, Tuesday was worse, beca
the rioting was more organised. For two hours before the lec
a crowd assembled in front of Mr Elmy's gate, hooting imparti
every one seen entering or leaving the house. A cab had b
engaged to drive to the mill where Mrs Besant was to lect
although she was still suffering from the hurt of the evening bef
and as they got into the vehicle a volley of stones was thro
but fortunately no one was hurt. During the lecture eight per
came in together, and it was soon evident that a thoro
disturbance was planned. One of the new-comers shouted, "
her out," and as this seemed the signal for a fight, my fa
said sternly that the next one who interrupted should be put
A man named Burbery, a local tradesman and well-known wres
who boasted his prize cups, invited Mr Bradlaugh to make
attempt upon him. My father saw that if the lecture was t

something must be done, and that quickly, so he descended
n the platform, and laying hands upon the champion, after
hort struggle ejected him, and handed him over to the charge
he police outside. The audience inside cheered and hooted;
crowd outside yelled and threw stones—one of which,
king Mrs Elmy, cut her severely over the right eye. The
tement subsided in a few minutes, however, and the lecture
cluded, and discussion was held in perfect quiet and order.
attempt was made at Mr Elmy's house to repeat the scene
he night before, but my father and his host went out, and at
th succeeded in frightening the disturbers away.

was myself present on one occasion when Mr Bradlaugh had
self to put some rufflers out of a hall in Newman Street, London.
June 1877 a meeting on the Population question was held at
bridge Hall, and was attended by a number of medical
ents from, I believe, the Middlesex Hospital. There was a
ded meeting, and there were, in addition to my father, several
kers, both men and women. Several of the medical students
p to move amendments, and in the midst of a very coarse speech
ne of them, some of his friends at the side commenced to
ish thick sticks, and emphasize their opinions by bringing
e same sticks into contact with the heads of the peaceful
bers of the audience. A general fight seemed imminent, when
Bradlaugh in commanding tones requested every one to keep his
and himself going up to the ringleaders, seized three of them
eir collars—two in one hand and one in the other—and partly
ing, partly pushing them down the hall, cast them out of the
amidst cheers of delight from the audience.* The students
remained ventured on no more disturbance, and the meeting
eeded in peace and order.

---

r Nichols had an amusing article on this meeting in the *Living Age*.
juvenile sawbones," he said, "climbed upon the platform and moved
amendments with admirable audacity. They had not much to say, and
did not know how to say what they had thought of saying; but they
ed the breach bravely enough for all that. And the Malthusian
ty behaved very well—much better than English audiences usually do
there is opposition. In the sudden charge that swept the forlorn hope
the fortress, it looked for a few moments as if there might be a case
e coroner, but Mr Bradlaugh's disciples were mindful of his teachings."

In the autumns of 1877 and 1878 Mr Bradlaugh took my sis and me with him on a lecturing tour he was making in Scotla with Mrs Besant. These tours were a sort of combination work and holiday, in which the work was to pay for the holid and they were both greatly enjoyed by us all. We went as north as Aberdeen, and came south as far as Hawick. In seve of the towns we visited—notably at Perth and Edinburgh—found kind and hearty friends equally eager to make the holic part of our visit as great a success as the work itself.

The arrangements were all well made, and it was not until t second visit that any serious hitch arose, and that came unexpected at Edinburgh. In 1877 Professor Flint had delivered a series lectures on "Theism," under the auspices of the Baird Truste My father wrote some replies to them, and on sending the first Professor Flint he received this kindly letter in acknowledgment:

"Johnstone Lodge, Craigmillar Park,
"Edinburgh, December 25th, 1877.

"SIR,—I thank you kindly for sending me a copy of the *Natio Reformer* for December 23rd. I shall read with interest any criticis you may be pleased to make on my book on 'Theism,' and I sh endeavour to answer them in a note or notes to the volume on 'A theistic Theories,' a copy of which will be forwarded to you. I reg that my time will not allow me to do more than this.—Thanking y sincerely for your personal courtesy towards me, from whose views y so thoroughly dissent, I am, Sir, yours very truly, R. FLINT

"C. BRADLAUGH."

In the autumn of 1878 Mr Bradlaugh determined to take one Professor Flint's lectures, "Is belief in God reasonable?" and ma some reply to it from an Edinburgh platform. The Music H was duly engaged, the lectures were advertised for the 26 and 27th of September, and everything promised successful me ings both for himself and for Mrs Besant. On the 23rd, howev the directors of the hall cancelled the hiring. As Mrs Besa subject was "Christianity: Immoral in Theory and Demoralis in Practice," it was thought at the outset that the refusal was her account, but a special mention of the subject of Mr Bradlaug lecture in the letter written by the directors contradicted t impression. The Edinburgh Freethinkers were indignant; th sought legal advice, but found they had no redress. Profes

int's lectures had been largely attended and fully reported in e Scotch papers, but of course he had argued in the affirmative. ne Committee who had arranged the lectures for Mr Bradlaugh d Mrs Besant then went to the Artillery Hall, and explained all e circumstances; the hall was then hired and paid for, but on the ne afternoon the hall-keeper returned the money, saying that the oprietors would not let it for the purposes required, and further, at he was instructed to have the place "guarded by police" on e Thursday and Friday evenings. Many fruitless attempts were de to obtain a hall. On Thursday Mrs Besant's lecture had to abandoned, and we went to the theatre instead, whilst a large mber of persons, who had not seen the notices of postponement, embled at the Artillery Hall. The Society of Arts Hall was ained for Friday, and when this was known, much pressure s put upon the proprietors to rescind their contract; they held until the afternoon, then they also gave way and refused the l, and when the audience came in the evening they found the ors locked and the place under police protection. At last Mr adlaugh wrote to Professor Flint, shortly stating the case, and pealing to his sense of fair play to aid him in procuring a tform in Edinburgh where he might reply to his arguments. this letter he received the following reply:—

"Edinburgh, September 30, 1878.

SIR,—It appears to me that you have very good reason to complain the injustice of the persons who, after granting you the use of their ls, cancelled their contracts. I sincerely regret the treatment you e met with in Edinburgh in this respect. I have no influence, vever, with the directors of public halls in this city, and therefore not do more than assure you that I cordially wish you the fullest erty you can desire to discuss and criticise my lectures on Theism. e more freely the grounds of religious belief are examined from all nts of view the better.—I am, etc. R. FLINT."

One immediate outcome of this exhibition of intolerance was an r, publicly made and advertised in the *Scotsman*, of a sum of 00 towards the building of a hall in which free discussion might neld.

Mr Bradlaugh lectured many times in Edinburgh both before and r this date, but, as far as I am aware, this is the only time on ch he had any difficulty about obtaining a hall to speak in.

Many Scarborough people will recall the fuss made over
Bradlaugh's lecture there in the Old Town Hall on "Eternal Ho
and Eternal Torment" in April 1879. A protest, signed by nea
every clergyman in the borough, was sent to the Corporation. Th
Mr Bradlaugh should lecture in a public building belonging
the town was, said these intolerant clerics, "a public scanda
and "a most serious outrage upon the convictions of the ra
payers." The Mayor moved that this protest be entered up
the Minutes, but there were only five votes in favour of h
motion, and it was therefore rejected. My father lectured
Scarborough in 1882 on "Perpetual Pensions," and was to ha
lectured there again in 1889, but this engagement had to
cancelled in consequence of his serious illness.

CHAPTER VII.

LUNATICS.

SUPPOSE that all public men are more or less troubled with natic correspondents and lunatic visitors, so that in this respect r Bradlaugh was in no way singular; but perhaps they gave n more trouble than most men because he was so easy of access. ny one who wished to see him had only to knock at the door, ask, and to be admitted if my father were at home.

Letters from insane persons were of constant occurrence, but ey were soon disposed of—the wastepaper basket was large and s always at hand. There was one man, however, who wrote r father daily for years; indeed, sometimes he would write twice a day. His letters were without coherence, written on scraps paper of all shapes and sizes, and I do not remember that he er gave either his name or his address.

But if there was the ever-hospitable wastepaper basket ready receive a lunatic's letters, a lunatic visitor needed to be treated re discreetly. This was especially the case at Turner Street, ere the room was small, and there was not much space in which move about. When a visitor called he was usually requested be seated at the side of the writing-table opposite my father. e chairs were few, and if the visitors were many, some had sit on piles of books or pamphlets.

One day a man called at Turner Street, and was asked to sit vn in the customary way. My father inquired his business, l without going much into detail the visitor explained, with a er, uncertain look in his eyes, that he had "a mission from d" to kill him; and thereupon he drew out a formidable-king knife. Mr Bradlaugh examined the man's face, and saw t it was no foolish hoax being played upon him. There was quiet determination about his would-be murderer that was thing but reassuring.

The chair in which my father always sat was an old-fashione high-backed oaken chair, with arms, and from the back at th right hand hung, suspended by a strap, his heavy Colt's revolve between himself and the lunatic was the small writing-tabl 27 inches wide. My father carefully felt behind him unt he felt the revolver under his fingers, and then he quietly aske the man if he was quite sure that God had given him this missio Yes, the man said; he was "quite sure." "Have you consulte any one about it?" "No," was the reply. "Don't you thin it would be better to do so?" gently insinuated Mr Bradlaugh "I should be inclined to talk it over with some one—with th Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance—were I in your plac You see it might be rather awkward afterwards if there shou happen to be any mistake about the matter."

This apparently was a view of the case which had not previousl occurred to the lunatic, but he promptly accepted it, and announce his determination to go to Lambeth Palace forthwith; and it wa with a perceptible feeling of relief that my father heard the stre door close upon his visitor. He knew that there was no dang to the Archbishop, as there was no probability of such a ma being allowed to see him.

Mr Bradlaugh had had a case a little before this of which th circumstances were rather peculiar. A man named John Slade came up from his home in Cheshire on Thursday, March 31s 1870, and in the evening he went to the New Hall of Scien in Old Street, where a social gathering was about to held to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the publication the *National Reformer*. Before the proceedings commenced, Jol Sladen made himself known to Mr Austin Holyoake, to who he was previously an entire stranger, and asked him if he cou speak with Mr Bradlaugh for a few minutes. Mr Holyoa introduced him to Mr Bradlaugh, who took him into a priva room. In the course of conversation Sladen informed my fath that he had determined to kill the Queen, giving as his chief reas (if my memory serves me) that she wanted to marry him. M Bradlaugh returned to Mr Holyoake, and explained the state affairs to him, and they both agreed that the police ought to informed, so my father went to the police station and saw t inspector, who sent an officer in plain clothes to the Hall. order to avoid any disturbance amongst the people present, Slad

s allowed to remain until ten o'clock, when, as Mr Holyoake d, the police officer "very adroitly got him away." Sladen was sensible on most matters that at first the police were disinclined believe in his madness, but before the night was out they had ore than sufficient proof. On the following morning Mr adlaugh telegraphed to Sladen's friends, and went himself to e police station to see that he was properly cared for. entually he was sent to Hanwell Asylum, and on the earliest portunity he wrote reproaching my father. Of course he did t think he was mad, and he told Mr Bradlaugh that as he had en the means of putting him in the Asylum, it was his duty get him out, or at any rate to send him papers to read. Later my father communicated with Dr Bayley, the physician to the ylum, who assured him that Sladen was not fit to be released, l that any political reading would be calculated to excite him l retard his cure. But a few years later I believe he was owed to have the *National Reformer*. My father never lost ht of him; he used to send to the Asylum to make enquiries, l Sladen also wrote to him occasionally; he always felt Sladen's be a sad case, and was oppressed by a feeling of responsibility the matter just because he was the one to hand him over to police. Of course there was a small public sensation about matter, which the newspapers did their best to fan into a big e at Mr Bradlaugh's expense. The east end of London was ted with large placards announcing "A Threat to murder the een at the New Hall of Science." * An evening paper † giving eport of the proceedings, told how Sladen "heard Mr Bradlaugh ture" at the Hall of Science, and *after the lecture* told Mr adlaugh of his determination to kill the Queen. The next rning this report was repeated, but with additional embellishnts. Now it was said that Sladen "went to hear a lecture by Bradlaugh, and soon afterwards burst into threats of such lence towards Her Majesty that he was taken into custody as a gerous lunatic." ‡ That there was no lecture at the Hall that ning, that there was no bursting out into threats of violence,

---

* This was done by the *Eastern Post*.

† The *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr Austin Holyoake wrote a short letter radicting this report, and giving the simple facts of the case, but his r was not inserted.

‡ *Daily News*.

that Sladen spoke to Mr Bradlaugh *before*, and not *after*, t commencement of the evening's proceedings, were of course matt of mere detail, without value when compared with the opportun of raising a prejudice against Mr Bradlaugh. Similarly, wh the lad O'Connor tried to frighten the Queen with an emp pistol, it was said that probably a large "share of the misch was caused by the lad's attendance on the lectures of a notoric Infidel and Republican lecturer. whose inflammatory discours falling on a weak, excitable, untrained mind, produced the natu effect and goaded him on to mischief."* That there was evidence that the lad had ever attended any such lectures apparently of small importance.

At Circus Road I can recall several mad visitors: one in sh sleeves and leather apron, who offered to reveal a secret to Bradlaugh whereby he might become possessed of millio another, a little old lady, who told with a mysterious air how s was "the Secret History;" another, who was so noisy that he h to be put out, and who then remained in the street below shouti out that Mr Bradlaugh had ill-used him, till he brought out all neighbours to their doors, and the commotion he raised threate to hinder the traffic. Then there were some who claimed to descendants of one or other of the Brunswicks, and as such entit to the Crown; but provided they were quietly listened to, th gave little trouble save in the time they wasted.

---

* *City Press.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "WATCH" STORY.

ERE have been some fictions so pertinaciously circulated about Bradlaugh that any story of his life would be incomplete with- some reference to them. Lies are so proverbially hard to kill, vever, that I dare not feel confident that even an exposure of m here will altogether discredit these old favourites, but at t I hope that it may have some little effect.

think the most popular of all these is what has come to be wn as "the watch story," and for this reason I have taken trouble to trace back its history, not exactly to its origin, but the last hundred years or so. The defiance of Deity, which is ly only the converse of the prayer, is a very ancient idea, and old stories mostly ended in the punishment or death of the on who so rashly defied the Omnipotent. The so-called eist who, in the time of the French Revolution, defied God to vent him drinking his cup of wine, was struck dead to the nd, and the cup was dashed untasted from his lips. Even ng this century, as late as 1849 or 1850, the story was told wicked soldier who rode out of the ranks, and turning his e's head, faced his companions, exclaiming, "If there be a , let Him now prove it by striking me dead before you." few minutes this rash young man was a corpse—a victim he wrath of an outraged Deity and a solemn warning to his ades.

Then this fable is related, not of vague personalities such as "Atheist" or the "wicked soldier," but of actual living ons, the termination has to be amended,* and the moral loses

* As late as January 1884, however, Mr Bradlaugh noted a case reported veral newspapers of a private in the Hampshire Regiment, who cried, strike me blind!" and who thereupon "felt drowsy, and stretched

something of its point. The first time that it was told of Bradlaugh was, as far as I can trace, in the year 1867. The was at that time a certain Conservative journal called the *Britt Monarchy*, the editor of which, desiring to damage the Refo League, expressed his opinion in choice and elegant language th the meetings of the League gave

"An opportunity to the roughs of the Metropolis to sack the sho . . . . goaded on by the fool who says in his heart there is ' God,' which reminds us," he went on, "of a fact related of a resigr leading member of the Reform League, and the supposed projector the 'Good Friday meeting'* of this year. This would-be lawgi and law-maker, travelling on the Great Eastern Railway, was usual endeavouring to propagate his hateful opinions. He had presumption to offer, it is said, as a proof of his assertion that 'there no God,' the fact that if, on taking out his watch from his pocket, held it in his hand for some minutes and was not struck dead, would be conclusive evidence of the truth of his opinions. He was struck dead because of God's long-suffering mercy. He reminds us Pharaoh ; may he escape his fate.!"

Mr Bradlaugh never by any chance sought to propagate opinions in a railway carriage, nor was he ever guilty of "su ridiculous folly," as he contemptuously termed it, as that attribu to him by the *British Monarchy*. Long before this story attached to Mr Bradlaugh's name it was told of Abner Kneela the Pantheist and abolitionist in America ; indeed, the defianc Deity in this particular manner is said to have originated i story told by an American of Abner Kneeland.† It was ascri to Mrs Emma Martin,‡ a Freethought speaker in England,

himself on his bed, but when he attempted to open his eyes, he found he c not do so, and he has since been wholly deprived of the use of his eyes. was conveyed to the Haslar Military Hospital, where he remains." As was tolerably definite, inquiries were made at the Hospital. In answe these, the principal wrote: "There is no truth whatever in the statem and the lad who is supposed to have sworn never swore at all. He weak right eye; it was slightly inflamed—the result of a cold—but he is quite well. He is very indignant and hurt at the statement, and, if he swear, he is not blind."

* Mr Bradlaugh was neither the projector nor the advocate of the Friday promenade.

† Kneeland died in 1844. The tale was repeatedly contradicted.

‡ Emma Martin died in 1857. In her case also it was contradicted.

eulogised by Mr G. J. Holyoake as "beautiful in expression, ck in wit, strong in will, eloquent in speech, coherent in con- tion, and of a stainless character, she was incomparable among lic women." It was related again and again of Mr G. J. yoake, who wrote a denial of it as early as January 1854. ny times also was the challenge ascribed to Mrs Harriet Law, cturer on the Freethought platform thirty years ago; and later, n Mrs Besant came into the movement, she was made to play part of heroine in this affecting drama, although, as she herself ted out, "there is one very queer thing about the story; it er appears in any report given at the time of any lecture, and one speaks of having heard the challenge the day, week, or th, or year after it was done. The pious Christian always d it about twenty years ago, and has kept it locked in his m ever since." *

rom 1867, when the *British Monarchy* first associated this y with Mr Bradlaugh's name, down to 1880, when my father menced a prosecution against a man named Edgcumbe, not a le year passed without some repetition of it. Since this pro- tion, although it still occasionally shows signs of life, it is not ly so vigorous. The story was circulated, not merely by ar and irresponsible purveyors of slander, but even by persons se position gave an air of unimpeachable veracity to anything might choose to say.

he first person to relate the "watch" story orally of Mr llaugh was Mr Charles Capper, M.P., who, as it may be remem- d, told it with some detail at a public meeting at Sandwich ng the general election of 1868, giving the name of Mr les Gilpin as his authority.† My father at once wrote to Mr per that he had read his speech "with indignation, but with- surprise, for no inventions on the part of my enemies would surprise me." He had, he said, "seen Mr Charles Gilpin, so far as he is concerned, I have his distinct authority to ely deny that he ever told you anything of the kind, and I therefore to apply to you for an immediate retraction of pology for your cowardly falsehood, which has been indus- sly circulated in Northampton, and which could only have

* *National Reformer*, June 6th, 1880.

† *Deal and Sandwich Mercury*, Sept. 26.

been uttered with the view of doing me injury in my candid
ture in that borough. Permit me to add, that I never in my li
(either in Northampton or any other place) have uttered an
phrase affording a colour of justification for the monstrous wor
you put in my mouth."

But Mr Charles Capper would not retract, and would n
apologise, so Mr Bradlaugh, who felt all the more incensed abo
this, because of the dragging in of Mr Gilpin's name as author
for the slander, brought an action against him. Before it could
brought into Court, however, Mr Capper died.

In the December of the same year, during the hearing of th
proceedings in the *Razor* libel case, the counsel for the defenda
Brooks asked Mr Bradlaugh, in cross-examination, "Did you n
once at a public lecture take out your watch and defy the Deity,
he had an existence, to strike you dead in a certain number
minutes?" "Never. Such a suggestion is utterly unjustifiabl
was my father's indignant answer.

In the winter of 1869, the Rev. P. R. Jones, M.A., of Trin
Church, Huddersfield, added the weight of his authority to
slander. The municipal elections were about to take place, a
the cry of "infidel" had been raised against one of the candida
for the West Ward. Hence, on the Sunday immediately before
election, Mr Jones preached a sermon against "infidels" a
"infidelity," and, as an "apt illustration of his subject," he char
Mr Bradlaugh with the watch episode. When this came to
ears of the Huddersfield Secular Society, they lost no time
writing to ask Mr Jones whether he had indeed made such
statement concerning Mr Bradlaugh. This, said the *Huddersfi
Examiner*, the reverend gentleman had not "the manliness
admit . . . nor even the courtesy to acknowledge the receipt
the secretary's letter." The Committee of the local Secular Soci
waited for seven days, and then appointed a deputation to w
upon the Rev. Mr Jones. The editor of the *Examiner* obser
that the explanation then given by that gentleman was "not v
satisfactory, and I do not wonder he was so tardy about mak
it. He had heard the absurd story some years ago, but
person who told it to him had left Huddersfield; and on s
slender authority as this he brought a charge of using se

s and blasphemous words against Mr Bradlaugh." The Rev. R. Jones, M.A., in the course of his duties must have preached edience to the ninth commandment, but he evidently did not ays enforce his teachings by a personal example.

Just about the same time another clergyman, the Rev. Dr rrison of St James's Church, Latchford, in a sermon preached on that favourite but not very polite text, "The fool hath said his heart, There is no God," was reported* to have told the y, with a slight variation, of some unnamed person.

What did they think of a man at Manchester," he asked, "standing at a public assembly and opening the Bible in the presence of the ple, and saying if the Bible was true he hoped God would strike dead? That was in the newspapers not long ago. A creature, a m, a being dependent upon the Almighty, raising his puny arm inst the Deity, asking God to strike him dead if the Bible were true. would not have been a wonder if God had struck him dead; the der was that God should be so merciful as to let him live."

When the Rev. Dr Harrison was challenged as to the name of the , the time, and place of the occurrence, and the names of the spapers which reported it, he could of course give no satisfactory nority for his statements.

n the summer of 1870 the *Christian*, in a tirade against in- lity, stated that "the well-known Atheist Bradlaugh, at a lic meeting in London, is reported to have taken out his watch, these words, 'If there be a God in heaven, I give Him five utes to strike me dead.'" Upon this being brought under his ce, my father said that he was "really weary with contra- ing this monstrous lie."

he *Liverpool Porcupine* in the same year gave a startling ation on the ordinary version. A certain unnamed person— nplication, Mr Bradlaugh—"called on the Almighty, if he had existence, to strike dead *some relative*, and thus prove his er." The *Porcupine* forgot that it is the Christian creed which nes the doctrine of the scapegoat, and even the sacrifice of a ive. It forms no part whatever of Atheistic teachings.

---

* *Crewe Guardian.*

The Rev. R. S. Cathcart, agent to the Religious Tract Societ in addressing a meeting in the Corn Exchange, Gloucester, in th autumn of 1871, lamented the spread of infidelity in the north England, where, he said, it was encouraged by a "blatant oratc Bradlaugh, from London." He added that there was even "or poor benighted woman" who "had actually produced her wate and challenged God, if, she said, there be one, to appear befo them on the platform at a given time." Mr Cathcart, on beir asked as to the when, and where, and the woman, failed to mal reply.

The next carrier of the slander was an important one. Th *Financial Reformer* for the December of the same year (187 described Mr Bradlaugh as "the superenlightened gentleman wl pulled out his watch at an open-air meeting and challeng Almighty God to strike him dead within five minutes, if Gc there were." My father was becoming somewhat accustome to having this accusation made by persons who wished to mal out a case against the "infidel," but to find it in the *Financi Reformer* was an unexpected blow. He wrote a courteous lett to the editor, but the editor made no reply; he wrote to M Robertson Gladstone, the president of the council publishing th paper, but Mr Robertson Gladstone left the letter without notic At length, thoroughly angry, he wrote to the printers, threateni legal proceedings. A proof of an "apology" already in type w sent him, but it was not such as he felt he could accept, and wrote to the printer to that effect. The apology was then son what amended, and with the copy of the *Financial Reformer* co taining it the editor sent a letter to Mr Bradlaugh, conveying frank and full expression of his regret. Upon receiving this n father forgave not only the offence, but the tardiness of t acknowledgment, and, moreover, expressed his sense of indebte ness to the editor for his apology.

The *Stourbridge Observer* of about the same date also repeat the watch story of "Bradlaugh," and, with incredible coarsene added that "he has been known on another occasion to stop lame man in the streets, and tell him that he would spit upon su a God as his that would allow him to remain in that deplora condition." Mr Bradlaugh, at the request of his Stourbrid

ends, specifically contradicted both these stories; but, he added, was too much to expect him to continually contradict every ndalous calumny to which the press gave ready circulation ainst him.

One of the next places in which the story appeared was Dudley, ere, in the winter of 1873, during my father's absence in nerica, it was related by the Rev. B. M. Kitson, who apparently roduced it into a speech for the benefit of the Additional rates' Aid Society. He located the episode at the Hall of ence in Old Street, City Road. As soon as Mr Bradlaugh ld obtain the reverend gentleman's address after his return to gland, he wrote requesting Mr Kitson to retract, or to furnish n with the name of his solicitor. Mr Kitson retracted the state-nt, and expressed his regret for having made it.

In the spring of 1874, the Rev. Mr Herring related the tale to ne school children at a school near Goswell Road, and in the owing August the Rev. Edgar N. Thwaites, of the Church storal Aid Society, carried it to Salisbury.

A month later, the *Weekly News*, in referring to the Northamp- election, remarked that Northampton was specially prominent, ecause Mr Bradlaugh, the Radical orator who challenged the nighty to strike him dead, has appeared in person." Anything air in war or elections, some people seem to think.

n the following year the Rev. Mr Cripps, of the Primitive thodist Chapel, Thetford, started a new variation on the old me. At the end of one of Mr Bradlaugh's lectures, a smith esh from work," induced him to go down on one knee (the rator was extremely precise in unimportant details) and proposed t they should pray to God to "strike him dead in five minutes." s proposal seems to have somewhat disturbed Mr Bradlaugh, according to Mr Cripps, he "jumped up, picked up his hat, and ned out of the building." The Rev. Mr Cripps, on being llenged by Mr Bradlaugh, referred him to another minister as authority—the Rev. M. Normandale, of Downham Market, folk; and, moreover, refusing to accept Mr Bradlaugh's "un-ported denial," adhered to his statement.

The next person to repeat the watch story—but without nami the "infidel"—was, I deeply regret to say, the Rev. Ba Wilberforce, at Southampton. The local Freethinkers w justly indignant, and Mr J. F. Rayner, the Secretary of t Southampton Secular Society, at once flatly contradicted the ta The only reparation Mr Wilberforce thought it necessary to ma was to say that he was "glad to hear it was not true," and th offhand mode of disposing of the matter did not do much soothe the irritated feeling of the Southampton Freethinkers. T liberality and kindly-heartedness of the late Rev. C. E. Stewa Vicar of St Peter's, in great measure disarmed their anger; a later on Canon Wilberforce himself learned to hold the Fr thinkers of the district, as well as Mr Bradlaugh, in respect, a in consequence taught them in turn to respect him.

A man at Longton in 1876, whose name I do not know, brou the story to a finer point. Hitherto it had always been told the authority of some second person, but this man appears to h deliberately stated that he *saw* Mr Bradlaugh pull out his wat and *heard* him defy God to strike him dead. This manner telling the tale in the first person soon found favour, for onl few months later a phrenologist, calling himself Professor Pasq was reported to have said that he was present at Huddersfield wh Mr Bradlaugh went through the performance before seve hundred persons. He must have "the bump of falsehood spl didly developed," commented Mr Bradlaugh. "No such event, anything to justify it, ever took place anywhere; it is a deliber untruth." The myth was repeated in the same year at Haugh by a Mr Scarff, and in the following year at Bristol, where th seemed to be some confusion as to whether it was Mr Bradla or Mrs Besant who was the chief actor; Mrs Besant's name be now introduced for the first time. "This story is a delibe lie," wrote my father in a state of exasperation, "and has b formally contradicted at least one hundred times."

At length, in the spring of 1877, the Rev. Dr Parker, of City Temple, took the matter into his fostering charge. It left lips, if the report* of his sermon is to be believed, in a form

* *Northern Ensign*, May 17.

parseness of which quite equalled, if it did not transcend, all that ad gone before. Said he—

"There is a woman going up and down the country lecturing, and ay be in London city at this moment, and she proudly cries out that ere is no God, and she takes out her watch and says, 'Now, if there be God, I give him five minutes to strike me dead,' and she coolly stands atching the hand of her watch dial, and because she is not struck dead the 'time she stipulates, she cries out that there is no God; and orking men run after this woman, and pay for listening to this ginger-eer blasphemy, and the ravings of a half-drunken woman."

Mr Bradlaugh offered Dr Parker the use of the columns of the *ational Reformer* in which to verify his statement, but, needless say, Dr Parker did not avail himself of this offer.

In 1878 the fable was told by "H. Clewarth, Esq.," at the Mile nd Assembly Hall, of Mrs Besant, and by a revivalist preacher med E. B. Telford of Mrs Harriet Law. Mr Telford also dulged in the effective first person, even mentioning the detail at the watch was a gold one.*

Now we come to a still further development. In June 1879, r Bradlaugh was lecturing in Huddersfield. He spoke three nes on the Sunday, and at the conclusion of his afternoon dis-urse a man got up, and with the utmost assurance pretended to y father's face that he had heard him defy God to strike him ad in the Philosophical Hall of Huddersfield itself. A Christian ntleman, understood to be the editor of the local *Examiner*, rose d warmly repudiated any complicity in this audacious falsehood. most at the same time the story, with variations, was repeated by preacher of Aberdeen named Marr. He gave as his authority a rtain unknown person, John Kinch, who, it was asserted, had en actually present when Mr Bradlaugh thus defied God.

I have been able to note here only recorded instances of the ling of this story, but they will serve to show the astounding ality of a slander, even when it is one so monstrously absurd as is. It will be seen how people of all kinds lent themselves to circulation, and how reluctant they were to apologise when con-ted of error. I am far from asserting that they all uttered the

* This person was still telling this story in December 1883.

calumny knowing it to be a calumny; that, in the case of such man as the Rev. Basil Wilberforce, would be unthinkable; but I say that they did not take reasonable pains to satisfy themselves the truth of a story which, on the face of it, was in the high degree improbable and absurd.

When Mr Bradlaugh was elected to Parliament in 1880 t wildest tales were told about him, and, of course, amongst others t old "watch" story came up. A Leicester paper which published retracted and apologised; but another, the *British Empire*, w less ready; my father, provoked beyond endurance, went to Bo Street and asked for a summons against S. C. Lister, a directo and J. Edgcumbe (or Edgcome), secretary to the *British Empi* Company. Edgcumbe was also the writer of the paragraph which the episode was dramatically described. Mr Bradlaug would have proceeded against the author only, but the libel w repeated in the paper on a later date, and therefore he felt that could not excuse the directors. The summons was granted, a when the case came before the magistrate, after Mr Bradlaugh h made his opening statement, he went into the witness-box declare there was not a word of truth in the paragraph. In t course of the cross-examination a rather amusing theological d cussion arose between magistrate, counsel, and witness, in whi the two former seemed quite unable to follow Mr Bradlaugh reasoning. "One existence," Mr Vaughan thought, must me "supreme existence;" failing that, counsel asked was it "me actual physical existence"? My father was examined as to number of places where the "watch" episode was alleged to ha occurred, and about a man, John Field, then in court, wh induced by Mr Bradlaugh, was supposed to have prayed on knees to God to strike him (Mr Bradlaugh) dead, whilst my fath timed him, watch in hand. When, however, John Field, w called himself a Baptist minister, was in the witness-box, replies were such that the magistrate said that he had better withdrawn, as he could not possibly receive his evidence. witness (Bridge) swore to having heard my father defy God in t manner alleged at Tavistock in 1853; but at the adjourned heari when he was wanted for cross-examination, he was not to be fou Amongst the witnesses were three from Northampton, who swore they had heard my father make the challenge at vari

es and places in Northampton. Two had travelled to London
ther, having their tickets taken for them by a local missionary;
at first they swore they knew nothing of each other, and the
s only came out gradually under cross-examination. At the
of the second day's hearing the defendants were committed for
.* Mr Vaughan suggested that the charge should be with-
yn against Lister, as he was only a director. Mr Bradlaugh
if Mr Lister would give his assurance that he knew nothing
he first or subsequent publications of the libel, he would be
ent to drop the charge against him. Mr Lister protested that
knew nothing of the matter, and Mr Bradlaugh was about to
draw the charge when the defendants' counsel coolly asked that
ould be dismissed with costs. I imagine, however, that at a
stage my father consented to withdraw the case against
r, for the name of Edgcumbe only figures in the further pro-
ngs.

he trial, which was removed by the defendants by *certiorari*
he Court of Queen's Bench, was expected to take place at
nd of June, and, since prosecutors in Crown cases cannot
nally address the jury or argue points of law, my father had
mploy solicitors (Messrs Lewis) and counsel (Mr Charles
ell, Q.C., M.P., and Mr Moloney); Sir Hardinge Giffard
briefed to appear for Edgcumbe. After some delays,
umbe was ordered to deliver his pleas within a certain
so that the trial might come on in November. In these

---

he editor of the *Huddersfield Examiner*, commenting on the evidence,
"We do not believe it, as we do not think Mr Bradlaugh such a fool as
ke such a silly exhibition of himself; and because we know that similar
have been affirmed of him in Huddersfield. For instance, a person
at our office last week, stating that he had heard Mr Bradlaugh utter
challenge, and saw him pull out his watch in the manner stated in the
of the debate with the Rev. Mr M'Cann in Huddersfield. To our certain
edge no such occurrence ever took place, and yet the man making the
ent appeared to be fully convinced that he had heard and seen what he
ed as having taken place, and he was prepared to give evidence on the
t if called upon to do so. . . . Imagination and feeling play a much larger
an reason in the mental operations of not a few well-meaning persons
lowance must be made for this when we hear such charges as that now
against Mr Bradlaugh. Strong dislike is felt by many against both
an and his opinions on religious subjects, and this exposes him to
resentation and injustice."

pleadings the episode was alleged to have taken place
The Philosophical Hall, Huddersfield, about 1860 or 1861;
Theatre, Northampton, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1865, or 1866;
Woolpack Inn, Northampton, 1859; The Corn Exchange, Nc
ampton, 1865 or 1866; The Hall of Science, London, 187
1880; The Cleveland Hall, London, 1865 or 1866; The Ne
Street Lecture Hall, Newcastle, 1875; Tavistock, 1853, 185
1860; St George's Hall, Southwark, 1862 or 1863; St Ja
Hall, Plymouth, 1870; Duke of York Public House, Ca
1868.

As the vagueness of these dates made it almost impossibl
get rebutting evidence, Mr Bradlaugh demurred to the plea on
ground, and in March 1881 his demurrer was heard by Mr Ju
Grove and Mr Justice Lindley. Mr Moloney argued for
Bradlaugh that the plea was not sufficiently particular: it
only necessary to prove one occasion to justify the libel, h
evidence had to be brought to negative every case, and Mr Ju
Grove, intervening, said, "If this plea is good, what is to pre
a party from pleading a volume of instances all possibly un
and at all events putting it upon the prosecutor to discover
particular instance really intended to be relied upon?" Si
Giffard argued that the plea was sufficient, but the Court did
agree with him. It held that the plea was bad, and Mr Ju
Lindley further said it was embarrassing and unfair. After
discussion the Court gave the defendant leave to amend wi
three weeks on payment of costs; otherwise judgment woul
given for the Crown.

Edgcumbe now gave a series of more or less specific dat
which he alleged that Mr Bradlaugh had defied God. He
abandoned five of his former cases and introduced new on
Bristol, Keighley, Leeds, and Stourbridge. He further stated
on two occasions, at the theatre at Northampton, Mr Bradl
had cast a Bible upon the ground and stamped upon it.
father was put to tremendous trouble in procuring witnesses
the different places, but he received help which he g
appreciated from unexpected quarters—from Christians who
been present on some of the alleged occasions.

When, however, the time came, the defendant did not pr
to trial, as he was bound to under his recognisances. My f
might have taken proceedings to estreat the recognisances; b

British Empire had ceased to exist, and the editor had already
n heavily fined by having to pay the costs of the demurrer,
was advised to let the matter rest. This course he was perhaps
more inclined to, as he was himself so terribly harassed by the
gation and trouble arising out of the Parliamentary struggle.
He was rewarded for his forbearance by having the "watch"
y again repeated of him—notably by Mr Grantham, Q.C.,
P.,*—with the addition that he had "not dared to go on
h his action."

---

* At Selhurst, in June 1885.

Note.—Where exact references are not given in this chapter, *National Reformer* is cited.]

CHAPTER IX.

OTHER FABLES.

THERE are other fables told about my father which have enjoye popularity almost equal to that of the famous watch episode. Th is the allegation—referred to elsewhere—that he compared with a monkey with three tails. This was started by the *Satur Review* in 1867, and was for years continually reappearing in sorts of unexpected quarters. Indeed, it was repeated as lat 1893 in a book published by Messrs Macmillan.* Perhaps in order should come two, which have seen considerable servic arguments in favour of Christianity. One, which I will call "cob of coal" story, appeared for the first time, as far as I aware, in a Leeds paper in 1870 in the following form :—

"Some time ago I heard an amusing story about Mr Bradlaugh one of his audience at Wigan. After concluding his lecture, Mr B laugh called upon any of them to reply to any of his argum Lancashire produces a rare crop of shrewd, intelligent working and one of these, a collier, rose and spoke somewhat as foll 'Maister Bradlaugh, me and my mate Jim were both Methodys till of these infidel chaps cam' this way. Jim turned infidel, and use badger me about attending class-meetings and prayer-meetings, but day in the pit a large cob of coal came down on Jim's 'yead.' thought he was killed, and ah! man, but he did holler.' Then tur to Mr Bradlaugh, with a very whimsical, knowing look, he 'Young man, there's nowt like cobs of coal for knocking infidelity of a man.' We need hardly say that the collier carried the audi with him."

This was copied into some London papers, and in the cours a couple of years found its way to Belfast; but the scene of a had now become changed from Wigan to Manchester. Two later still it appeared at Hereford, under the auspices of the

* "National Life and Character," by C. H. Pearson.

'. Bardsley. The "some time ago" of 1870 had contracted to ently" by 1874, and there were other small alterations of l. By 1882, my father said he had contradicted this anec- fifty times at least. It never had the slightest foundation in it is unadulterated fiction from beginning to end; it is rdly improbable; and yet there are people so credulous that it been repeated year after year, and even since my father's death. ed, the more childish this class of story, the better it has ed to satisfy those to whom it was addressed—at least, if we judge of its success by the number of its repetitions.

e next is the "old woman" anecdote, which I find first in the *tian Age* for November 1871, put in this way :—

he other day Mr Bradlaugh was lecturing in a village in the north gland, and at the close he challenged discussion. Who should t the challenge but an old, bent woman, in most antiquated attire, vent up to the lecturer and said, 'Sir, I have a question to put to 'Well, my good woman, what is it?' 'Ten years ago,' she said, s left a widow with eight children utterly unprovided for, and ng to call my own but this Bible. By its direction, and looking d for strength, I have been enabled to feed myself and family. I ow tottering to the grave; but I am perfectly happy, because I forward to a life of immortality with Jesus in heaven. That's my religion has done for me: what has your way of thinking for you?' 'Well, my good lady,' rejoined the lecturer, 'I don't to disturb your comfort, but—' 'Oh! that's not the question,' upted the woman, 'keep to the point, sir; what has your way of ing done for you?'

he infidel endeavoured to shirk the matter again; the feeling of eeting gave vent to uproarious applause, and Mr Bradlaugh had away discomfited by an old woman."

is pious fiction is said to have originated with the Rev. Mr bury, of Openshaw, in the early part of 1871; but then it was harles Watts who was the "discomfited infidel," and not Mr augh. From the *Christian Age* the story was passed on, ntly without the slightest examination or care for its accuracy. 72 it was repeated in large type by the *Methodist Visitor*, for word, "the other day" included. Mr Bradlaugh contra- this idiotic story again and again; no such incident ever ed at any of his lectures. In spite of all contradiction, how- he "old woman" remained as lively as ever, and my father

was confronted with her year after year, until I almost wonder had patience left to write a civil denial of her existence.

An anecdote, reported* to have been told by the Rev. H. Webb-Peploe at a meeting of the Bible Society at Stroud in 18 has at least the merit of being amusing, and certainly came as n to no one more than to the persons chiefly concerned. It was s that Spurgeon "went to Bradlaugh's Hall to reply to the Infid and to that end "read two or three texts from the Scriptures. This seems to have astonished Bradlaugh, for he arose, and as went out of the room, he said, 'What the devil is to be done w that man? he is in earnest.'" If the Rev. Charles Spurge ever, by any chance, *did* go to "Bradlaugh's Hall," he carefu concealed his visit from "Bradlaugh."

Fictions concerning my father's treatment of various memb of his family have been very common. By a painful coincide my little brother had only been a few days in his grave when father was asked to contradict a statement that he had "ab twelve months ago deserted his wife and children." Six mon after, the story ran that he had "caused his mother to die o broken heart," had been "drummed out of the army," and was man whose morality is of no higher stamp than to suffer himsel be the father of an illegitimate child." It is an interesting p in the study of the evolution of slanders, that this most persist one of Mr Bradlaugh having caused his mother to die of a bro heart should have been started during his mother's lifetime.† allegation of deserting his children, and throwing them upon parish, was published by Mr Edmund Yates in the *World* in 18 A little later Mr Yates announced that Mr Bradlaugh had writ him contradicting this, and suggesting that if on inquiry Mr Y found his allegation untrue, he should contribute £5 to Masonic Boys' School. The editor of the *World* formally expre his regret, "unreservedly" withdrew his accusation, and co buted the £5. The suggestion was really the result of the in vention of a mutual friend, as Mr Yates himself acknowledge 1891, at the same time admitting that the paragraph compla of would have afforded Mr Bradlaugh "ample grounds for ap

* *Stroud News*, May 28. † Mrs Bradlaugh died in April 1871.

o the law, with the likelihood of recovering a large amount in
ages."

ut the slander thus floated by the *World* could not be effaced
the public mind, even by Mr Yates' "unreserved withdrawal,"
later in the same year it turned up in full vigour at Oxford.
Ir Bendall went to the shop of a grocer and town councillor
ed Laker to make some purchases, and in the course of conver-
on he mentioned that he was going to London. Mr Laker asked
was going to hear Moody and Sankey, but Mr Bendall said that
vas not; he was going to hear Mr Bradlaugh. The man Laker
said, "Bradlaugh! he was had up for neglecting his family,
leaving them chargeable to the Union. I read it in the *Daily*
graph." Mr Bendall denied this, and bet Laker £50 to 5s.
it was not true. Laker took the bet, and Mr Bendall then
te out the statement, which they both signed. The paper was
to Mr Bradlaugh, who eventually brought an action against
Laker. *

he defendant pleaded "Not guilty," but did not attempt to
ify his statement or to offer any apology, although Mr Bradlaugh
that, if during the course of the trial an apology had been
red, he should have been quite content.

Ir Grantham, the counsel for the defence, was very coarse in his
arks. He scouted the idea that "Bradlaugh" could be injured by
slander, and told the jury that, if they did give him a verdict,
rthing damages would be "far too much" at which to estimate
damage "Bradlaugh" had sustained. As usual, an endeavour
made to play upon the religious feelings of the jury, and when
Bendall was in the witness-box he was questioned as to his
ief in Christianity, the Bible, and Jesus Christ, until Mr
tice Field, who heard the case, interfered and reproved the
nsel for importing these questions into the case. Mr
ntham suggested the whole thing was a "plant," but this accu-
ion, the judge later on pointed out, might rightfully increase
damages awarded.

Ir Justice Field, in summing up, complimented Mr Bradlaugh
the temperate manner in which he had stated his case, and
ned the jury not to allow their judgments to be warped by

---

* Tried 25th April 1876 at Nisi Prius, before Mr Justice Field and a
ial jury.

topics of prejudice which had been introduced into the defendan case. The jury returned a verdict for Mr Bradlaugh, with £ damages, which my father at once handed over to a charity.

But even this did not quite kill the slander, and a few yea later it began again to show signs of life.

There was no limit of any kind to the fictions circulated abo my father, nothing was too vile, nothing too absurd, and nothi too wildly impossible to say about him. As an example of the la I think it would be difficult to find anything to compare with o written by the London correspondent of the *New York Heral* during the illness of the Prince of Wales from typhoid feve I discovered an allusion to this story in looking over a file the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* for 1872; reference was made the *Pall Mall Gazette*, from which I learned that the Lond correspondent of the *New York Herald* professed that he had be informed by a mysterious person "well posted" as to the doi of the different European Secret Societies, that "a certain leader the English Revolutionists whom he designated 'The Engli Delescluze,' has over and over again declared from public pl forms that the Prince should never sit on the throne, and th lately, when Queen Victoria was seriously ill, the same man h said in an interview with the reporter for a London paper, th although the event of the Sovereign's death occurring just th would without any doubt find the Society not quite prepared to a yet that they could never lose such an opportunity to advance th cause." "This," commented the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "is, of cour an atrocious libel on Mr Bradlaugh." "The poison," continued t informant to his gaping listener, the *Herald's* London correspon ent, "was a new and most subtle one. How the Prince w actually dosed he did not pretend to know. The emissary of t International charged with the execution of the sentence of dea was left to himself, and was simply bidden to take as few in cent lives in carrying it out as possible; but it was suggested him to mix the poison with the contents of the Prince's pock flask, and this it was probable he had succeeded in doing." T marvellous story was received in England with the condemnati and ridicule it deserved, and I only give it here now to sh to what lengths prejudice and a disordered imagination will le a man.

I suppose it is only in the natural course of things that an sh paper* should have the funniest story, and one too that ems really original. This journal discovered that in the mmer, when Republican agitation was slack, Mr Bradlaugh ok up "the more useful—if less profitable—occupation of a gman." Presumably this was intended to be severely sarcastic; was only ridiculous and untrue.

At intervals throughout my father's career he has, of course, en constantly accused of being in the pay of some one or other. is kind of accusation is common to most public men, so it was likely that he would escape. In 1872, when it was asserted t "Bradlaugh and Odger" were sold to "Gladstone and Morley," *Saturday Review* thought it no shame to suggest that "perhaps er all there is some truth in the story."† A few months ore, said my father, it was "Bradlaugh was sold to the Tories, v it is the Whigs who have made the purchase;" and he mockly regretted "that neither party have even paid a deposit." At er times he was charged with being in the pay of the Prince poleon, of the Commune, of Sir Charles Dilke, of the Carlists, l, last of all, in that of the Maharajah of Cashmere. This s so much believed in, that a gentleman belonging to a minent Liberal Club actually told me that it was a good ng my father died poor and in debt, as it, at least, discredited t rumour.

I do not profess to have by any means exhausted the list of les associated with Mr Bradlaugh's name. I have merely taken ew of the more persistent or more remarkable as examples of whole.

To expose the misstatements and the travesties of Mr Bradgh's opinions would require a whole volume. What he thought what he taught on theological, political, and social questions be found in his own writings, and his own words must essarily be the most effective contradiction or confirmation of "hearsays" of prejudice.

* *Belfast Times*, April 8, 1872.
† *Saturday Review*, September 14, 1872.

CHAPTER X.

PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS, 1878.

DURING the Russo-Turkish War great anxiety was shown by th Tories to drag England into the struggle; war songs were sung the music halls; the old hatred of Russia was fanned into a blaz and the new love of Turkey nourished into some sort of enth siasm. The "Jingo" fever ran high, and the more peaceful disposed seemed quite overwhelmed by the noise and clamour the war party. Some of the working men of London, howev determined to make a public protest in favour of peace, a against those who were seeking to increase the burdens of t nation at a time when there were people dying of starvation in Wal in Sheffield, and in the Forest of Dean. A meeting was co sequently held on the afternoon of February 24th, in Hyde Par in response to a general appeal made by the Hon. Auber Herbert, Mr Ackrill, and Mr Bradlaugh on behalf of the worki men's committee to the working men of the metropolis to res the effort then being made to drag the country into an Eastern w

There had been so much rowdyism at former meetings on th subject, that it was resolved to enrol a special force to prevent th one from being broken up by ruffianism. Mr Bradlaugh's spec contingent was to consist of fifty marshals and five hundr deputy marshals, who wore his Northampton colours, and w furnished with "wands of office." It was not thought right ask unarmed men to confront the brutality of the war-at-any-pr men, who came armed with all manner of weapons; yet it w not desired to provoke an attack by any show of force, so af some deliberation it was decided that the marshals should armed with short staves similar to the constables' truncheo These the men were instructed to keep concealed, unless th were required for purposes of defence. Mr Herbert's spec adherents were similarly armed, and wore a green favour.

Fearing a fight, my father would not allow us to go with him
o the meeting, and would not be happy about our going at all,
ntil we had promised not to get into the crowd. So we went
o the Park early to watch the great masses of men gathering
uietly together, with neither bands, banners, nor procession, unless
he clubs coming up in bodies could be called coming in procession.
'he mauve, white, and green rosettes—which we with a com-
ittee of ladies had so lately made—were soon conspicuous by
heir number; above them were smiling holiday faces, while
elow lay the formidable staves which we had helped to serve out
nat very morning, but of which not a sign could be seen, although
e, who knew they were there, looked attentively for them.
'he platform was set up, surrounded by a ring of men with
ocked arms three or four deep. By and by groups of young men
assed us armed with sticks, long and thick; these joined together
n gangs, and amused themselves by making a series of brutal
ushes, after the stupid aimless fashion of the "roughs" on
ord Mayor's Day. But these medical students—for the hospitals
ad been whipped up to turn out in aid of the Tory and the
urk—unlike their honoured exemplars, deliberately intended to
jure.

The meeting was tremendous, orderly and quiet at first, and the
pplause which greeted Mr Herbert when he rose to preside
owed that the majority were favourable to peace. Every facility
ad been given to the war-party to move an amendment; every
ourtesy had been shown them, and everything possible done to
void a pretext for disturbance. But no pretext was necessary.
Ir Herbert had barely begun to speak when an attack was made
multaneously on three sides of the ring; sticks flashed in the air,
id staff replied to stick with such energy that the attack on two
des was repelled; that at the back, however, was successful, the
ng was broken through, and the platform destroyed. In spite of
l this, Mr Bradlaugh succeeded in putting the resolution, and all
ose within hearing voted for it; but the tumult was so great that
was impossible to guess how much was heard or understood.

My sister and I stood by the water breathlessly watching a
nse mass of men with sticks in air struggling slowly towards the
te, feeling sure that Mr Bradlaugh must be the centre of
eat a display of enmity; and people even cried to us, "Your
ther is there. He will be killed! he will be killed!" And

while we were watching, we ourselves nearly became involved in a rush of the war-party from another direction. Frantic cries of "Duck him! The water! Duck him!" made us glance round, and we found we had only just time to escape. When we had reached a place of safety, and were able to look round again, the fighting mass was broken up; and learning from some one, whom my father had told to seek us, that he was unhurt and had gone home, we also hastened to make the best of our way back. We learned that none of our own friends were seriously hurt; and the hearty and repeated bursts of cheering at my father's appearance where he lectured that night marked the relief felt at seeing him safe and unhurt.

Mr Bradlaugh had held many meetings in Hyde Park, but he had never had one broken up. He had had a magnificent gathering in 1875 to protest against the grant of £142,000 to the Prince of Wales for his journey to India, but all had been quiet and orderly. Now, neither he nor those with whom he was acting liked the idea of their demonstration for peace ending in this way, so it was determined to make another attempt. The war party, however, who stood at nothing, determined to break up this meeting also. An assault upon the leaders of the Peace movement was deliberately planned, and Mr Bradlaugh afterwards obtained the names of certain Tories who had paid and instigated the assailants. On this occasion—Sunday, the 10th of March—no attempt was made to set up a proper platform, but there were human volunteers for a living one—no light matter when it came to bearing a man of Mr Bradlaugh's inches. Mr Herbert briefly stated the object of the meeting, and called upon my father to move the resolution, and from the shoulders of his living platform he moved "that the meeting declares in favour of peace," and the resolution was forthwith seconded, formally put, and voted upon with but few dissentients. So far all was well, and the meeting was dissolved. Upon this, however, there immediately began a series of regularly-organised attacks by paid roughs, militia-men, medical students, and "gentlemen." Armed with sticks, pieces of twisted gas-piping, sharpened iron, loaded bludgeons, and other weapons, they were a truly gallant company. Some of the defending staves were ominously cut and dug into by the sharp and pointed instruments used by the attacking party. For a few minutes the fighting was severe; my father for an instant was taken off his

feet in the struggle, and his upraised arm caught the murderous rain of blows intended for his head. Up again almost at once, and having the fight thus forced upon him, he struck five blows in reply, which were said to have sent as many men to St George's Hospital. Those were the only blows he struck that day, the rest of the time he merely warded off any aimed at himself. One man attacked his head with some sharp iron instrument fastened to a long stick, which cut his silk hat through from crown to rim. A brave little party of "swells" attacked him at the back, but these were attended to by his working-men friends. This assault by the war party was as wanton as it was vicious, because the meeting was over, and had already began to quietly disperse.

A few weeks later stories were current that Mr Bradlaugh's staff was taken from him by a young man "half his size;" and a couple of Scotch papers seriously reported that he had had to pay £72, 11s. for breaking the head of another young man. He never heard of any one who had persuaded a court to value his broken head even at the odd 11s.; and as for the staff, Mr Bradlaugh gave it to us after the meetings, and I have it now, together with a number of torn Jingo flags and broken Jingo sticks that were brought to us as trophies of the fight.

The blows showered down upon Mr Bradlaugh's arm had injured it very severely; a dangerous attack of erysipelas set in; he was very ill, and for sixteen days he was confined to the house. Even then he went to the Old Bailey in Mr Truelove's case before he ought to have gone out. He was ill and depressed; the nation seemed so eager for war; the wanton ferocity exhibited and encouraged in Hyde Park in the cause of war made him for the moment almost hopeless. He looked on "in sadness while the people suffer a Tory Government to create the possibilities of debt, dishonour, and disgraceful defeat, or still more disgraceful victory;" and once more he raised his personal protest in favour of peace. Although, as matters fell out, we did not go to war, we nevertheless decided upon having the pleasure of paying for it. As it was aptly put, the game as determined upon by Lord Beaconsfield was "Pay first; fight next; afterwards, if you have time, you can fix upon the object to be attained."

CHAPTER XI.

THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY.

I AM now closely approaching the end of my task, and as yet I have only mentioned the National Secular Society incidentally. To leave it without further notice would be doing scant justice both to my father and to the association with which he worked so actively, and with which his name must ever remain connected, whatever its future history may be.

The National Secular Society has sometimes been confounded with the London Secular Society, of which Mr George Jacob Holyoake and Mr Bradlaugh were successively presidents; but that was merely a London Society, and not a general association. Indeed, I believe there had never been any general association of the Freethinkers of Great Britain until 1866, when it was felt that some endeavour should be made to organise them. There were local secular Societies all over the kingdom, there were isolated Freethinkers to be found everywhere, but hitherto there had been no attempt to unite them into one general federation. Without organisation much propagandist work had been done: in a single year, for instance, 250,000 tracts were distributed; with organisation it was believed that much more might be accomplished. But propaganda was by no means the only object to be gained by uniting Freethinkers in one general society. In September a provisional programme for the proposed National Secular Society was put forward. Mr Bradlaugh by consent assumed the office of President of the Society until the first Conference. In the programme it was stated that the objects of the Society would be:—

To form an Association for mutual help for all the Freethinkers of Great Britain.

To conduct in the United Kingdom a more vigorous Freethought propaganda, especially in districts where Freethinkers are few, and Freethought lectures rare.

To establish a fund for the assistance of aged or distressed Freethinkers.

To promote Parliamentary and other action in order to remove all disabilities on account of religious opinions.

To establish secular schools and adult instruction classes in connection with every local society having members enough to support such schools or classes.

The idea of a National Society was well taken up, and members re enrolled in all directions. It was intended to hold a Con- ence early in the following year, but this was postponed, partly account of Mr Bradlaugh's ill-health, and did not actually take ce until the end of November, when it was found that the ciety had made a very successful start in life—a success which s fully confirmed by the time the Conference met again a r later. A special Lecturing Fund was established in 1867, l by the aid of this the accredited lecturers of the Society went o places where the Freethinkers were too poor and too few to mselves bear the whole expenses of a meeting ; and in this way ns and villages were visited by a Freethought lecturer where ore Freethought was almost unheard of. The provisional tement of the principles and objects of the Society was very n amended in some minor details, and ten or twelve years later evision Committee was appointed and the rules newly stated.

In 1869 the Society brought out the first Secular almanack r published. It was edited by "Charles Bradlaugh and Austin lyoake," and met with an immediate and complete success, nscending even the hopes of its promoters, the first edition ng sold out in one day. This almanack has been continued hout intermission until the present time. At Mr Austin lyoake's death, Mr Charles Watts became co-editor with Mr dlaugh, and in 1878 he was superseded by Mrs Annie Besant. nen Mr Bradlaugh resigned his office as President of the tional Secular Society—in 1890, after his serious illness of the vious winter—the new President, Mr G. W. Foote, became tor of the almanack in conjunction with Mr J. M. Wheeler.

With the exception of the year 1872, when Mr Arthur velyan, J.P., was elected President, Mr Bradlaugh held the ef office of the Society from the time of its foundation until his gnation, and it was always a source of immense pride to him

that he was chosen representative of the Freethinkers of Gre Britain and Ireland. He laboured untiringly for the Society; n merely for the organisation as a whole, but for the separa branches and for the individuals which comprised it. "Duri thirty years," he said on the day he resigned, "I think I may sa I have never refused any help to any branch that I thought w justified in asking for help."

He never held any paid office, but on the contrary often pai money out of his own pocket for the purposes of the Associatio He estimated that the sum he had earned and given in actual cas to the Society and its branches during the time he was connecte with it amounted to £3000. The Society, on its side, release him and Mrs Besant from a payment of £420* due to it at th time of his resignation.

His yearly Conference reports, although they make no preten at being detailed records, are yet landmarks, as it were, of the wo accomplished by the Society; his yearly Conference speeches often give the most vivid glimpses of himself, of his pride in wo accomplished, and his aspirations for work yet undone. Ofte too, their terse and moving language reveals the truest, mo unstudied eloquence.

The National Secular Society proved itself an organisation the utmost value, not merely as a propagandist association, but all cases in any degree connected with the Freethought moveme where combined action was required. When Mrs Besant w deprived of her child; at the time of Mr Bradlaugh's Parliamenta struggle, with its countless phases; during the prosecutions f blasphemy, and on many other occasions, meetings were held petitions were got up simultaneously all over the country. T members of the Society were and are nearly all poor men a women; but what they have lacked in riches they have made in energy; what they could not contribute in money, they ha given eagerly and cheerfully in work.

---

* At his death in 1879 Mr William Thomson of Montrose left £1000 Mr Bradlaugh as President of the National Secular Society, which sum was at liberty to invest in the Freethought Publishing Company, on condit that he paid the Society £5 a month while it lasted. This he did regula from 1879 until February 1890, when the Society generously released h from the remainder.

† See Speeches by Charles Bradlaugh.

any people misconstrued Mr Bradlaugh's reason for resigning ffice as President of the National Secular Society. Some said ade a choice between his Freethought and his Parliamentary , and selected the latter; others said he had long been ually subordinating his anti-theological work to his political , with a view to dropping the former; others, that his action entirely due to a modification in his heretical opinions; and s again said that he was not in harmony with the members of Society. The truth was so obvious and so simple that all ed loth to accept it, and searched for complicated motives r the plain facts. At the special Conference summoned to ve his resignation, Mr Bradlaugh gave his reasons in a voice h was low and faltering, as much from the feelings which ame him as from his recent illness.

With very slight break," he said, "I have led in this move- for over thirty years—a fairly long period in any life. I have President of the Society, with the same slight break, since ociety began, and I am very sorry, very sorry, to resign office norning. Unfortunately, while the work was never easy, it become much harder since 1880, with the Parliamentary gle and the litigation in which the struggle involved me. I felt for the past three or four years—and I think I have con l that feeling to you in my annual speeches—that the pressure sooner or later bring a breakdown. Last October that down came, and the wonder is that I am here to tender you esignation at all. I was then brought face to face with the ulty that I could no longer do all the work I had done. . . . esource is then open to me but to resign. Some kind friends suggested that I might hold the office nominally. . . . But I not do that; I must be a real President or none. My fault been that I have sometimes been too real a one, but it is no matter to lead such a voluntary movement as ours. . . . 't want to leave you. I could not take any other office in the ty after having been so long your President; but if you ght it right to elect me a member for life, I should be ful to you for doing it."

this statement from Mr Bradlaugh's own lips is contained vhole and sole reason for his resignation. To be a "real" dent of the National Secular Society involved the performance

of a vast amount of labour, the greater part of which was unre
nised and unseen. This he felt had become beyond his power
was not in him to bear the name and let others do the work
giving up the duties of his position he must also give up
honours. Only those who knew the pride he had always fel
holding this office of President of the associated Freethinker
the nation knew the pain it cost him to lay that office down.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST CHAPTER.

ear 1880 saw the last of the long struggle in Northampton
ne beginning of that in the House of Commons. For
years my father fought prejudice and misrepresentation in
ampton, for six years longer he had to fight prejudice and
resentation in the House of Commons. But the shorter
vas the harder one; it was carried on incessantly, without
ghtest intermission. It was a terrible six years. The liti-
alone is something appalling; in that time eight suits were
and ended.

t there was the libel suit against Edgcumbe, which dragged
more than a year, and ended in nothing.

nd came Clarke *v.* Bradlaugh. This was an action for
es against Mr Bradlaugh for having sat and voted without
the oath. Commenced in July 1880, it came before the
six times, and was ultimately decided in favour of Mr
ugh in April 1883.

d—Bradlaugh *v.* Newdegate. An action for maintenance
t by Mr Bradlaugh against Mr Newdegate, and decided in
of the former in April 1883.

th—The Queen (Sir Henry Tyler) *v.* Bradlaugh, Foote, and
y. An action for blasphemy, decided in Mr Bradlaugh's
in April 1883.*

n—Bradlaugh *v.* Erskine. An action against the Deputy-
nt-at-Arms for assault, in removing Mr Bradlaugh from the
of the House of Commons on August 3, 1881.† Com-

---

he case against Foote and Ramsey the jury disagreed. The prosecu-
n entered a *nolle prosequi*.

Bradlaugh applied for a summons against Inspector Denning, but this
ion was refused.

menced in April 1882, this suit was decided against Mr Bra in January 1883. In March the Government enforced claim for costs against him.

Sixth—Gurney *v.* Bradlaugh. A suit entered upon Gurney of Northampton, to try the validity of the conduct majority of the House in preventing Mr Bradlaugh from the oath and his seat in the House. Mr Justice Mathe charged the jury, refusing to hear the case on the ground t was a collusive action.

Seventh—Bradlaugh *v.* Gossett. In July 1883 Mr Brad applied for an injunction to restrain the Sergeant-at-Arms using physical force to prevent him from entering the Decided against Mr Bradlaugh in the February of the foll year.

Eighth—Attorney-General *v.* Bradlaugh. An action for pe against Mr Bradlaugh for having sat and voted without subscribed the oath. This case was heard at bar, and jud given for the Attorney-General. This was appealed agains the matter settled in October 1886; Mr Bradlaugh paid hi costs, but nothing further.*

All these lawsuits, each involving the discussion of points greatest intricacy, and in which my father's brain was against those of some of the greatest lawyers in England, have been enough to tax the powers of any ordinary man, e he had had no other struggles. But in these six years ther many other struggles; there were six elections, most of were carried on under extremely harrassing conditions. It w constant battle within the walls of the House and without, the blind fury of their rage his antagonists spared neith father nor any one whose name was associated with his Henry Tyler proceeded against Mr Foote and Mr Rams blasphemy, only because along with them he hoped to be drag Mr Bradlaugh down. Sir Henry Tyler tried to depri sister and myself, as well as Mrs Besant and Dr Aveli our right to teach under the Science and Art Departmen because he hoped to wound Mr Bradlaugh by an attack up

* These proceedings—except the libel case, which has been already —will be found fully dealt with by Mr J. M. Robertson in Part II account of Mr Bradlaugh's Parliamentary struggle.

ters * and his friends. The Somerville Club (at the instiga-
f Miss Eliza Orme) refused to accept the daughters of
s Bradlaugh as members.† University College would not
my sister Alice—a woman of stainless honour and of the
t character—and Mrs Besant to study botany within its
‡ the National Liberal Club, having actually invited Mr
ugh to become a member, insulted him by refusing to elect

country was flooded with literature making the most
us charges against him, and in the name of religion men
rom town to town to preach against him. Even Cardinal
ng, a prince of the greatest Church in Christendom, was not
alted to stoop to cast his stone at the despised Atheist.
the precincts of the great Commons House itself he had
in silence, with no right of reply, whilst he heard his
er assailed, and those who worked with him basely slan-
Within those same historic walls he was set upon and

---

attack upon Mr Bradlaugh through his daughters, insignificant and
ve though we were, was no new idea. In 1877 an attempt was made to
e female students into the classes of the City of London College. At
er's suggestion my sister and I, who at that time took little interest
atter, joined Mr Levy's Class on Political Economy. I went up for
nination at the end of the term, and, to my surprise and my father's
I took a second-class certificate. But the City of London College
ided upon the subject of the admission of female students, and, after
rimonious discussion, Mr Armytage Bakewell, a member of the
carried his intolerance so far as to turn the dispute upon the admis-
ny sister and myself. He wrote to the *City Press* that "though the
e subject of controversy has been whether females should attend the
en's classes or not, there was well known to be a wider divergence,"
t was "best indicated by the fact that Mr Bradlaugh's daughters
Mr Levy's classes." It is only just to the City of London College to
the Council, while repudiating any responsibility for Mr Bakewell's
expressed "their regret that any allusion had been made to Mr
h's daughters" in the letter alluded to. The City of London College
gainst the further admission of women, and within a few days of
ision had to listen to Lord Houghton's congratulations upon their
in admitting women when he presented me with my certificate! He
een informed that the College had just come to the contrary resolution.
h 1883. ‡May 1883.

Five years later the National Liberal Club spontaneously elected
augh, without his knowledge, a member paying his first year's
on.

terribly ill-used by officials, ordered to their work by gentl
claiming to represent the nation. I was at Westminster on
day which witnessed this strange example of the boasted "En
love of fair play." I tremble as I recall it.

We went to Westminster by train, my sister and I,
Mrs Besant and some friends of hers. The sight which me
eyes as we came out of the station was one not to be re
forgotten; immense masses of orderly men and women kept
within certain limits by a thin line of police. There was a
recognition of us as we passed along by friends from all pa
the country, who gave us grave and serious greeting. A
gates of Palace Yard we were challenged by the police
allowed to pass on presenting our petition, and going
Westminster Hall we found it occupied by little groups of
from all corners of England.* These groups grew and grew,
the great hall seemed full, and voices were heard on all
crying, "Petition," "Petition." At the head of the steps
the door leading to the lobby we took up our position. By
by an agonising rumour flew through the Hall, "They are k
him; they are killing him!" and swift on the heels of this
the angry cry, again and again repeated, "To the House!
with this, the surging forward of the crowd. So few
had been spared to guard this entrance that they would have
absolutely powerless to resist these men—not London "ro
but the pick of the London clubs, and, more formidable still
from many a Midland town, and from many a North count
and factory, whose hearts were bound up in my father, an
had come to London that day to petition for justice. The
command, "Keep back!" fell upon deaf ears. My sister
involuntarily put ourselves in front of the doors, facing the
Mrs Besant sprang forward, and in a few impassioned wor
begged them to consider what Mr Bradlaugh's wishes wou
The effect was instantaneous. The foremost fell back, an
others back till all were self-controlled once more; but the
set faces told of the struggle in their hearts. "But we *can*
here and know he is being murdered, and do nothing t
him," said one in a choking voice. Some terrible minutes
but there was no further attempt to pass through the doors

* Seven persons were allowed to enter with each petition.

by a message reached us from my father that he was gone to ecutter Street, and that we were to join him there. At ecutter Street we found him quite calm and self-possessed, his coat hanging in rents, his ashen face and still quivering telling the tale of the struggle he had just passed through.

a few days he fell very ill. The small muscles of both arms ruptured; erysipelas supervened, and the left arm was very indeed, needing constant attention by day and night. All day from early morning to the small hours of the next day there people calling, some friendly and some very much otherwise, les press men and persons on business. My father had no and one day the physician said, "You will never get well, Bradlaugh, if you don't get out of this room."

You wish me to go away?" asked my father.

Yes."

When?"

At once."

I will go to-day," was the characteristic reply.

packed up the necessary baggage, a fly was ordered to take us e station, and at Mrs Besant's suggestion it was decided to go astbourne. I was nursing my father, so I went with him, e for a day or so my sister remained behind to attend to gs at home. Mrs Besant accompanied us. On the way to the on my father, who was feeling very ill and very depressed, he did not care to go to Eastbourne—it was too fashionable; so k the map from the railway guide and called over the names aces on the South Coast until he stopped me at Worthing, hen we turned about to go to there instead of to Eastbourne. ather had both arms in slings, and at the station Mrs Besant I had to walk one each side of him to protect them from the rtinent and the unfeeling who crowded round to stare at him. ed at Worthing, we got into a cab, asking the driver if he recommend us to a quiet hotel; he looked compassionately e only too evidently sick man, and said he thought West hing would suit us best. Whilst he was getting the luggage, rgyman whom we had seen inside the station came out, and ng up to the open cab stared rudely at my father, and as he d away said loudly, for us to hear, "That's Bradlaugh; I hope ll make it warm for him yet."

est Worthing did suit us, as the cabman surmised; my

father's health daily improved, and indeed there is little d
that his timely removal to this quiet spot saved his life for
time. After a few days my sister joined us, and we all felt
better for the change, as much from the momentary respite as f
the fresh air and sea breeze.

The expenses of the litigation and the various elections w
enormous, both directly and indirectly. Although eventually
Newdegate had to bear the whole of the costs in the suit wh
he brought against Mr Bradlaugh, yet the latter had to find sev
hundred pounds—about £725 in all—to pay into court at diffe
times. These sums were ultimately repaid to him, but liabili
had to be incurred to produce them at the required moments.
shorthand notes in the three days' appeal from the trial at
alone cost him £50. In the case of Bradlaugh *v.* Erskine, in wh
the House of Commons defended its officer, the Government m
Mr Bradlaugh pay the costs, under the circumstances a very h
and unusual proceeding. Very little time was allowed to el
before the claim was insisted upon, and to find the money
father had to choose between more borrowing and selling his libr
Yet if the motion carried unanimously and "amid cheers" on
27th January 1891 means anything, it is an acknowledgment
the House was in the wrong when it instructed its office
prevent Mr Bradlaugh by force from obeying the law. It was
merely the direct cost, however; there were the indirect pena
also. For instance, in February 1885, after the appeal from
trial at bar (which, with its subsequent proceedings alone cov
thirteen days), my father spoke of the worry and uncertainty w
had "for months arrested nearly all my means of earning mo
People were always subscribing in an endeavour to pay for
the expenses they knew of, and many were the sacrifices som
them made in their eager desire to help. One old York
miner, who had been sorely troubled that times were so hard
him that he could spare nothing, one day came triumphantly t
friend saying, "I have made it all right; I will go withou
half pint for a week, and send it to the lad."* Many cut d
their usual allowance of tobacco, and some went altogether wit
One poor man sent his silver watch, the only thing of value w

* *National Reformer*, April 27, 1884.

possessed; some people in London, touched at hearing of this rifice, offered to join together to buy him a gold one in acknowgment of it, but he would not hear of it. Several times I have own a cabman refuse to take his fare.* Many poor people sent ir small subscriptions weekly or monthly. But my father ays worried about these funds; he could not bear the thought his poor friends denying themselves their little luxuries, or even haps their necessaries, and he always promptly closed a fund en it had been open some fixed time or directly the specific was reached.

A constant accusation brought against Mr Bradlaugh was that living in aristocratic style,† and of having a most enormous ome.‡ As a matter of fact, he had no income other than what earned from day to day, and his habits and mode of life at ous Road were of the simplest possible kind. His bedroom was y small, about 10 feet by 9 feet, with just room for his bed-d, chest of drawers, wash-stand, and a couple of chairs. His ary, on the first floor after 1880, was a very large room with five dows to it; but spacious as it was, it was by no means too large his books. The room was shelved all round to the very edges of windows, except just over the fireplace; and there were also e sets of movable shelves on the floor of the room. The furniture quite simple—just a desk, writing-tables, cane-seated chairs, father's two old oaken arm-chairs from Tottenham, and an easy r, which was bought specially for him one time when he was well. There was no other "easy" chair in the house, and only small sofa—really a bedroom lounge—which my sister bought me one morning when I was ailing. I doubt whether the lé of my father's furniture would have fetched five-and-twenty nds at a sale. Our meals we had downstairs in a very dark

---

* I have lately heard a touching story of a cabman who drove Mr Bradlaugh several times. He greatly admired my father, but was too shy to speak to him. Every time he took a fare from him he gave it away to some suitable object. He said he could not spend Mr Bradlaugh's money on himself—he felt that "he must do some good with it."

† The *Plymouth and Exeter Gazette* (April 1878) reproved Mr Bradlaugh "the glaring inconsistency of his practice with his democratic principles, in living in the most aristocratic style."

‡ The *Leeds Daily News* (July 1883) said his income was £12,000 a year.

basement room under our landlord's music shop, and here the blu books were also stored.

My father's habits were as simple as his surroundings. He was early riser, and at whatever time he got home at night he was his study soon after seven in the morning. Even when he was n home from the House of Commons till four o'clock in the mornin it was seldom he lay in bed after eight. He had a cup of tea soon as he was down, and he worked at his desk until breakfast-tim which he liked punctually at eight. If he was more than usual busy or worried, he asked for his breakfast to be brought to h study, and he would take it as he worked; but my sister and always affected to be vexed if he did this, because we liked to g him away from his work and into another room for his meal About the middle of 1877 his ever-increasing correspondenc obliged him to have regular clerical assistance, and his secreta came at nine. He was in to callers until ten or half-past. Th was the time he saw people who wanted to consult him on leg or private matters: he listened patiently to their troubles, a often gave them most helpful advice how to get out of them. A sorts of difficulties were confided to him—family troubles, disse sions between husband and wife, between employer and employe great troubles and small were brought to him, and those w brought them were sure of a sympathetic and patient listener, a a confidant to whom they could unreservedly open their hearts.

If Mr Bradlaugh did not have to attend a Committee of t House he would have his dinner (or "lunch," as it was indifferent called) at half-past twelve, and this was followed by a cup of t in his library; if he were in all day, he had his afternoon t (just a cup of tea and a crust of bread and butter) at four, and supper about seven or half-past seven. At his dinner and supp he drank hock or burgundy.* Often after supper there would a little pleasant chat, sometimes a game of chess, and, more rare whist with a dummy. If my father was too tired or too worri for any of these, he would go to bed as early as half-past eight nine, lie and read for a while, and then sleep soundly un morning. Of course it was not often he could do this, for his ev

* He was frequently charged with drinking expensive wines, but the h he had straight from Bensheim at a cost of 1s. 3d. per bottle (includ carriage and duty); the burgundy came direct from Beaune, and cost a tr more.

s were usually spent in lecturing or at the House of Commons.* e only time during the session which he could rely upon for ing callers, answering letters,† and earning his living, was m seven A.M. until the time he left for the House. Saturday ning and Sundays were generally employed in lecturing. Until 84 his holidays were of the rarest and the shortest. In that r he first went fishing at Loch Long. At the suggestion of ne Scotch friends, a cottage was taken for a month that summer Portincaple, a lovely and secluded spot just opposite Loch Goil. sister and I and a Scotch lady, Miss Lees, stayed the whole e; different friends came and went, and my father spent a k fishing. The cottage belonged to Finlay M'Nab, fisherman ferryman, and had belonged to his father and grandfather ore him. On nearly all Mr Bradlaugh's fishing expeditions lay M'Nab was his boatman. They would go off just after akfast, or sometimes even earlier, get dinner at Carrick Castle Ardentinny, and come home at sunset with a big bag of fish. er 1884 we went to Portincaple several summers in succession, then Mr Bradlaugh took to going there in the Easter and itsun recess, and for a few days after Parliament rose. On e occasions he went alone, but Mrs M'Nab attended to all his forts indoors as though he were at home, and outdoors her band looked after the bait and the boat—except on Sundays; n, my father had to content himself with the dangerous amuse- t of fishing from the rocks, whilst Finlay looked wistfully on. Ir Bradlaugh was a very even-tempered man, and those who ed on him usually served him eagerly. He never found fault ecessarily, and provided an attempt was well meant, it mattered e, as far as his behaviour went, if the result was not equal to intention. He was most generous and tender-hearted, except hose who had wantonly taken advantage of the confidence he sed in them to deceive him. Such persons called him hard unrelenting, for even if he forgave them they never again held e the same place in his esteem. Some critics have said he was n of unrestrained passions; others have said he was absolutely

During the time he was not allowed to take his seat he attended the e constantly, sitting under the gallery in a seat technically outside the e.

One year he calculated that he had written 1200 letters of advice in the emonth—this, of course, in addition to general correspondence.

passionless. Neither is right. He was a man of very stro feelings, but he had an iron will. At a critical moment in his li when he was greatly tempted to follow a certain course, a frie urged upon him that if he did he would injure the work he h at heart. My father replied by stretching out his arm, and closi his fingers over an imagined object. "I have not a passion," said, "that I could not crush as easily as an egg within my ha if it were necessary for the good of the cause I love." And was true to his word.

In 1877 when Mr Bradlaugh severed his business connecti with Mr C. Watts, he started, as I have said, a publishing busine in connection with Mrs Annie Besant, under the style of t Freethought Publishing Company. The business premises were Stonecutter Street, E.C., and here, with small premises, a sm staff, and a small rent, the Company did fairly well. In 1882, ho ever, my father was induced against his better judgment to leas shop at the corner of Fleet Street and Bouverie Street (n occupied by the Black and White Company). Here the premi were large and the rent heavy. To make matters worse, abou couple of years later, owing to the financial difficulties of his la lord, he was reluctantly obliged to take up the remainder of t lease of the whole building, and thus he became saddled with rent and taxes—amounting to more than seven hundred per ann —and the responsibility of a great house in the city. In order raise the capital required to meet these expenses, Mr Bradla with Mrs Besant issued debenture stock to the amount of four five thousand pounds, the interest on which was paid with unf ing regularity until my father's death.

But as he had feared, the business at Fleet Street did thrive sufficiently to support so large an establishment; greater part of it had always been, and was then, a po business, hence it could be carried on as well in a little shop i side street as in a large corner shop in such a thoroughfare. details of the managership of the publishing department were the hands of Mrs Besant and my sister Alice, but as both w without the least experience in business, my father was the f referee on all matters, and it was he of course who had to pro for quarter-day with its heavy rent, taxes, and debenture intere

In 1884, unable to let the upper portion of the building,

adlaugh decided to utilise it himself by setting up a printing-
ce, and doing his own printing. This department was put under
control of Mr Bonner, to whom I was then engaged to be
rried. As my husband was already familiar with the manage-
nt of a printing-office, Mr Bradlaugh's only trouble with this
nch of his business was in finding the money, and this was not
reat anxiety, as it paid for itself from the very first. It is true
profits were never great, for the prejudice against giving work
any establishment connected with the name of Bradlaugh at first
ited the work almost to the printing of his own publications.
father was very glad to be saved responsibility, even in this
ll matter for, as he often said, he had never intended to become
ublisher, and he had never intended to become a printer; he
so many things on his hands that he had time neither for one
the other; he had, in fact, no inclination for commercial pur-
s: they had always been forced upon him by circumstances.

When it was known that I was going to attempt some story of
father's life, there were many things I was told that I must
fail to mention. Amongst others, one friend said: "You must
fail to notice that Mr Bradlaugh was an essentially grateful
; he never forgot the smallest favour or the smallest kindness
was shown him." That is absolutely true; he could forget
t injuries, "his heart was as great as the world," but it was
large enough "to hold the memory of a wrong;" a kind-
he never forgot.* When John Bright pledged himself in the

The following extracts, taken at hazard from New Year's addresses to his
ds in the *National Reformer*, will show how grateful he was to them for
help and what support he found in their love and trust:—
Women and men, I have great need of your strength to make me strong,
our courage to make me brave. I am in a breach where I must fall
ing or go through. I will not turn, but I could not win if I had to fight
" (1st January 1882).
883 has freed me from some troubles and cleared me of some peril, but
ves me in 1884 a legacy of unfinished fighting. I thank the friends of
ead year, without whose help I, too, must have been nearly as dead as
ld year itself. . . . I have had more kindnesses shown me than my
vings warrant, more love than I have yet earned, and I open the gate of
most hopefully because I know how many hundred kindly hearts there
o cheer me if my uphill road should prove even harder to climb than in
ears of yesterday" (6th January 1884).
The present greeting is first to our old friends; some poor folk who early

House of Commons for my father, the latter was greatly affect
and speaking to us in private about it was quite overcome.
had disagreed often with John Bright, and had sometimes spok
his disagreement with the utmost frankness; later on they w
opposed upon the subject of Home Rule, but after the day when t
lion-hearted old man so unexpectedly and so courageously spo
on his behalf, Mr Bradlaugh never mentioned his name save wi
the most profound respect and gratitude. And yet this trait
gratitude, so strong in himself, he never seemed to expect
others; or at least he seldom showed surprise at its absence.
once helped to Baltimore a Russian prisoner, escaped from Siber
who had come to him with letters from Continental friends. T
months rolled by, and nothing further was heard of the man.
great deal had been done for him, and one day I expressed mys
very strongly on his ingratitude. My father stopped me
quietly saying that I must learn to do a right thing just because
was right, and not because I expected gratitude or any other rewa
for what I did. I felt the rebuke keenly, but I had nothing to s
for I instantly realised that he preached to me no more th
he himself practised.

It is remarkable how quickly Mr Bradlaugh made his personali
felt when once he was allowed to sit quietly in Parliament. So
persons had sneeringly said that he would "soon find his leve
or that he would "soon sink into obscurity," but he rapid
proved that he at least did not regard the House of Commo
merely as "the best club in England." His patience in masteri
details, his perseverance and persistence in what he underto
and the work he accomplished, were all so notable that he h
sat in the House barely one year when the possibility of a s
for him in the next Radical ministry began to be discusse
His constant attendance at the House and at Committees—a
he was rarely absent—interfered greatly with his lecturing in
provinces during the session, although almost every availa
evening was utilised for London and suburban lectures, many

---

in 1860 took No. 1 [of the *National Reformer*], and have through good an
report kept steadily with us through the more than a quarter of a cent
struggle for existence" (3rd January 1886).

* *Bognor Observer*, February 1887.

ich were given away.* In consequence of this he was driven re and more to rely upon his pen as a means of earning ney. It was always easier to him to speak than to write upon subject. His style was terse and direct; his thoughts and words came so fast that a verbatim report of an hour's ech filled several newspaper columns. His gestures, his pression, the modulation of his voice, pointed and explained his ken words. But it nearly always irked him to write long on a subject; his letters were for the most part models of vity, and he tended to make his articles brief also. If a gazine editor asked him to write an article of six thousand rds, and he had said all he wanted to say at that moment four or five thousand, he hated to add to it, and often, indeed, would not.

By incessant labour my father earned a fair income, he could not keep pace with his heavy expenses, and burden of his debts each year weighed upon him more more heavily. He would sigh regretfully that he was not young as he used to be, and these things troubled him more n formerly. At the end of August 1888, writing his "Rough es" in the *National Reformer*, he said: "Many folks write as though now Parliament stood adjourned, I could be ly taking holiday and rest. I wish this were possible, but truth I have to work very hard to reduce my debts and live. all, I hope, have four and a half days' fishing in Loch Long n mid-day on Monday, September 3rd, to the morning of urday the 8th, but this short holiday is more than counter- nced by the heavy lecturing work of the recess. This week, example, I address seven meetings; next week eight. Many e to me to give lectures in aid of branches, clubs, and associa- s, and I do help very often, but surely it is not necessary me to constantly repeat that my only means are those I earn n day to day by tongue and pen. My great trouble now is I should be unable to earn enough to meet my many heavy gations, in which case I should be most reluctantly obliged to nquish my Parliamentary career."

One at the Shoreditch Town Hall in May 1884, on behalf of the Hackney ed Radical Club, realised as much as £40. The hall was packed in every er, and hundreds were unable to gain admittance.

This "Note" had a most unexpected result; it was reproduc with generous comments in the press, and a committee w formed to raise a fund to clear off the balance of £1500 debt still remaining from the six years' Parliamentary strugg This fund was only open one month, until October 1st;* a in that short time £2490 was subscribed in sums varying fr 1d. to £200. Now at last my father seemed to be getting in smooth waters; the only financial burdens left upon him we in connection with his business, and these he hoped to gradual lighten. But within a few weeks he had to face a new troub On the 16th November my sister Alice was taken very with typhoid fever at Circus Road; for the sake of great quiet, we moved her to my rooms at 19 Avenue Road, whe meningitis having supervened, she died on 2nd December. S expressly asked that in the case of her death she should cremated, and we were most anxious to carry out her wish but the Woking Crematorium was then undergoing structu alterations, and it was not possible to do so. This sh and unexpected illness, with its fatal termination, was a gr shock to Mr Bradlaugh, and I went to him at Circus Ro the next morning as soon as I could get away. I found h terribly depressed, working in his room in a bad atmosphe with the gas alight and all the blinds down. Knowing how ordinarily shrank from any outward display of his feelings, a especially how much he disliked mere form, I said, "W how is this? Why have you pulled all the blinds down?" said brokenly, "They [the servants] did it; I thought it mi be your wish." I put out the gas, drew up the blinds, a opened a window for a few moments to let in a little fresh He was himself out of health, and I did not like to see h sitting there in that close and heated atmosphere. I as if he was going to the House? No; he did not think he shou he replied. I urged him to go, believing it was the best th he could do. He did go, but he could not stay long; someh an announcement of my sister's death had got into the papers, Members sympathised with him in his sorrow in such kin fashion that he was obliged to come away lest he should br down. A night or two later he made his speech in reply

* Mr Bradlaugh asked for it to be closed on 26th September.

Broadhurst on the Employers' Liability Bill, and if his words in them somewhat more of acerbity than usual, I often k that it was in a measure due to the biting pain of his grief.

n the 5th my sister was buried at the Brookwood Necropolis, re already some members of our family lay. Many who had vn her, and whose lives had been helped by hers, begged there might be a public funeral; but my father shrank exposing his sorrow even to the most sympathetic of friends, we quietly and silently laid her in her last resting-place, re, alas! she was so soon to be joined by her stricken father. death was not allowed to pass without the Christian common- es as to "the miserable barrenness of the sceptic's theories" he presence of domestic calamities; and Mr Bradlaugh asked would be thought of him if at a similar hour he should ade upon some Christian some mocking word upon the horrors e theory that "many are called and few are chosen"?

y husband and I now went to live at Circus Road, and as my er was suddenly without a secretary, I filled the post while he seeking a fresh one. I had given up the class teaching, in h I had been for many years associated with my sister, ng thus a certain amount of leisure, and finding I could manage hat was wanted, I begged him to let me continue his work. ked to feel I was helping him, if only in the mechanical of writing at his dictation.

uring the later years of his life, Mr Bradlaugh was often out ealth and suffered a great deal, especially in the arm so badly ed on the 3rd August 1881. The strain—mental as well as ical—of the six years 1880–85 had been tremendous.* But a at Loch Long with Finlay M'Nab and his rod and line ed to restore him to health again; we never thought of anything us, he appeared so big and strong. In October 1889, ever, he fell ill—so ill that for some time it seemed doubtful her he would recover, but thanks to the skill of his old ician Dr Ramskill, and the assiduous care of his friend and

---

*This I think has been recognised by most people. In December 1884 the *ly Dispatch* spoke of the "great strain" put upon Mr Bradlaugh, er which a man less vigorous in mind and body would long ere this have n down."

colleague on the Vaccination Commission, Dr W. J. Collins, gradually struggled back to life once more. It was thought that health would be greatly benefited by a voyage to India, therefore he decided to attend the Fifth National Congress Bombay. Mr M'Ewan, M.P., who was then enjoying a holi abroad, sent Mr Bradlaugh a cheque for £200 so that mo difficulties should not hinder him from following the doct advice; and with the cheque, Mr M'Ewan sent a most delica worded letter, which touched the sick man to the heart.

The shadows of death lay very close to him, and he had a h fight back to the light again, but he longed ardently to l There was so much that he had put his hand to, which position he had now won in the House would enable him to with comparative ease. As he lay in his bed in his study* turned over and over in his mind plans by which he mi economise his strength in the future. It was quite clear that must do less lecturing, and must depend more and more on pen. He resolved to try and sell the remainder of the Fl Street lease, and to give up his publishing business; he planned to gradually pay off the debenture-holders, and when was free from all money entanglements, to hand over the print plant to my husband to carry on the business in his own name on his own responsibility. One thing he felt he could do imm iately. After he had been lying very quiet for some time, startled me one day by suddenly saying that he had determined resign the Presidency of the National Secular Society, and bade me get pen and paper, and take his instructions for a lette the Secretary. I tried to argue the matter with him and beg him to reflect upon it, to do nothing hastily, and reminded that people would say if he resigned then, in his illness, that had recanted. His face, which all along had been set stern, darkened as I said this. People must think what t choose, he said, he could no longer do everything; something m go; the Presidency entailed a great deal of work, and he m give it up. I tried to say something more, but he stopped saying sharply that he had made up his mind. I was disconce

* The doctors would not allow Mr Bradlaugh to remain in his bedro one of them told him indignantly—albeit with some exaggeration—tha would have better accommodation in the workhouse!

the tone and manner, so unusual from him to me, and left room a moment to recover my equanimity. I was back ost immediately, and went to the desk to get the note- to take down the letter to Mr Forder (the Secretary). I d my name spoken gently, and turning, saw my father holding his hand to me. I went to the bedside. "Now, my daughter," aid affectionately, "I want you to tell me what you were going ay just now." He listened patiently whilst I urged upon him , although he was strong enough to despise the misrepresen- on that would surely follow the abrupt and unexplained ouncement of his resignation, it was hardly fair to his friends would have to bear taunt and sneer, and would be unable uote a word out of his mouth in reply. He replied that the on for his immediate resignation was that he could not be a ident in name only, and, without himself taking part in the , be held responsible for the sayings and doings of others— whom he might or might not agree—on behalf of the Society. thought, however, he might leave his formal resignation until return from India, although he would at once intimate his ntion. He added with a tender smile, "I promise you that ll make a statement which shall not leave any one in doubt as ay opinions." The religious question troubled him so little he had not even thought about it until I spoke of the bility of misconstruction. The severity and sternness of his eanour in making the announcement of his resolve was due y to the pain it had cost him to give up an office he valued so ly, and which he had hoped to retain until the laws relating lasphemy were erased from the Statute Book.

was generously offered to pay my passage to Brindisi so that ght care for my father during the first days of his journey, my own health did not permit me to accept so delightful an He seemed really too ill to go alone, and the memory of face, so haggard and so grey, as I last saw it at the vessel's was an abiding pain. He sent back a pencilled note by the , and a letter from every port, to tell how he was gaining gth each day. On board the steamer every one was kind to At Bombay every one was more than kind ; all seemed to vie each other in showing him attentions—Indians and English ents alike. A house and attendants were put at the disposal himself and Sir William Wedderburn, President of the

Congress, and the latter made things easy for the invalid by m
a courteous act. Although it had been announced that
Bradlaugh could not stay long enough in Bombay to rece
addresses, yet a large number were presented to him, of which abl
twenty were in caskets or cases of worked silver, carved sam
wood, inlaid ivory, and other beautiful specimens of native wo
The duty alone on these amounted to about £19, and was p
by the Congress Committee.

Mr Bradlaugh's interest in Indian affairs, and his comprehens
of the needs of the people, were recognised both at home a
in India. In India he was joyfully called the "Member
India," and at home his views on Indian matters were listened
with growing respect. Lord Dufferin sought an interview, a
afterwards had considerable correspondence with him, and bef
Lord Harris set out for Bombay he also made a point of seeing
acknowledged representative in Parliament of the Indian people

Mr Bradlaugh returned from Bombay at the end of Janu
(1890), much better in health than we had dared to hope, and
now quite believed that with care he would become thoroug
strong again. The birth of my little son in the April of t
year prevented me from attending to my father's correspondenc
and at my request, my place was filled by a friend of mine and
my sister's, Mrs Mary Reed. My father soon grew very fond
my little boy, and would now and then put aside his writing a
take him on his knee, protesting that he had never before
his work to nurse a baby, and sometimes wondering whether, wh
the boy grew up, he would go fishing with him.

The advent of the baby and all his paraphernalia made us
more crowded for space than ever, and as the music publish
had a room on the first floor which they used as a stock-ro
my husband arranged to rent this, and we furnished it as a sitti
room. We made it look as pretty as we could, and it was re
for us at the end of September. On my father's birthday (
26th) I persuaded him to take us to the theatre, and we w
to the Lyceum to see *Ravenswood*. On coming home we
supper in the bright new room instead of the dark place un
ground, and many were my father's jokes about the unwon
splendour of his surroundings. Alas! it seemed that that r
was furnished only for him to die in three months later.

The winter of 1890 set in early and severely. In Novem

egan to snow, and snow and fog continued well into the new . With the cold weather my father began to feel ill again. thought of going to Paris to spend the New Year, but he d not afford it. I was sorry he could not go, for he always e back the better for a few days in Paris. He was a ome visitor to the French capital; he had never been made to himself an outcast from society there. Coming home with him fearfully foggy night in December* from a lecture he had delivering at the Hall of Science on behalf of a testimonial to Forder, the Secretary of the National Secular Society, the ersation turned upon the value of his books, and he mentioned or three which he thought—erroneously, as it turned out— valuable. I asked him if he would not sell them; if he d get a holiday and health with the money they would fetch, would be well worth the exchange. "Ah, my daughter, n I sell my books ——" he began, and his unfinished answer all the sadness of his thought. Twice he would have had ll them if friends had not come to his aid—once, as I have to pay the Government costs in Bradlaugh *v.* Erskine, and in the Peters and Kelly case. He loved his books; to part them seemed like parting with his heart's blood.

n the 10th January my father went out in the afternoon; it densely foggy and bitterly cold. When he returned a few s later I ran down to him as usual, and was horrified to see ace—it was the same face that I had seen in the worst of his ess of the previous winter. This was the first attack of the ns of the heart, although we did not then know it; it was aratively slight,* and after a little my father seemed himself . The improvement, however, was more apparent than

---

Wednesday, 10th December. This was the last lecture Mr Bradlaugh delivered. The subject was "The Evidence for the Gospels," in sm of Dr Watkin's Bampton lectures.

person writing in the *Swansea Journal* for 7th February 1891 said ome time previously Mr Bradlaugh *had told him* of his sufferings from *a pectoris.* This is utterly untrue; my father never suffered from this aint, nor until his fatal illness was he ever conscious that he had ng wrong with his heart. In a private letter to a friend written on th—almost the last written with his own hand—he says distinctly, ve never suffered from heart or lungs before." The mania for invention aordinary.

real; in less than a week from that day he was compelled to ke his bed, and in less than a month he lay in his grave. He di on the 30th January, firm in the convictions in which he h lived, and was buried on the 3rd of February, next my sister the Brookwood Necropolis. The funeral was a silent one, witho speeches and without display,* but people attended it from parts of England—one miner even came from Scotland. Peop of all sorts and all conditions travelled to this remote spot to sh their respect for the man who had given his life in the service his fellows.

At Mr Bradlaugh's death his assets were not nearly sufficie to meet his liabilities, but amongst these liabilities there was n a single personal item; they were every one in connection with t Fleet Street business. Most of the creditors cheerfully agreed accept a composition of ten shillings in the pound; of this £17 was raised by public subscription, and the remainder was furnish by the sale of the library,† Indian presents,‡ and the lease of Fleet Street. It was a wonderful testimony to the regard in whi my father was held that people should join together to help paying his debts after his death. Four other memorials to h have been projected, of which three are now complete. T first to be finished was the monument at Brookwood. It c sists of a bronze bust of Mr Bradlaugh, by Mr F. Verheyden, o red granite pedestal. It was erected at a cost of £225; and t money was subscribed absolutely spontaneously, without a sin appeal or one word of request. Then came the statue of Bradlaugh erected by his constituents in Abington Squa Northampton, and unveiled on the 25th of June 1894, in presence of the greatest crowd ever assembled in that to

* This was exactly in accordance with Mr Bradlaugh's wishes. In a dated 1884 he said: "I direct that my body shall be buried as cheapl possible, and that no speeches be permitted at my funeral." His last which consisted of a few lines only, contained no directions on this matte

† The library included some 7000 volumes, in addition to about 3000 Books, and a large number of unbound pamphlets. The books were by post from the catalogue, and went to all parts of the world. T realised £550 after all expenses were paid, and about 1000 volumes remai unsold.

‡ Through the generosity of "Edna Lyall," I was able to buy these myself.

y, there is the memorial which was organised in the House ommons, and energetically promoted by the daughters of ard Cobden, one of our country's noblest men. This took orm of making some provision for myself, and to that end a e has been bought with the money subscribed.

here is one other memorial which from its nature is not y to be completed for some years. It is a project to build a to be called the "Bradlaugh Memorial Hall," to be used for urposes of promoting the great causes with which Mr Brad- n was identified. It took close upon a hundred years to build emorial Hall to Thomas Paine; it remains to be seen how it will take to erect one to the memory of Charles Bradlaugh.

PART II.

BY

JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

CHAPTER I.

PHILOSOPHY AND SECULARIST PROPAGANDA.

may here be well to give a general view of Bradlaugh's aching on the great open questions of opinion and action, taking parately the old provinces of religion and politics. When he ne most prominently before his countrymen he had a very finite repute on both heads, having spoken on them in nearly ery town of any size in the country; but neither then nor later uld it be said that anything like the majority of the public had ust or accurate idea of his position. The obstacle was and is tly prejudice, partly incapacity.

§ 1

To begin with, even the distinct title of "Atheist" may mean y number of things for any number of persons. Ill-informed d even some well-informed people commonly describe an Atheist one who says "There is no God," and that "Things happen by ance." To say to such persons—as has been said a thousand es—that for an Atheist both phrases are meaningless, seems to e no help: we must begin at the beginning, and show how the pute arose. And it is useful to keep in view that Bradlaugh's heism, in the evolution of English Freethought, is only a eration removed from the Deism of Thomas Paine, which is ch the same as the Deism of Voltaire. Deism or Theism is day reckoned a quite "religious" frame of mind; but it was the ne of mind of men who in their day were hated and vilified by ristians as much as Bradlaugh in his. Explicit Atheism is only our own day become at all a common opinion. The men so cribed in former ages, so far as we know (if we set aside the arkable developments of the Italian Renaissance), have nearly ays been Deists or Pantheists, of whom the latter of course d logically to coalesce with Atheism, but who have in their n names alike professed to repudiate Atheism. Thus Hobbes

and Spinoza, who last century were constantly called Atheists
Christians, always professed to have a God-idea; and the Fr
thinkers who showed head in England in the first half of t
eighteenth century were all professing Deists. Systematic Athei
began to arise among the more penetrating or more train
thinkers of the latter half of the century. Thus Hume, af
professing Deism throughout his life, left for posthumous pu
lication his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion," whi
amount to the surrender of all forms of Theism. Of Voltaire
his latter years, when he strongly attacked the Atheism
Holbach, it was said by the more high-flying talkers of the Pa
drawing-rooms: "Why, he is a bigot; he is a Deist." But ev
Voltaire, as Mr Morley has shown, was somewhat less of a De
after the earthquake of Lisbon; and "Candide" is not a go
Theistic tract.* Diderot, again, reached explicit Atheism; a
his friend Holbach wrote, in the "Système de la Nature," the f
systematic and straightforward Atheistic treatise of modern time
In England the movement was less rapid. Bolingbroke w
pretty far towards a Lucretian or Agnostic Theism; and
upper-class Deism which on his lines held out against the opp
tunist orthodoxy of Butler, necessarily tended to make its Deit
very remote and inaccessible Power. But Freethought, to get
hold on the general mind in the thickening populations of
latter half of last century and the first half of this, had to be

* This is all that can be pleaded in favour of the deliberate representa
of Voltaire as an Atheist by the late Archbishop Thomson, at the Ch
Congress of 1881. But the ignorance of the upper English clergy in gen
on such matters is amazing. In January 1881, Archdeacon (then Ca
Farrar, preaching in Westminster Abbey, represented Robespierre's Reig
Terror as a "reign of avowed Atheism;" identified the Deistic cult of
"Supreme Being" with that of the "goddess of Reason;" and accounte
the fall of Robespierre by the statement that, "God *awoke once more*, and
one thunderclap smote the sanhedrim of the insurrection, prostrated
apostate race." This orator once expressed horror at the thought that
establishment might enable Bradlaugh to speak in St Paul's. Bradla
might have remarked on what the Establishment permitted at Westmi
Abbey.

† The English translation, in the original issue, is in parts completely
verted to the language of Theism, whether out of fear or of Deistic preju
on the part of the translator. Even the edition prefaced by Bradlaugh—
did not think of checking the text—preserves the perversions of the
translator

in, and more effectively, on the lines of the first Deists. The redibility of the sacred books had to be made clear before more ract issues could be settled. In this task Voltaire, the pupil he English Deists, was the great performer for all Europe. It Paine however who first, in the turmoil of the Revolution, ught home to thousands of English artizans and other plain the incredibility of what had so long passed as divinely- aled truth. He could do this the better because of the power fame of his work in politics, and because of his constant fession of a devout belief in a beneficent God, on whom he ared the Bible narratives to be a libel. It probably needed element of popular religion to keep up any continuous current opular Free-thinking in England throughout the great reaction ch followed on the French Revolution. But the argument of ler held good against Paine as against the earlier Deists. If Bible stories were irreconcilable with the idea of a "good," ipotent God, equally so are the operations of Nature. And gh there are many people who can be led by that argument to eve or make-believe in the Bible (though it makes no more for Bible than for the Koran), there were others who felt bound to the logical alternative, and decide that the "good God" of ular half-faith is a dream.

uch progress is a question of time. Atheism in a psychological e began with the beginning of physical science. Pure Theism, s early form of polytheism, saw in all natural movements and es the expression of a personal power or powers, analogous to ; and its gods were and are simply magnified projections of anity. Thus the sun, moon, and planets, the winds, the ader, the lightning, the rivers, the fountains, the seas, were all ed as ruled and moved by personal deities. As soon, however, stronomy made certain the perfectly regular movements of the and stars, Theism was to that extent logically limited, and eism to that extent logically possible. Astronomy was strictly ess in so far as it showed the universe to move by undeviat- aw. Of course this perception is but a small part of human ciousness and daily life; and the habit of theising, so to speak, y overrode the habit of atheising. But every advance in exact vledge of Nature, and in the capacity for exact thought, tended ncourage the atheistic view, and to discredit the theistic ce the spread of Atheism and Agnosticism among the Greeks

in their progressive and scientific period. It needed the consta reform and modification of theistic doctrine, and later the comple arrest of all scientific thought, to keep the theistic view of thin in power and place. And there had to be a revival of science a exact thinking before there could again be talk of Atheism.

It follows, however, that all early Atheism, so-called, was or the rejection of theistic ideas from some part of the business life. The Christians were "Atheists" for the Pagan multitu because they rejected the only God-ideas which the Pag multitude harboured. In the same way the Christians who la scouted the worship of images of God (as Persians and Jews h done long before) were Atheists for those Christians who co only conceive of an imaged God. Prejudice has its own log When again medical men rested more and more on induct method and rational (even if mistaken) procedure, and less a less on sorcery and invocation, they were naturally cal Atheists, because they excluded "God" from an important a perilous province of action. Logically, the more a man is Theist, the more of "God's" intervention he sees in life. No m is a Theist in all things; but in the ages of ignorance men w theistic in most matters. The kingdom of God, in a practi sense, is a sphere in which man is confessedly ignorant or impote "God's will" is the name for the forces which man cannot cont and does not understand. It covers a storm, a pestilence, a g or bad harvest, a stroke of luck, but not an indigestion, or breaking of coal when struck by a hammer. Thus it is that ev new advance of science, every new explanation of a body of f in terms of law and innate tendency, is at first denounced Atheistic. After the physicians came the physicists. The g Kepler, in keeping with his idealistic method, was so steeped Theism as to fancy that the planets were kept up to time guiding angels. Newton, however, was flatly accused of Athe for explaining the universe in terms of the law of gravitat He had driven God out of the world, it was said; and so far as physics went, it was true. Yet he himself was an ardent The and he even sought to make good his Theism by the theory "matter" was first without gravitation, and that God added attribute. With or without this safeguard, however, Newt generalisation was sufficiently abstract to leave popular reli intact; and practical Theism even assimilated and gained by

nce. It was not till geologists began to explain the formation he earth in terms of law and tendency that the great shock e. God had hitherto been generally conceived as shaping the h, were it only because there was no other explanation at hand; , above all, geology clashed with Genesis. Hence a much more ous resistance, and a much more general imputation of Atheism; igh the first geologists were mostly Deists, and believers in special creation of animal life. The next and the most serious k was that given by Darwinism, which removed "the divine " from biology. Over this came the loudest outcry of all; and odium would have been overwhelming were it not for the ber of naturalists who took up the new doctrine as a matter of ial science. "God" is now for scientific people practically oved from the sphere of all the "natural" sciences; and the lts attained in this connection by educated people are slowly g attained by the ill-educated; the mass of the clergy having ually assimilated the conclusions of biology as their pre- ssors did those of geology and physics.

ne inevitable next step is the reduction to scientific order of lore of human affairs. This step was taken in a large part by kle, somewhat out of the due order of time, just before Darwin d the "Origin of Species;" and Buckle has had on the whole e of religious enmity than even Darwin, though, significantly gh, he expressly insisted on Theism while Darwin kept it ely in the background. Buckle's Theism so plainly leaves Deity nothing to do in human affairs that his belief, however d, could avail nothing to propitiate the class whose function is xplain history in terms of divine interference. Buckle, a essed Theist, is for all practical purposes in the position of an ist, save in respect of his personal and emotional belief in a re state. A God who in no way comes in contact with men, ood or for ill, is too thin a conception to count for much.

heism, then, is only a development of a process of thought began ages ago under Polytheism. It has been reached e past by isolated thinkers; there seem to have been Atheists e time of composition of parts of the Vedas; and each one of reat steps of scientific generalisation has been anticipated by who were not able to bring the idea home to their own age. the giving the step its name that creates the greatest shock. when a reformer does not even wait to have his position

named for him, does not merely undermine Theism by a ne
scientific treatment of a province of fact, but goes to the logical ro
of the matter and declares that the latest Theism is at bottom
more true than the oldest, though stripped of certain crudities
then it is that the maximum of odium is evoked. The Atheist,
reality, does but carry negation a step further than does the The
himself. As Bradlaugh used to point out, the modern The
denies the existence of any type of "God" save his own. Wh
ever he may see fit to argue about the folly of denying t
possibilities of the unknown, he is quite confident that there is
the universe no Being even remotely resembling the fabled Ze
or Moloch, or Osiris, or Venus, or Huitzlipochtli. He is sure th
these are only imaginary existences. Similarly, he begins in th
days to be sure that the conception of Jahweh is as purely a dre
as that of Bacchus—the mere projection of man's own image (ho
ever magnified or even idealised) on the background of nescien
Nay, the latter-day Theist begins to repudiate the conceptions
the "Deists" of last century: he will have no "Great Artifice
no "Overruling Providence." The latest treatises expressly rej
the arguments of the earlier for proving the "existence of Go
Thus the Theist himself "denies the existence" of a thousa
Gods.* The Atheist, as Mr Bradlaugh put it, merely denies
thousand and one.† He argues that the most advanced Thei
(as distinguished from mere Pantheism) is only a modif
form of the oldest; merely a civilised fancy instead of an
civilised; it is always a male person in the image of man, w
passions, emotions, limitations, qualities; loving, hating, planni
punishing, rewarding; always the "magnified non-natural man"
the primeval worshipper: a conception flatly and absurdly oppo
to the first philosophic requirements of the very doctrine wh

---

* This fact is entirely ignored by Professor Flint in his defence of the
plea of Foster and Chalmers against Mr Holyoake in "Anti-Thei
Theories," App. ii.

† John Mill, after stating that his father held that "concerning
origin of things nothing whatever can be known," remarks that "Dogm
Atheism he looked upon as absurd; as most of those whom the world
considered Atheists have always done" ("Autobiography," p. 39). I
difficult to guess what is here meant by "dogmatic Atheism;" but certa
no statement made above is more "dogmatic" than the proposition cited f
Mill, senior. It clearly involves rejection of all Theism.

dies it. The God of Theism must always be the analogue of Theist. Hume, passing out of Theism, concluded that the ver" of the universe could only have a faint and remote gy to human personality. Further reasoning forces the con- n that it can have no conceivable analogy.

is very conclusion has actually been reached by many professed ts and professed Christians. Professor Max Müller has ted instances in his lectures on "Anthropological Religion." hose thinkers, like Dr Müller himself, have always in practice ed into the personal conception which they philosophically to repudiate. As Dr Müller puts it, the abstract Theism allows to Deity no human attributes whatever is too "cold" opularity; and Dr Müller is not ashamed, after smoothing ay with a trivial fallacy, to recur to the doctrine and termin- of the multitude, giving the Deity male sex because "we" t think of "Him" otherwise than as male. The Atheist y stands honestly to the conclusions which such Theists have dly come to and then feebly let go.

is is so obvious to steady-minded people that in all philo- ages there have been some who, shunning the name than the reality of Atheism, have formulated the doctrine ame of Pantheism. Between *logical* Pantheism and Atheism, ver, it cannot be too strongly affirmed, there is no difference n name. An Atheist believes in a "going" and infinite se, the totality of which he cannot pretend to understand; hich he flatly refuses to pretend to explain by the primitive hesis of a personal "Spirit." He calls the universe "infinite" y of avowing that he cannot conceive of its coming to an end, tension or in duration. This recognition of endlessness ents for him the limit of thought: and he declines to proceed e further attributes to that, the very naming of which leads the verge of the capacities of rational speech. He declines e to the going universe the name of "God," because that has always been associated by nearly all men with the ive conception of a Personal Being, and it is a mere verbal gem to make it identical with Universe. So irresistible is ffect of the immemorial association of the name that it to carry nearly every professing Pantheist back chronically nere Theism and Deism, even if he so formulates his eism to begin with as to make it answer to the name. A

logically consistent Pantheist, using the name, would be hard
find. Hence the necessity, on all grounds, of repudiat
Pantheism as distinctly as Theism. The only consistent cours
to use the privative "*a*," and stand to the term which me
"without Theos, without God-idea."

§ 2.

This preamble, it is to be hoped, may make it easier to apprec
the technicalities of Bradlaugh's doctrine. He was not the
trained Atheist of the theistic imagination, who may be confoun
with a quotation from Kant by one of the personages of Mrs Wa
religious vaudevilles. He knew that Kant, reduced to p
language, gives the whole answer to Kant. Beginning as a boy
defend his Theism in debate, he saw it demolished by one of th
born debaters who are found every now and then among
working class, men far superior in native power and intellec
sincerity to those cultured acceptors of other men obscurities
look down on them.* But he did not trust to "mother-wit,"
own or another's. He read all the philosophic literature he co
lay hands on; in particular he became a close student of Spin
A clergyman of my acquaintance maintains that to the end
was a Spinozist. It would be less misleading to say that
employed much of the method of Spinoza to establish the Athe
to which Spinoza's doctrine practically leads,† while alw
scrupulously recognising that Spinoza formulated Pantheism
professed only to modify the God-idea. Here are Bradlaugh's
words :—

"The logic of Spinoza was directed to the demonstration of one
stance with infinite attributes, for which one substance with inf
attributes he had as equivalent the name of 'God.' Some who

* One of the most capable metaphysicians I have personally known
an inferior stone-mason.

† It was not merely the orthodoxy of past ages that saw virtual Ath
in the position of Spinoza. Jacobi expressly and constantly maintained
Spinozism and Atheism came to the same thing. A God who is not outsid
world, he argued, is as good as no God. At the same time, he admitted
the understanding had no escape from the logical demonstration of th
possibility of a personal God; and that the Theist must throw hi
"overhead into the depths of faith." See Pünjer's "History of the Chr
Philosophy of Religion," Eng. tr., p. 632.

followed Spinoza, have agreed in his one substance, but have
l the possibility of infinite attributes. Attributes or qualities,
ırge, are attributes of the finite or conditioned, and you cannot
attributes of substance except as attributes of its modes. You have
s distinction the division line between Spinozism and Atheism.
za recognises infinite intelligence; but Atheism cannot conceive
igence except in relation, as quality of the conditioned, and not
essence of the absolute. Spinoza, however, denied the doctrine
ewill, as with him all phenomena are of God; so he rejects the
ıry notions of good and evil." *

e position here taken up is frequently met by an outcry
st the "denial of intelligence" to the highest power in the
rse. The protest is pure irrelevance. Atheism "denies
gence" to an infinite existence simply as it denies it
ers and dyspepsia. The point is that intelligence cannot
nceived save as a finite attribute; every process of intelli-
implying limitation and ignorance.† Infinitude must
end the state of "intelligence." The "intelligence" of
iscience" is a chimæra. And when the Atheist is accused
king himself the highest thing in the universe, the plain
r is that it is precisely the Theist, and nobody else, who
so. That is to say, the Theist makes his own mind and
ıality the type and analogue of an Infinite and Eternal
. The Atheist admits that he can form no conception
ver of Infinite and Eternal Power. The Theist rushes in
the Atheist declines to tread. And nothing is more re-
ble in the modern history of religion than the retreat of all
ic argument to some form of the sub-rational position so labori-
formulated by Kant—that the God-idea is established, not
y form of reasonable inference from knowledge, but by the
needs and constitution of human nature. That doctrine is
nly the formal bankruptcy of all philosophy, logical and
ological, but is the stultification of every religious system

---

mphlet on "Heresy: its Utility and Morality. A Plea and a
ation," 3rd. ed. p. 35.

† is unnecessary here to put the further argument that if we infer
ence behind the universe by human analogy, we are bound in con-
y to infer organism for the intelligence. Dr Martineau in his
ern Materialism," takes refuge from this argument in declamation,
g the demand for consistency as if it had been a substantive plea.

which adopts it, inasmuch as it is equally valid for each against the rest, besides being finally annihilated by the simple fact persistent scientific Atheism, which proves that human nat does *not* need the sustenance of a God-idea, whether in ethics politics, or in natural science. The only resource of neo-Kant against the Atheist is the *argumentum ad hominem* of imput to him "atrophy" of the "spiritual" sense; an argument wh —not to employ a simple *tu quoque* — may be sufficiently r either by the answer that the "spiritual sense" which maints Theism is merely the carnal and self-excited appetite for mer opium, and that the Hindu and the devout Catholic have it i much higher degree than the mere Theist; or by the remin that even if there were special intellectual defect behind Athei it is, on the Theistic hypothesis, a defect foreordained by Th and is as much part of human nature as the docility of Theist.

All the psychological line of argument, as put by Kant and adaptors, is fully and patiently met by Bradlaugh in his sect of the "Freethinker's Text-Book," which deals in turn with the main pleas of orthodoxy. At the close of the examina of Kant he writes, with great caution and moderation:—

"We do not feel sure that we have either fairly stated Kant's posi or efficiently replied to as much as we have stated. In conden within the limits of this Text-Book the views of a writer so involve his expressions as is Immanuel Kant, we may have failed both in exp tion and answer, but have the consolation that we at any rate p before our readers the sources of completer knowledge."

But the modest deprecation was unnecessary, the main th of Kant having really been sufficiently stated and met; and Text-Book goes on to cite and answer the arguments of an neo-Kantian Theist, who had confessedly found Kant unsatisfy but who offered in his turn only the vague emotional ple against Kant's moral plea, backing it up with the old paralo of the "spiritual sense." That is the best that modern Th can say for itself; and the argument will never convince anyl who had needed convincing.* It is further repudiated by

* See an examination of the positions of Knight, Davidson, and Ka in the *Free Review*, August, 1894.

dox Theism which claims to stand on revelation, and which
rn is dismissed as ill-founded by more philosophic Theism.
e orthodox Theism is in this country represented by Professor
, who when challenged by Bradlaugh to defend his position
sophically, took the line of answering that, "for a person
ssed of a typically English intellect, Mr Bradlaugh shows, in
ng with Theism, a curious predilection for metaphysical
ndrums," * and proceeded to meet the said "conundrums" in
pirit of a joker dealing with a joke. The argument, "Unless
nonsense to affirm infinity and Mr Bradlaugh added to it, why
d it be nonsense to affirm infinity and the universe added to
is a sample of the reasoning with which Dr Flint satisfies the
, in answer to the Atheistic doctrine that human beings are
forms of the infinite existence. Another of the Professor's
lients is to say that God has reason but does not reason.
intelligent man thinks or speaks of God as reasoning;" which
severe attack, from a Scotch Professor of Divinity, on the
r of Isaiah i. 18. But more than passing notice is here due
e of the Professor's remarks † :—

here is an impression in some quarters that Atheism is advocated
eak and unskilful manner by the chiefs of Secularism. It is an
ssion which I do not share. Most of the writers who are striving
ffuse Atheism in literary circles are not to be compared in
ctual strength with either Mr Holyoake or Mr Bradlaugh."

h a testimony, from such a source, counts for rather more
he arguments emanating thence.
to the assertion, again, that Atheists say "there is no God"
assertion made with surprising frequency by professed
tics—it was constantly met by Bradlaugh with the answer
he phrase has no meaning.

he initial difficulty is in defining the word 'God.' It is equally
ible to intelligently affirm or deny any proposition unless there
least an understanding, on the part of the affirmer or denier, of
eaning of every word used in the proposition. To me the word
standing alone is a word without meaning." ‡

Anti-Theistic Theories," 4th ed. p. 517.
., pp. 518, 519.
mphlet, "Is there a God?" p. 1.

It would have been more exact to say that it has too many meanings to stand for any one in particular. Once defined, the alleged existence can be rationally denied, as may the existence a race of centaurs, half men half horses, or of dragons who breath fire, or of a being answering to the description of Neptune, drivi a chariot on the sea, or of Apollo, driving the sun. All defi tions of God which affirm personality or human attributes a open to immediate stultification by argument. "I have never y heard," wrote Bradlaugh, "a definition of God from any livi man, nor have I read a definition by dead or living man, that w not self-contradictory. . . . But the moment you tell me y mean the God of the Bible, or the God of the Koran, or the G of any particular Church, I am prepared to tell you that I de that God." * The person who says we have no right to deny t existence of his imagined God until we have been all through t universe, has on his own showing no right to deny the existen of such Gods as are described in the stories of Saturn and Th The most paralytic Agnosticism, however, like the most devo Theism, seems content to be as sure that these are imagina existences, as that Julius Cæsar was never in America.

The relation of Atheism to Agnosticism is thus wholly misc ceived by most people who differentiate them. That is to say, t logical form of Agnosticism—by which is not meant the se styled Agnosticism which resorts to the use of the name "God" comes to the same thing as Atheism, since it argues that t current God-idea is a mere reflex of humanity, like those wh preceded it. Bradlaugh sometimes grew impatient (and sm wonder) with people who wrote to him to point out that Athei was wrong, and Agnosticism right. They never took the trou to try to understand what he meant by Atheism; and it m with regret be said that more competent Agnostics often ma the same omission. The simple-minded Agnostic who candi remarks, "I do not say there is no God, but I haven't seen a evidence for one," is kept in countenance by the more lear Agnosticism which excludes from its learning the literature modern Atheism. Bradlaugh had seen the new name rea adopted by men who not only shunned the old but helped to h on it an ignorant odium. He had seen Atheism strangely

* Second reply to Bishop Magee, p. 35.

epresented by Mr Spencer in "First Principles;"* he pointed ut that a mere avowal of ignorance is not worth making, and that Agnosticism is not a philosophy at all, unless it says, not merely, 'I do not know of the thing you assert," but "you do not know either"—which are just the statements of Atheism. He might have added that while "Atheist," though a term much abused by Theists, is a good word, and a real doctrine-name, "Agnostic" is a bad word, and in itself no doctrine-name at all, since it says 'Don't know," without hinting what it is that is not known. The present writer has heard a Christian Evidence lecturer, a Master of Arts, delight a Christian audience by saying that the nearest English equivalent to "Agnostic" is "Ignoramus." His strategy was characteristic of his cause, but he was dialectically within his rights.

The best argument for the use of the name Agnostic is simply that the word Atheist has been so long covered with all manner of ignorant calumny that it is expedient to use a new term which, though in some respects faulty, has a fair start, and will in time have a recognised meaning. The case, so stated, is reasonable; but there is the *per contra* that, whatever the motive with which the name is used, it is now tacked to half a dozen conflicting forms of doctrine, varying loosely between Theism and Pantheism. The name of Atheist escapes that drawback. Its unpopularity has saved it from half-hearted and half-minded patronage.

§ 3.

Another obstinate misunderstanding arises over the word "Materialism." Bradlaugh did not willingly or often resort to that name. He seems to have preferred the more philosophic term "Monist," or the useful word "Naturist," which latter, however, he did not seek to force into common use.† But he was of course a "Materialist" in the sense in which alone the word is used by those who so name themselves—a sense sufficiently

---

* Mr Spencer (p. 31) represents the "Atheistic theory" as professing to conceive" an infinite and eternal universe, and thereby to "explain" it, when the very essence of Atheism is to insist (as does Mr Spencer) that infinity is only the negation of conceptions, and that an infinite universe cannot be "explained."

† "Naturalist" seems first to have been used in this sense by Holbach.

different from those put upon it by most of the writers who ass
them, rationalists and supernaturalists alike. The former assa
ants, of course, do the more harm. Philosophy has in Engla
suffered peculiarly from the tendency of professed thinkers
dissociate themselves anxiously from certain doctrine-names th
are ill spoken of, and to join in the vulgar outcry against the
rather than try judicially to estimate their significance and valu
Of such bourgeois prudence we have examples in some of o
leading modern philosophers. And there is the other trouble th
some men with great powers of a certain sort lack the capacity
see or grasp all the parts of a broad problem at once or in relatio
and must needs cramply lift and handle only one at a tin
Rationalists of this kind do immense harm to the cause
rationalism, as pietists of the same stamp do to the cause
their creed, by elevating a small or verbal difference into
sectarian issue, and representing other rationalists as opposed
them when there is no fundamental difference in the case. Wh
this want of sense of proportion in an able man goes with intellect
vacillation or discontinuity, it works the maximum of frustrati
We have a prominent instance in Professor Huxley, who has giv
countenance to contradictory conclusions on half-a-dozen ma
questions. He has gratuitously encouraged the enforced use
the Bible in public schools, and he has wearied Freethinkers
tediously strategic combats on worn-out topics with those w
hold the very beliefs that the Bible sets up in minds wh
reverence it. On the question of Materialism he has reinfor
reaction by contemptuous language towards men whose teaching
identical with his own so far as that is sound; and on the ot
hand he has obstructed the spread of logical Materialism by stat
crudely and without verbal circumspection a strictly materialis
doctrine.* What is worse, he has written on Materialism as
Lewes—without treating the term historically; and he has
times contemned Materialists in general without specifying
one man's teaching in detail. Another writer in the same ca
gory, of whom better things might be expected, is Professor K
Pearson. That gentleman, after the fashion of Professor Huxl

* "What we call the operations of the mind are functions of the br
and the *materials of consciousness* are products of cerebral activity" ("Hun
p. 80). Mr Huxley goes on, "It is hardly necessary to point out that
doctrine just laid down is what is commonly called Materialism."

has at one time pooh-poohed the criticism of theology as an attack on a ruin, and at another has furiously cannonaded the bones of a dead theologian. And recently he has gone out of his way, in his "Grammar of Science" so-called, to asperse Materialism, while teaching practically nothing else of a positive nature. Mr Pearson's account of the Materialism of Büchner and Bradlaugh, superciliously given in a footnote, is in the circumstances the worst misrepresentation of the matter now before the public. He speaks of "the Materialist" and "modern Materialists" as substituting force for the will or spirit of the Spiritists as a "cause" of motion, and goes on to confuse the already much-confused question of "necessity" by playing the bull in that philosophic china-shop.

"The idea of enforcement," he writes, "of some necessity in the order of a sequence, remains deeply rooted in men's minds, as a fossil from the spiritualistic explanation of will as the cause of motion. This idea is preserved in association with the scientific description of motion; and in the Materialist's notion of force as that which *necessitates* certain changes or sequences of motion, we have the ghost of the old Spiritualism. The force of the Materialist is the will of the old Spiritualist separated from consciousness. Both carry us into the region beyond our sense-impressions; both are therefore *metaphysical;* but perhaps the inference of the old Spiritualist was, if illegitimate, less absurdly so than that of the modern Materialist, *for the Spiritualist did not infer will to exist beyond the sphere of consciousness with which he had always found will associated.*"

This passage, fallacious from its first clause—being but an empirical attack on empiricism—becomes in the last, with its "for," a mere misstatement. The Spiritualist did most emphatically infer will outside the sphere of consciousness with which he had always found will associated, since he expressly assumed a consciousness without organisation—a thing he never met with. It is further quite unjustifiable to assert that "modern Materialists" carry outside the sphere of consciousness ideas either of "will" or of "enforcement," which they have always found associated with consciousness. Professor Pearson is confused by words, which are apt to be even for wise men at times what Hobbes said they were for fools. The task of philosophy is a perpetual struggle with the mazes of language; and it is worse than idle to discuss such problems as Mr Pearson here gratuitously raises, without analysing the terms which commonly contain them. He uses the word

"necessitates" as if there were no ambiguity or obscurity about its sense; just as he constantly speaks of our not knowing the "why" of things, without making a single philosophical attempt to analyse the psychological force of that profoundly important syllable. What do we mean by "why," apart from matters of volition? It is the old story of regarding the leaf as "a flat green object which we know all about already." Professor Pearson goes about to analyse the leaves of physics, but too often takes for granted the leaves of language. He has needlessly approached his task in such a fashion that it becomes much more a matter of psychology and logic than of physical science; yet his psychology is little better than a hand-to-mouth criticism, the mere business psychology of a physicist. His distinction between philosophical and physicist doctrine (pp. 93, 94), to the effect that one appeals to temperament but the other not, is a sample of amateur psychology grievous to consider. And while discrediting certain doctrines in physics, real or imaginary, on the bare ground that they are metaphysical, he yet rounds the whole of his own doctrine to an expressly metaphysical account of the nature of scientific knowledge. There is, of course, no real dividing-line between metaphysics and sense knowledge; what the physicists rightly protest against is just bad metaphysic, spiritist metaphysic. But when a physicist himself plunges at every page of his book into more or less gratuitous metaphysic, and yet assumes to dispose of other men's doctrine (falsified at that) by calling it metaphysical, he goes beyond fallacy into what has been considerately described, in a factious politician as "moral paradox."

As to the charge against the Materialists—whom Mr Pearson in another passage typifies by Büchner and Bradlaugh—it is practically untrue on one head, that of force being the "cause" of motion; and quite inconclusive on another, that of "enforcement" and "necessity." Mr Pearson is uncandid enough to cite no passage on either head, and I know not whether the latter is not as inaccurate as the other. Even if, however, a Materialist should talk of motion as a "necessity" of matter, it would amount to nothing to impugn him without showing what he conceives "necessity" to be. The word is a plexus of connotations; and to identify it out-of-hand with the conceptions of spiritists is a course more worthy of a theologian than of a man of science. Mr Pearson's way of talking of "enforcement," as if the word con-

veyed any fixed scientific sense whatever, is a commission of the very offence he unjustly charges on the school of Büchner. But as to the statement that Büchner and Bradlaugh are wont to speak of force as the "cause" of motion, it is really not true. Büchner in his typical work, "Force and Matter," does in one passage write somewhat unguardedly of the "force inherent in matter"—*i.e.* in the "something" empirically known "which we call matter"—as being the cause (*Ursache*) of the activities which are the phenomena of the said matter;* but this momentary verbal laxity is not at all the burden of his treatise. It is in any case much more pardonable than the gross contradictions which Mr Pearson quotes from the writings of Professors Thomson and Tait, collaborators in special physics; it is paralleled by phrases which he cites from Huxley, Nägeli, Spencer, and Weismann; and it is much less serious than the inconsistencies and fallacies into which Mr Pearson himself repeatedly falls. Even while repudiating the notion above cited as to "cause" (which he does without reference to the well-known discussions, from Hume onward, as to the force of the term), he writes (p. 352): " . . . . We still shall not find in 'force,' *as* either the cause of motion, or the cause of change in motion, *anything more* than that routine of perceptions which . . . is the scientific definition of causation." With this account of causation Büchner and Bradlaugh, and everybody else who has appreciated the effect of Hume's reasoning, would agree, save in so far as the phrasing falls into the very crudities of expression which mar Hume's pioneer argument. Mr Pearson writes that we "sadly need separate terms for the routine of sense-impressions," yet he never hesitates either to use a general term loosely or to disparage an unpopular man for doing the same thing. He says of material particles (p. 327): "All we can scientifically say is, that the *cause* of their motion is their relative position; but this is no explanation of why they move in that position." This use of "cause" is really looser than Büchner's, and is not "scientific" at all. The use of "why"—as if we had a clear conception of physical "why" as distinct from that of "cause"—is mere verbal bungling.

Again, in finally formulating the first general law of motion, Mr Pearson writes (p. 342): "Every corpuscle, whether of ether or

* Section on "The Value of Matter" (*Werth des Stoffs*), Eng. tr., p. 68.

gross 'matter,' *influences the motion* of the adjacent ether corpuscles." Here the word "influences" raises (as he elsewhere admits by implication) the same problem as the word "causes," so that his own most deliberate phraseology incurs the objection he makes to another man's incidental expression.

As to essentials, Mr Pearson says what Büchner does. He ostensibly regards matter as "*that which moves*," confusing the definition, however, by saying that we can conceive "forms of motion" as *also* moving. This is really going far to set up a dualistic notion analogous to that which he imputes to Materialists; and he will probably see on reflection that his idea needs careful re-statement. The essential thing is that the scientific conception of matter excludes the idea of a primary dissociation between force (or life) and matter, and their union at a point of time by a "spiritual" Creator's volition. The old dualistic doctrine of *inertia*, which is so re-stated by Mr Pearson (p. 344) as to entirely alter its meaning, is still commonly cited as establishing the dualistic or spiritualistic position. The dualistic doctrine as to matter is put and maintained by the Rev. Mr Westerby in his debate with Bradlaugh (p. 27) thus: "*Force is always external to the matter that is moved.*" The effect of Mr Pearson's account of Materialism is to assert that that is virtually the teaching of Materialists so-called. But it certainly is not. The slipperiness and elasticity of language are such that a single word may set up a fallacious implication; and the word "cause" is as slippery and elastic as any. But the obvious and avowed purpose of Büchner's book is to repudiate and overthrow the dualistic notion of the universe. He expressly and repeatedly affirms that matter and motion, matter and force, are inseparable in thought. "The conception of dead matter," he writes, "is a mere abstraction." "The investigation of motion is the peculiar task of modern science, and her province embraces everything that can be traced back to motion. Matter in motion or capable of motion is or must be her first and last word." * Further, Büchner neither prefers to call himself a Materialist nor represents science as propagandist. "Science," he writes, "is not idealistic, nor spiritualistic, nor materialistic, but simply natural."†

* Section on "Motion," *end.*

† Section on the "Value of Matter" (*Werth des Stoffs*), *end.*

As to the term "Materialist," he remarks that "since the first publication of this book, the term has become to some extent current, and at every fitting and unfitting opportunity the designation has been dragged in neck and heels, *unsuited though it is to the defenders of a philosophy which regards matter, force, and mind, not as separate entities, but only as different sides or various phenomenal modes of the same primal or basic principle.*"* Similarly Bradlaugh invariably spoke of "one existence, of which all phenomena are modes," expressly declaring that we can only know phenomena; which was his way of saying that we can never "know why" in the sense in which theologians claim to do so. At no time did he speak of "force" as a separate entity "causing motion."

After speaking of Materialists as habitually calling force the "cause of motion," Mr Pearson loosely represents Büchner and the followers of Bradlaugh as finding "mechanical *laws* inherent in the things themselves;" and he declares that this materialism "collapses under the slightest pressure of logical criticism." He has in reality passed upon it no logical criticism whatever, his frequent lack of lucidity becoming at this place sheer darkness. What he has said on the point has been wholly metaphysical; but his metaphysic, ill done as it is, perfectly justifies the doctrine he finally and irrelevantly contemns. "In the necessarily limited verifiable correspondence of our perceptual experience with our conceptual model," he writes (p. 353), "lies the basis of our mechanical description of the universe." "A shorthand *résumé* of our conceptual experience" is repeatedly specified by him as the gist or purpose of science; but when he wants to discredit anybody else's doctrine, it suffices him to call it just such a shorthand *résumé* or dismiss it as metaphysical. And the arbitrariness of his verdicts becomes apparent once for all when he writes: "It is perhaps needless to add that the gifted lady who speaks of secularists as holding the 'creed of Clifford and Charles Bradlaugh' has failed to see the irreconcilable divergence between the inventor of 'mind-stuff' and the follower of Büchner." That is to say, Mr Pearson applauds or distinguishes Clifford for perhaps the loosest formula ever put forward in the name of Materialism, but still a formula not contradictory of Büchner's and Bradlaugh's monism,

* Section on the "Value of Matter" (*Werth des Stoffs*), *end.*

while disparaging Büchner and Bradlaugh for their Materialism. It will be clear to a logical reader that the conception of "mind-stuff" ("shorthand" with a vengeance!) is only a random materialistic suggestion—not an infrequent thing with Clifford—but still a suggestion quite reconcilable with materialistic monism. Büchner writes that "all yet future forms, including reasoning beings, potentially or in capacity, must have been contained in that primal world-mist out of which our solar system was gradually evolved."* Bradlaugh always defined his "one existence" as including "all that is necessary for the happening of all phenomena." Mr Huxley—whom Mr Pearson does not asperse as a "Materialist"—has expressed himself in terms almost identical with Buchner's.† To speak of "mind-stuff" as being part of the "primal world-mist" is merely to suggest a hopeless "conceptual mode" of thought over and above the most exact "shorthand" to which words can well reduce the inferences of science as to cosmic history. That Clifford would have approved of either the tone or the judgment of his successor in the matter one may take leave to doubt. His "temperament" was different from that of Mr Pearson, who supplies in his own person the disproof of his own primitive doctrine that scientific opinions have nothing to do with temperament.

The unpleasing fact is that personal interest and prejudice have been the main factors in establishing the ill-repute of the term "Materialist." It arose very much as the term "Freethinker" arose, by way of broadly marking off a new tendency in active thought. The Freethinkers, so-called, simply claimed to follow their reason freely, where religious people were tied down to their traditional creed. The Materialists simply emphasized the new and spreading conception—at once Pantheistic and Atheistic—that the laws of things were to be looked for in the constitution of things, and not in any "spiritual" volition of a superior being or beings. They opposed the notion of a primal distinction between matter and the energies and activities thereof. Spiritism was for them the sum-total of all the guesses and hallucinations of ignorance; and their contrasted Materialism was imputed to them as a vileness by the types of mind which found elevation in the

* Section on the "Value of Matter" (*Werth des Stoffs*), *end.*

† See his "Critiques and Addresses," p. 306.

doctrine of blood sacrifice and ritual theophagy. Scientific disinterestedness was bracketed with grossness of life, and this often by pietists as gross in life as in thought. Every Spiritist who went a certain way in Materialism was libelled in turn; but the semi-Materialist could always indemnify himself by libelling those who went further.* Newton's theistic theory of matter is as absurd a one as any man of science ever framed; but he has earned by it the tenderness of later theists, while his fame secures the lenity of later physicists. Thus some guarded rationalists who pounce like weasels on every slip, real or fancied, of professed Freethinkers, honey their voices to speak of halfway thinkers whose slips are gross, open, palpable. They have their social reward. Bradlaugh and Büchner have taken a different course. Finding the term "Materialism" in itself unphilosophic, they have still looked to the essential point of its broad historic significance. It marks on the side of physical science, from La Mettrie onwards, the repudiation of theological methods; and though they would not have coined the name for themselves, they have not repudiated it, but have instead sought to free the doctrine behind it from the laxities and crudities which belong to all new departures of thought, and which abound in the writings alike of Idealists and of some critical pragmatists in a greater degree than in those of the pioneers they attack. Büchner and Bradlaugh knew that by accepting an unpopular name they incurred the hostility alike of blockheads, of zealots, and of the scientists who look anxiously to their status; but they took their risks. Bradlaugh had constantly to explain that by "matter"—if he used the term at all, which he preferred not to do—he meant simply total existence: all that is necessary for the happening of all phenomena. Yet men still speak of him as saying that "dead matter" gives rise to life and mind. It will become clear to a thoughtful reader, after a little reflection, that under Bradlaugh's definition there is no assertion of the cosmic priority of any one mode of existence. He merely insisted that there should be an end of the fantasy of "mind" or "spirit" or "will" calling a tangible universe into

* A refinement on the old simplicity is reached when we find Mr Huxley sneering at Materialists whose teaching is really more circumspect than his own, and Mr Harrison in turn execrating in the name of "religion" the medical materialism of Mr Huxley, where the latter is simply putting forward as an original speculation a well-established pathological fact.

existence—a fantasy into which anti-Materialists are alway relapsing. Philosophically speaking, out-and-out Spiritism* an strict Materialism come to exactly the same [thing, since eac predicates a going, infinite universe, with one pervading infinit energy; an energy which one side chooses to call by the primitiv name of spirit. As Büchner writes: "The whole struggle ye proceeding between Materialism and Spiritualism, still more tha between Materialism and Idealism, must appear futile and ground less to him who has once attained to the knowledge of th untenability of the *dualistic* theory which always underlies it." I the same way, as we have seen, strict Pantheism—which is th inevitable end of rational Theism—comes logically to the sam thing as strict Atheism, the only difference being the verbal on set up by the Pantheist's adherence to the primitive name o Theos.

In this connection it is difficult to deal with the position take up by Mrs Besant, the valued friend of Bradlaugh and of th present writer. Mrs Besant has greatly perplexed her old friend by professing to repudiate the Materialism she formerly taught on the score that it gives "dead matter" as the source of lif and mind. They can only conclude that she has undergone psychological change which affects her knowledge of her forme positions. We have seen that Bradlaugh's and Büchner's teachin was fundamentally different from what she represents materialis to be; and there is no other school of Materialism in questio The strange thing is that Mrs Besant herself translated from th German, carefully and well, Büchner's "Force and Matter" (a also his "Mind in Animals"), in which the doctrine is flatl contrary to her present account of it. Büchner even use unguarded language—as it is very difficult to avoid doing—i insisting on the perpetual activity of matter. "Matter," h writes, "is not dead, inanimate, or lifeless, but is in motio everywhere, and is full of most active life." Bradlaugh mo warily pointed to the danger of giving ambiguity to the ter "life," which is properly the name for the broad classes of th phenomena of plants and animals. But he never taught

* This is, of course, a widely different doctrine from what is common known as Spiritualism: the belief in the perpetuity of human personalities, a bodily form, without other bodily qualities.

fancied that certain of the mere forms of existence in themselves originated other forms of existence. By "matter" he did not mean to specialise rocks any more than protoplasm or ether.

A more defensible argument has been used by Mrs Besant and others against Materialism: the argument, namely, that it is impossible to think of a transition from physical action to the phenomenon of thought. A number of physicists—among them Tyndall—can be quoted as declaring that there is a "great gulf fixed" between molecular motion and the state of consciousness. Tyndall once laid it down that the demand for "logical continuity between molecular forces and the phenomena of consciousness" is "a rock on which Materialism must inevitably split whenever it pretends to be a complete philosophy of the human mind." But this loud-sounding affirmation on analysis resolves itself into the popular rhetoric to which Tyndall was too much given. What is meant by a "complete philosophy of the human mind"? If Materialism asserts that certain constant correlations remain nevertheless "mysterious," it does not thereby cease to be a complete philosophy of the human mind. The statement that our whole knowledge of causation is just a knowledge of correlation is *part* of the complete philosophy of the human mind—that is, of the systematic and exact statement of our tested knowledge. To say that human faculty is strictly limited is not an avowal of incompleteness in the philosophy which says it. And as a matter of fact, the statement as to the "discontinuity" between "molecular forces" and the "phenomena of consciousness" is a statement which, so far as it has any meaning, stands to be made of all other correlations of phenomena. When I strike a match on the box, I evoke the phenomena of light and heat. In scientific terms, I set up by friction a chemical action quite "discontinuous" with motion in mass, and this in turn sets up a wave-motion in the hypothetical ether (of which I can form no conception) representing light. Materialism no more "splits" on the one "rock" than on the other.* The one special difficulty as to

* Tyndall answered to this argument that the flash of light from the union of oxygen and hydrogen "is an affair of consciousness, the objective counterpart of which is a vibration. It is a flash only by our interpretation." But that is no answer at all. Tyndall never went into the psychological problem fully.

consciousness is a difficulty that affects all philosophies ali
the difficulty that it is consciousness that must analyse c
sciousness. Neither by predicating "mind-stuff" nor by alleg
"soul" is that difficulty evaded. There still remains the admit
correlation between brain-and-nerve action and thought; and t
correlation is on all-fours with those of physics so-called. As
case is put by Dr John Drysdale (after reasonings to an apparen
different effect), "It may be held proved in physiology that
every feeling, every thought, every volition, a correlative cha
takes place in the nerve matter;" and it is scientific to say w
him that the phenomena of mind as a function "require
further explanation" than the conditions of those chang
When Dr Ferrier writes that "no purely physiological expla
tion can *explain* the phenomena of consciousness," unless
simply means that there a psychological or logical element (
Spiritism) must enter into the explanation, he is merely stumbl
in the old way over the word "explain." What is "explanatio
As Professor Pearson laboriously shows, and as Hume sho
long ago, all that takes place in our explanations of phys
phenomena is recognition of a routine of sense experience.
theological habit has given men a pseudo-conception of "expla
tion;" and though they have learned to dispense with t
process in physics, they still confusedly demand it in biol
and psychology. But the very men who at one time talk
"mystery" and "gulf" between matter and mind, at ot
times recognise that the mystery is no more and no less in
correlation than in another. Thus Tyndall, who elsewh
verbalises against "Materialism," after describing the deve
ment of the human organism from the egg, writes: "Ma
I define as that mysterious thing by which all that
accomplished." Well, that is "modern Materialism" or nothi
the Materialism of Büchner and of Bradlaugh. The r
doctrinal or pragmatic expressions of single physicists c
for nothing. As Bradlaugh put it in his debate with the
Mr Westerby, it is the cases of Ferrier that count, not
opinions. The best observer is not the best formulato
thinker; and the art or science of logical speech is
gratuitously thrown in with either mathematical or art
faculty. To turn the data of science into philosophy i
specialist's work.

Any one who desires to obtain in a short time by dint of close tention a notion of the difficulty and complexity of the argument between monism and dualism cannot do better than read the port of the debate between Bradlaugh and the Rev. Mr Westerby the notion of Soul. Mr Westerby, though he wrote some of s papers in advance instead of meeting his opponent's case, was cidedly the ablest of the clerics with whom Bradlaugh debated; d in his hands the orthodox cause suffered as little as might be. he reader may or may not in the end decide to stand with radlaugh, but he will certainly have learned to see the folly the cheap journalistic dismissal of an undefined "Materialism" "exploded," and the error of the notion that Bradlaugh was qualified to handle philosophic and scientific issues, or that he as a mere public speaker, unskilled in dialectic.

Finally, as to the meaningless expression that "things happen chance," he of course never used it. Of any person who puts is phrase in the mouths of Atheists, it may be said at once that is unfit to discuss a philosophical question. He either does t understand what he discusses, or is wilfully untruthful. he phrase "happens by chance"—as was long ago recognised Hume, after he had himself fallen into the ordinary meaning- s use of the term—only means either "happens without our tending it," or "happens without our being able to trace the use." It is significant only for everyday purposes, and in ilosophy can only serve to set up a chimera. All events must conceived as having a "cause," in the ordinary sense of the m. The Atheist certainly avows that he can only trace causa- n a small way in the universe; but he does not for a moment ppose that he would be giving an explanation of any event if he ferred it to "Chance." His doctrine is that the universe and total energy must be conceived as infinite and eternal; that in ysics the question "Why?" resolves itself into the question How?" and that the business of science is just to give the swer as fully as may be.

§ 4.

While Bradlaugh was thus an exact thinker and reasoner, he tinguished himself above all the rationalists of his time by the rgy and persistence with which he sought to bring his losophy home to the popular mind. He was fundamentally

a reformer, and he could not consent, as so many do, to silence on errors of creed, so called, and resist merely erro action. For him, creed was action, and action creed. He so thoroughly a man of action that he must needs act on conviction in matters of opinion, so called, as in anything else.

It was no doubt the record and the result of the Fr Revolution that moved the majority of political reformers for generations to keep their own counsel on religious mat Paine has been expressly charged with hindering the caus democratic politics by identifying himself also with the caus Freethinking. To a man like Bradlaugh such an objec counted for nothing. It was not merely that he saw profoundly religion reacts on life, how creed shapes conduct, how the current religion must always tend to support old poli doctrine as against new. He took his course instinctively as as reasoningly. That a doctrine is false was to him a reason exposing it as such; and though as a utilitarian he held that tru the best policy, he did not wait for the demonstration before choo his course. He had in fact that love of truth for its own sake w is the inspiration of all scientific progress; but he had it wit restriction, or at least with as little restriction as can well be. man can be equally interested in all inquiries; and none can thinking some unprofitable; but Bradlaugh was limited only by tastes, never by the common opinion that the spread of t is inexpedient. He would give facilities for all conscien truth-seeking whatever, barring only random disclosures sensational facts with no better motive than sensation, or no likelihood of edification to balance the likelihood of the rev As to the great themes of belief and discussion in all he simply could not think that human welfare is promote maintaining beliefs known to be false. He was a democra religion as in politics. If truth was good for him, it mus equally good for the multitude, so far as it was possibl enlighten them. They must needs be enlightened by lang within reach of their capacity; but while he would make ma plain for them, he would in no wise consent to garble and co what he held to be the truth. With the many people who c care nothing whether current beliefs are false or true, or thi desirable that they should be false, he had no sympathy. seemed to him that if anything was worth investigating, the

ious beliefs of the mass of the human race must be; and the
ea that the mass could be helped or raised by keeping them
luded was to him morally repugnant and sociologically false.
My object," he writes in his pamphlet on Heresy, "is to show
at the civilisation of the mass is in proportion to the spread
heresy amongst them; that its effect is seen in an exhibition
manly dignity and self-reliant effort which is utterly unattainable
ongst a superstitious people." And all acts of prayer and
igious propitiation were to him survivals of superstition.

"My plea is," he went on, "that modern heresy, from Spinoza to
ll, has given brain-strength and dignity to every one it has per-
ated—that the popular propagandists of this heresy, from Bruno to
rlile, have been the true redeemers and saviours, the true educators
the people. The redemption is yet only at its commencement, the
ucation only lately begun, but the change is traceable already; as
ness the power to speak and write, and the ability to listen and read,
ich have grown amongst the masses during the last hundred years."

Against the popular thesis that "Christianity" has achieved
ese things, he brought to bear in debate and journalism not only
knowledge of Christian and Church history in general, but his
nstant experience of the influence of orthodoxy in checking
terment in England. The State Church has been an invaluable
ect-lesson for Freethinkers. As regards the claim for Christian
nconformity, the answer might run: If a mainly ecclesiastical
sectarian Dissent has had so much good political result, what
itical, social, and intellectual results might not come of a
roughgoing rationalist Dissent? It would take too long to set
th even the gist of Bradlaugh's polemic against the Christian
im that the Christian creed has been a force for progress; but
se who care to know his method and his case may find it tersely
forth in the latter sections of his "Notes on Christian Evi-
nces" in criticism of "The Oxford House Papers," his pamphlet
"Humanity's Gain from Unbelief," and his debate with the
v. Marsden Gibson on that thesis. These are late statements
the case he put forward during the whole of his public life;
l it was on the strength of such arguments, and of his theoretic
neism, that he was able to create in England an energetic and
elligent party, the active adherents of which were and are
stly working-men.

"Secularism" is the not inappropriate name, for general
poses, of the general doctrine of Bradlaugh and his adhere
That name, however, is attended by the drawback that the
who first employed it, Mr George Jacob Holyoake, is wont so
define it as to deprive it of specific meaning for the propagand
of Freethought, while showing no reason why it should be adop
by anybody else. Mr Holyoake—himself an Atheist— argues
effect, that Secularism properly consists in simply attending
secular things; and that it is not committed to any hostile attit
towards theology. On that view, every political club is a sec
organisation and an exponent of Secular*ism*. Bradlaugh alw
argued, and nearly all Secularists have always held with him,
this use of the term reduces it to nullity, since it makes ev
Christian a Secularist in so far as he attends to secular affairs
"business principles." There is, of course, an important t
implied in this way of speaking; but it is a truth irrelevant to
issue. If we are merely to discuss secular things, there is no
for any "Secular*ist*" organisation. Secularists commonly
freely—or as freely as they are allowed to—with their relig
neighbours in political and other public matters. But if a dist
doctrine of the uselessness of "sacred" machinery and theory
be maintained; if it is to be shown that secular action is prop
co-extensive with human affairs, then these views must be up
by showing that all theology is delusive. A man who beli
in the existence of a personal and governing God, broadly speak
cannot be induced to keep theological procedure out of his
There may be many Indifferentists who act as Secularists wit
caring at all to discuss the religious question; and there may
be a few of the "Lucretian Theists" assumed by Mr Holyo
but none of the Indifferentists and not many of the Lucr
Theists will be induced to join in a Secularist propaganda, eve
Mr Holyoake's lines. Bradlaugh fully recognised that the fo
lated principles of Secularism do not directly commit the subsc
to Atheism. "I think," he avowed, "that the consequenc
Secularism is Atheism, and I have always said so"; but he a
that "clearly all Secularists are not Atheists."* The tendenc
inevitably been, however, to identify Secularism with Ath
And as Mr Holyoake has himself all along lectured on anti-

* Debate with Dr M'Cann, p.17.

gical lines, his definition has commonly seemed to Secularists to e wholly in the air, though his personal merits and practical ervices to Freethought are felt to outweigh minor infirmities of easoning and judgment. Whether the name, thus capriciously efined by its framer, will continue to be employed by those who epudiate that definition, remains to be seen. It is not unlikely hat new Freethought organisations, finding the word "Secu-rism" defined in cyclopædias on the authority and in the nguage of Mr Holyoake, will seek some other label. But the bel in itself was a good one; and the propaganda of Bradlaugh ecommended it to many thousands of his countrymen.

That his open adherents were chiefly working-men, was a result f the economic situation, which determines so many of the phases f culture-history. It is notorious that among the upper and iddle classes there is a great amount of disbelief in the current eligion; but among the upper and middle classes there is almost o organised effort to discredit the creed of the Churches. The nall societies which muster under the banner of "Ethical ulture," little as they are given to speaking out on matters of eed, receive little support. It is often said, with idle malice, that radlaugh's adherents were mostly working-men because he was not ualified to appeal to educated people; but even if that were true, would not explain how it comes about that other and better-ducated rationalists have not set up an organisation of middle-class nd upper-class people. The explanation is mainly economic. As matter of fact, Bradlaugh had hundreds of "educated" admirers nong the middle and even some among the upper classes; and in rance and elsewhere he was popular among the "classes," as at ome among the masses. But the open avowal of "unbelief" in reat Britain has always meant, and will long mean, for one thing, certainty of pecuniary loss, and a certain measure of ostracism to ofessional men and men of business. Let a merchant, or doctor, shopkeeper, declare himself an active Atheist, and he will find appreciably harder to get customers or clients. A man of tablished position and personal popularity may fairly hold his n while avowing scepticism in general intercourse; but even he ll incur calumny and loss if he takes trouble to spread his inions. Men in a small way of business are almost sure to ffer heavily; and it is still no uncommon thing for clerks and ners to lose their situations on the simple ground of so-called

"infidelity." In the more bigoted districts the risk is ov
whelming. A shopkeeper in Belfast told the present writer th
when he joined the Secularists there, his business, formerly bris
fell off so rapidly and so ruinously that in a short time he had
give it up. Nothing, apparently, can make the majority
Christians, who claim that theirs is a "religion of love," reali
that to seek to injure an Atheist for his opinions is an unworth
course. Mere Nonconformity has incurred, and still incurs,
certain measure of penalty. But Nonconformists seem none t
less ready to inflict it in turn on others. Obviously, the numb
of middle-class people who can defy these risks is small. It is on
among workmen, employed in large numbers by capitalists who
not take the trouble to inquire about their opinions, that t
avowal of Secularism is safe. Even workmen, of course, are som
times made to suffer in pocket, and often from slander in their ov
class; but they suffer less than the trading and professional class
Hence it is that straightforwardness and sincerity abound mo
among them. It is not that "the poor" have from birth a
occult virtues denied to the rich, but that the economic conditio
make for sincerity and openness among wage-earners more th
among earners of fees and profits. It is difficult to guess wh
John Mill meant when he said that the workers in this count
though they esteemed truthfulness, are not as a body truthful.
he meant that they are capable of garbling facts in their o
interest in matters of industry, he was only charging them w
what may be charged equally against shopkeepers, stockbroke
commission agents, traders, doctors, lawyers, politicians, and cler
men. It belongs to the nature of the case that in the import
matter of loyalty to conviction, the workers are by reason
circumstances superior to the other classes. The upper class
though, like each of the others, they include candid and sinc
men and women, are as much coerced by social as are the mid
classes by commercial considerations. The fear of being charg
with "bad form," and of being cold-shouldered, does among
rich what fear of money loss and calumny does elsewhere. I
men and women, whose main occupation is an artificial social in
course, are little likely to battle for heretical opinions, even if t
have been thoughtful enough to form any. Dissimulation a
conformity are too much in the way of their daily life.

The business of systematic Freethought propaganda has t

been mainly left to the class with least leisure and least money; and the newspaper press naturally reflects the balance of property and status. Newspapers are produced in the way of business, and only "paying" doctrine is put forward by them. It is notorious that the majority of journalists are unbelievers; but capital buys pens as it buys hands and goods; and many pressmen have disparaged Bradlaugh's opinions as "peculiar," or worse, who themselves held these opinions, and privately regarded the current orthodoxy as folly. Secularism in general has thus been boycotted, and a common repute of vulgarity and illiteracy has been cast upon it, often by people who ostentatiously applaud the Salvation Army, with its incredible buffooneries and its reliance on the most abject ignorance.

Bradlaugh's artisan followers, as a matter of fact, have for the most part been the pick of their class for intelligence and energy. That their culture was not equal to their zeal and their sincerity was no reproach to them. They did their honest best; and from Bradlaugh they always had his. Himself a careful student of all the questions involved in the general issue between rationalism and orthodoxy, he constantly urged on his followers the necessity of keeping their minds open and their judgment active. Mrs Besant has told in her "Autobiography" how earnestly he impressed on her the need of the most thoroughgoing and ever-renewed preparation for the great work of instructing the people. But inasmuch as the people in the mass can only begin with the main or fundamental questions of religion—those of "revelation" and "inspiration," "God," "Providence," "prayer," "miracles," "morality," "atonement," and "immortality"—his platform work as a Freethinker dealt mainly with these topics. And inasmuch as the mass of the people are at once more sincere and more logical in their relation of opinion to conduct than most of the specialists who occupy themselves with the literary analysis of the Old and New Testaments, Bradlaugh's work struck at the roots of orthodoxy wherever he went. He argued that if the Old Testament be demonstrably false in its history and barbarous in its morals, the idea of "inspiration" in the theological sense disappears, and the Hebrew books become mere ancient literature, forged or otherwise, and wholly disentitled to be made a textbook for mankind. Though a good Hebrew scholar, he did not profess to rest his case on the textual analysis of the "higher criticism." For him the

"sacred book" was discredited as such by its own conten
however composed; and he made it his business to attack them
an imposition on human ignorance and credulity. His standpo
was thus put by himself:—

"There is no great honour or pleasure, although there is m
wearisome toil, in gathering the materials for proving that Gen
nearly always blunders in its attempts at statements of fact; that i
repeatedly chronologically incorrect, and in the chronologies of
principal versions utterly irreconcilable; that copyists, through ign
ance, carelessness, or design, have in many places incorrectly transcri
the text; that the translators, according to their respective creeds, v
in their interpretations of different momentous passages; that
Hebrew language itself has been altered by the addition of vo
points, by means of which a sense is often given entirely different fr
the original intention; and that the majority of the ancient versi
contain different and contradictory readings of various important ver
But it is absolutely necessary to do all this in a form accessible to
general reader so long as the Church persists, under statutory sanct
and indorsement, in its teaching to the people from their early ch
hood, that this Bible is God's Word, free from blemish. Genesi
forced upon the child's brain as God's Word by nurse and pedago
and the mode of thinking of the scholar is in consequence utt
warped in favour of the divinity of the book before his reason
opportunity to mature for its examination. If the book only
claimed for it that which may be claimed for all books—namely
part or whole to represent the genius, education, and manners of
people and the times from whom and which it issued, then it m
fairly be objected by supporters of the Bible that the tone of criti
here adopted is not of the highest order, and that the petty cavill
about misplaced names, misspelled words, incorrect dates and numb
and geographical errors, etc., are hardly worthy the attention
serious student. But as the Bible is declared to be the revelation
representative of perfect intelligence to the whole human family;
is placed by the whole of its preachers immeasurably above all o
books, with a claim to dominate, and if necessary to overturn,
teachings of all other books; as it is alleged that the Bible is free
the errors of thought and fact more or less found in every other bo
and as it is by Act of Parliament declared to be a criminal offen
this country for any person to deny this book to be God's Holy W
it is not only a right, but it becomes an unavoidable duty on the pa
a Freethinking critic to present as plainly as possible to the noti
the people every weakness of the text, however trivial, that may s
to show that the Bible, or any portion of it, is fallible, that

mperfect, that so far from being above all books, it is often below them as a mere literary production." *

To such a declaration as this all protests against "Bible-smashing" are irrelevant, by whomsoever made. Made by literary humanists, they ignore the practical situation. It is one thing to recognise that the Bible is a profoundly interesting body of ancient literature, illustrating for all time the manner of growth of a cult; it is another thing to deal with the pretensions of that cult to retain to-day the status secured for it by all manner of sinister means in bygone ages. Coming from clergymen, the protest is worse than irrelevant. The most advanced of them are still, from the rationalist point of view, in the position of using the Bible as a fetish; and men who as public teachers regularly resort to a primitive priestly literature for sanctions and cues to current conduct have no right whatever to protest against those who show the people what the sacrosanct literature really is. Bible-smashing is the necessary checkmate to Bible-worship. When the literary humanists get the clergy to stop cultivating and trading on Bibliolatry, it will be time for them to object to the exposure of the Bible. But by that time there will be no occasion for the objection. Bradlaugh did not go about lecturing against witch-burning or the Koran. He attacked an aggressive and endowed superstition; and to asperse him as being himself aggressive is about as idle as to charge Mr Gladstone with aggressiveness against Beaconsfield's foreign policy, or to denounce Home Rulers for being aggressive against the Union. It speaks volumes for the state of average English opinion that the adjective "aggressive" is still held to be a damaging epithet against Freethought; as if zeal were a good and great thing on one side of a dispute, but wrong and vulgar on the other. Churchmen whose bells set up pandemonium every Sunday count it an aggression to other people to meet by summons of a handbill to discuss whether churchgoing is reasonable. And they are kept in countenance, unluckily, by the mass of easy-going or timid unbelievers, who, not caring or daring to act on their own convictions, keep up their self-esteem by speaking ill of those who do so.

In the mouths of some people, of course, "aggressive" means

* Preface to "The Bible: What it is," 1865.

"rude" or "offensive;" and it is still common to say th Bradlaugh was a coarse assailant of other men's convictions. T charge was early brought against him. Lecturing on Malthusia ism in 1862, after alluding to the abuse levelled at him in th connection by the Unitarian organ, he said:—

"I did not consider it necessary to make much justification when was attacked some months ago by a person who is rather famous for vehemence of his criticism than for the soundness of his logic; . . . . it may be perhaps not out of place to notice the way which that sort of criticism has been circulated throughout the count I have taken up Irish journals; I have taken up Scotch journals; a I have found myself represented as the only advocate of this gr party . . . . who uses in his oratory, who writes for his reade disregarding all morality, coarse, brutal, and degrading phrases. N I appeal to you who are here this morning, and there are some w have listened to me from my boyhood, whether in my attack on theologies of the world I have permitted my tongue to ut any coarse phraseology, whether in attacking or destroying the (Applause) . . . . I admit that I have been rough and rude my attacks on what I consider to be wrong and injurious, but I h been always reverent and kindly to every one who has seemed to m be striving for the benefit of humankind."

How true is this claim can be easily learned by reading pamphlets, or his book on "Genesis." That volume may objected to as a dry digest of much learning and discussion, it certainly cannot be accused either of violence or of flippar Its history is worth noting here. In 1856 he issued a Freethi ing commentary entitled, "The Bible, What it is," which w as far as Isaiah. This being sold out (it is now so scarce that present writer has not been able to get a copy),* he issued in 1 a rewritten edition, covering only the Pentateuch, but larger t the first; and this in turn was sold out. In 1881-82, while figh his great battle aginst Parliament, he set himself the drudgery discipline of beginning again with Genesis, enlarging his c mentary from his later reading to such an extent that this, largest volume of the three, only covers the first eleven chapte

* There is some reason to suspect that there has happened in this cou what Bibliophile Jacob, in his preface to his addition of Cyrano de Berg declares to have happened on a large scale in France—a zealous destru of Freethinking works by pious purchasers. But it lies with these to su the main evidence.

e first book of the Pentateuch. Some of his followers
morously speculated as to what amount of ground would be
vered by a fourth revision, should he undertake it. Whatever
ay be thought of the method, it is very evidently not that of a
an aiming at a popular success of ridicule or rhetoric. Compiled
a time when he was the target for all the bigotry of the nation,
e book is eminently dispassionate and judicial. Where most
en would have grown more vehement, he grew more calm.

As a lecturer, of course, he was vigorous to the highest degree.
any of those who have heard him at the height of his powers
ll agree to the verdict that he was by far the most powerful
nglish orator of his time. There was something overwhelming
his force of speech when impassioned; it lifted an audience
m its feet like a storm, and raised their intellectual conviction
a white heat of enthusiasm for the truth it conveyed. Other
eakers of his day may have been as thrillingly impressive at
eir best moments; but he had great passages in nearly every
eech, and rarely faced an audience without electrifying it.
e Rev. Mr Westerby, at the close of his debate with Bradlaugh,
tified with some chagrin to the extraordinary effectiveness of
opponent's speaking, and this in a debate full of close and
ficult argument, as the verbatim report shows. "I only wish,"
d the reverend gentleman, "that I, in power of speech, were as
werful as he. Then I might have done honour to my cause.
. . Only by the power of his speech, and by the marvellous
ergy with which he can endow it, can I understand the impres-
n he has produced upon you." But the reader of the debate
understand it without hearing the delivery. At its highest
ess the energy is controlled and intelligized; never is the
gument confused or let slip; never does vigour lapse to coarse-
ss. He was certainly not an abusive or even a harsh contro-
sialist; he dealt much less in invective and imputation than
st men in his place would have felt justified in doing. One of
strongest of his censures of antagonists in matters of argument
passed on the late Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Magee, who was
ufficiently reckless polemist. The passage occurs in the second
the three (unwritten) lectures he delivered in Norwich, in reply
three sermons by the Bishop:—

"I have now to complain of something still worse than that the Bishop
uld have forgotten his Bible, entirely ignored the Thirty-Nine

Articles, and occasionally in the hurry of rapid speech contradicted previous sentences. All these are matters at which, in even an ext ordinary man burdened with a bishop's dignity, we need not wonder all; but when we find him blundering in metaphysics, when we f him making mistakes which a man versed in the merest rudiments Mill or the Scotch and German metaphysicians would not make—wh we find the Bishop so blundering, either wilfully or ignorantly, it p me in a position of extreme difficulty."

This on Butler is also, for Bradlaugh, exceptionally severe:—

"Bishop Butler's argument on the doctrine of necessity is that wh one might expect from a hired *nisi prius* advocate, but which is r with regret coming from a gentleman who ought to be striving to c vince his erring brethren by the words of truth alone." *

A writer, in whose anti-religious polemic such perfectly justifia severities are exceptional, is certainly not to be charged w violence of speech on such matters. To his courtesy in debate th are many testimonies. In his controversy, *e.g.*, with the author the "Oxford House Papers," one of them, Dr Paget, writes:— trust that you will let me first acknowledge with gratitude a respect the temperate and courteous character of your criticis Believe me, I sincerely appreciate it." It may not be out of pl to remark that the "Oxford House Papers" were in the opini of some readers inexpressibly poor stuff, respectful comment which, in a busy world, was an excess of consideration. And t careful courtesy was not at all, as some have supposed, a l development in him. It is a complete error to suppose that began by being violent, and only acquired suavity after mu experience. It has been suggested on this head that he softened by the generosity with which some Christians, such Bright, latterly stood by him against the attacks of the big But while it is quite true that he greatly appreciated this, while it is further true that he found some of his very bas enemies in professed Freethinkers of the "Agnostic" variety, i not the fact that he had required these experiences to make hin temperate and courteous controversialist. That he was at all tim and he had early cause to know that a Christian may be a gentlen and a Freethinker otherwise, as well as *vice versa*.

* Pamphlet on Heresy, p. 48.

Even when of set purpose ridiculing Scripture narratives in his lighter lectures, Bradlaugh never descends from humour to coarseness; and his jests—in such tracts as the New Lives of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, and Jonah—are as perfectly within the limits of rational good taste as those of Mr Spencer, Mr Arnold, and Mr Huxley on more august themes; not to cite Voltaire. An old slander has lately been very carelessly revived by the late Mr C. H. Pearson, who in his book on "National Character" speaks of Bradlaugh as having likened the Trinity to a monkey with three tails. Bradlaugh never did any such thing. A more elaborated figure of that sort appeared in a condensed account once contributed to his journal of an old lecture by a deceased Freethinker, who had satirised human anthropomorphism by making a monkey theologise for monkeys, as Heine makes the bear do in "Atta Troll." In the context the figure was fitting enough; but in any case it was not Bradlaugh's. And in reply to those persons who affect to see vulgarity, or worse, in every jest at Christian beliefs, it may be said once for all that Christians have from the first century onwards put themselves out of court on this head by jealously ridiculing the beliefs of all other believers, as well as of rationalists; that they have not stopped at ridicule, but have in all ages freely resorted to gross calumny; and that they in turn are not very badly used when their beliefs are merely subjected to the satire to which they are confessedly open. Even sheer coarseness is just as reprehensible, no more and no less, when directed against living persons, as when directed against dead or imaginary beings, or particular beliefs concerning them; but those who are readiest to impute the latter offence seem to make small account of the other, when the object of attack is an unbeliever. Bradlaugh was never coarse; yet he was abused with unspeakable scurrility by thousands of Christian people. And if coarseness ever arose in his movement, as it so easily may in a popular movement involving controversy, that movement was in any case a hundred times more sinned against than sinning. Mrs Humphrey Ward has been at pains in two of her novels to represent "crews" of Secularists as either resorting to physical violence against revivalists, or showing a disposition to resent angrily the appearance of a well-behaved clergyman at their meetings. Such slanders would call for very strong comment were they not so nakedly absurd. In no town in England would avowed Secularists dare as such to molest avowed pietists even if they were

inclined to do so; and it has always been their express aim t encourage clerical opposition and debate in their meeting-places This is a rule without exception. And Bradlaugh, in particular, a all times urged upon his followers—not to abstain from gratuitou violence towards revivalists or clergymen: he never needed to say anything on that head—but to be very careful to give opponents no reasonable pretext for making a disturbance against them.* He counselled not only orderliness but tact; and he sharply rebuked any of his followers who would not listen patiently to even a stupid opponent's speech. Mrs Ward's account of Secularist organisations is an unfortunate proof that the spirit of religiosity does not change with mere modifications of dogma. Even if it were really found that plain, unlettered men, facing a religion they feel to be absurd, spoke out their feeling without due courtesy or refinement, an instructed observer would see in their reaction the measure and correlative of the crudity of the doctrines assailed But people of Mrs Ward's way of thinking look tenderly on the worst buffooneries of popular faith, and on the most brutal propaganda of hell and blood-redemption, while recoiling sentimentally from the perfectly sincere derision of these things by men on whom they are blatantly thrust. The right spirit, surely, is that which would enlighten the deluded as individuals, neither patronising them nor abusing them. That was the attitude of Bradlaugh as a publicist and as a man. He never talked, in public or in private, with malice, and seldom even with disgust, of fanatics as such. He explained them, and respected their honesty. On certain employees of the Christian Evidence Society he would on occasion speak publicly in the strongest terms, as "vile things who in fields and open spaces, where we are not to answer for ourselves stab our reputation and our children's." But towards honest bigots, however imbecile, he was incapable of feeling the virulent animosity which Mrs Ward seems to feel for the Secularists of her imagination. To speak of him, as some journalists have done, as accounting for all religion by "priestcraft" in the early eighteenth century manner, is to exhibit the ignorance the statement impute

* Thus, when in July or August 1882 an open-air Freethought meeting was attacked by riotous Salvationists, Bradlaugh strongly urged avoidance of provocation, and that, "above all, Freethinkers must avoid being drawn into physical conflict with Salvationists" (*National Reformer*, August 13, 1882

He carefully studied the anthropological origins of religion, lectured pecially on anthropology, and always related his teaching to the nthropological view. Towards priests, as such, he felt no male- olence. In fine, from first to last, the essential manliness and eniality of his nature gave his followers a lead to humanity and hivalry in their warfare with bigotry. If any of them, seeing he kind of reward he received for his self-restraint, have taken atisfaction in barbing their arrows, and in humiliating as well as efeating the enemy, they cannot cite his example.

Once in a long while a gross circumstantial lie would move him o strike with the handle of the dog-whip, so to speak. A case of he kind is set forth in his tract entitled "Lying for the Glory of od: a Letter to the Rev. Canon Fergie, B.D., Vicar of Ince, near Vigan." This dealt with one of the idiotic anecdotes by which he truth of Christianity and the wickedness of Atheism are roved for so many people—anecdotes of which the absurdity and he untruth seem equally apparent, but which find instant redence with thousands of pious persons. Such an anecdote the "watch story" in its complete form, in which the lasphemer is struck dead, a detail which has to be regretfully ithheld from the narrative when it is applied to living sceptics. uch are the endless "infidel deathbed" stories, which still do ity in religious tracts, among them being statements concerning he deaths of Voltaire and Paine, which have been a hundred mes circumstantially refuted. Such is the venerable anecdote of he nurse who would never again attend an infidel's deathbed—a ory which is told with religious impartiality of Rousseau, oltaire, Paine, and Hume, and will doubtless be told in due urse of Bradlaugh. In recent Christian propaganda, the growing manity of the age is seen in a disposition to convert the atheist ther than to send him to hell shrieking. But all these anecdotes ike have one quality in common; they are rigorously untrue, ough they are never told in the same way by two Christians nning. One sample story of seventeen (more or less) "leading ecularists," of whom fourteen came to bad ends, after signing a asphemous covenant with blood for ink, does not on investigation eld even a grain of fact. In another narrative, sixteen "leaders" e represented as having all re-embraced Christianity. Of the teen, over a dozen are unknown to Secularism, and one known nvert had been reconverted to Freethought. It was partly the wyer in Bradlaugh that made him treat these anecdotes with

seriousness and severity, finding the lie circumstantial some degre worse than the lie conventional or sophistical. He speciall detested downright fabrication of facts. But he also had chivalrous loathing of the tactic which stabbed a doctrine in th back instead of meeting it in face; and for his own part he nev used the means he might to assail religion through the scandals its daily record. He would not stoop to collect the stories frightful "fidel" deathbeds, which surpass the contrary sort much in force as in truth; and he never would collect in h journal the frequent stories of clerical misconduct which appear the ordinary press, though all his life he was being libelled b clerics. He was indeed a dangerous enemy when provoked, bu he had little vindictiveness. His interests were too broad, h relation to life too genial, to permit of his being satisfied wit the triumphs of feud. He claimed for himself with perfect truth "I have attacked the Bible, but never the letter alone; th Church, but never have I confined myself to a mere assault on i practices. I have deemed that I attacked theology best in assertin most the fulness of humanity. I have regarded iconoclasticism a means, not as an end. The work is weary, but the end is well And this may serve as a compendious answer to the kind criticism which disposes of Atheism by calling it "cold." would be much nearer to the truth to say that many Atheis have recoiled from religion because of its very heartlessness an gloom; and because the "warmth" of those who find joy in th evangelical doctrine of salvation strikes a healthy mind as hardl less repulsive than the "warmth" of alcoholism. The assumptio that a man who puts aside the doctrine of a future life is col hearted, was never more absurd than when applied to the case Bradlaugh. But its full absurdity is perhaps made most clear b comparing the doctrine of Lessing and Kant as to the nullity Judaism as a religion, in respect of its lack of an authoritati doctrine of heaven, with the common run of rhetoric about th strength of the Semitic religious feeling.

§ 5.

It ought not to be necessary at this time of day to offer justification for Bradlaugh's doctrine on the ethical side, h position being simply that of modern science. But just as t avowal of Atheism and Materialism gives rise to endless m

representation of those statements of opinion, so the avowal of Atheism and Utilitarianism in morals gives rise to all sorts of moral imputations. On the one hand there is the reasonable criticism which falls to be passed on imperfect or exaggerated expression of the utilitarian principle; on the other hand there are the imputations which ignorant, confused, and other persons cast on any statement of Utilitarianism whatever. Many orthodox people have in this matter the indestructible advantage of being unable to understand the rationalist argument—as may be very clearly seen in the debate between Mr Bradlaugh and the Rev. Dr M'Cann on the morality and philosophy of Secularism. Such opponents go on fervently affirming their consciousness of the obligation to do what they feel to be "right," "irrespective of consequences," and insisting that this is the negation of utilitarianism. It is of course no such thing. The real ground of strife between religious and rational morality lies, or lay, in the old doctrine that the *standard* of right is divinely "revealed," and that we do right in virtue of divine command. That doctrine once abandoned, supernaturalism in morals is a mere matter of words. To admit that we have no certain light or unvarying strength of feeling as to what is right in a given case, and merely to affirm that we have a "divine call" from conscience to do what we think right when our minds are made up, is to surrender the heart of the religious position. This is what was done by Dr M'Cann and the Rev. Mr Armstrong in their debates with Bradlaugh; both clergymen nevertheless supposing themselves to be rebutting utilitarianism. The utilitarian position is of course (1) that the instinct to do "what we feel to be right" is merely organic, and often goes with conduct that is on rational grounds demonstrably wrong; (2) that the business of ethics is to settle what conduct is reasonably to be held right or wrong; and (3) that though the sense of utility is not the primary or conscious motive of all actions, it is the test by which disputed action is to be controlled. Of course it will at times be fallaciously applied, as regarded from the point of view of developed sympathy; but it can never be misapplied as grossly as the religious standard has been, and it remains the final standard of ethical appeal. Even the religionists who argue that utilitarianism is a "pernicious" doctrine virtually admit this in their very choice of epithet. The good of society is even for them the final criterion. They never hesitate, further, to

seek to influence the minds of the young by the primitively utilitarian warning, "Be sure your sin will find you out." Yet they constantly denounce the Secularist doctrine as encouraging men to make primary self-interest the beginning and end of moral principle, when on the face of the case it subjects self-interest to public interest by its working formula of "the greatest good of the greatest number." The religious argument against that formula always ends in putting the fancy case of the starving man with a starving family, who steals a loaf of bread from somebody who does not miss it. The religious implication is that the whole family had better starve than commit such a theft—a doctrine which may be left to the decision of common-sense. It is only to be wished that Christian politics even remotely approached the scrupulosity paraded in this controversy.

As for the point of disinterestedness, the history of Freethought in general, and the life of Bradlaugh in particular, will serve to show whether or not the recognition of utility as the final test of the right or wrong of actions has led men to put the low utility above the high, the near above the far. To do the former would be to abandon the very avowal of the principle, since it always brings odium and injury on the avowers. The very persistence of an unpopular movement is the decisive proof that its promoters have sought higher ends than money gain. What the utilitarian principle has done for Bradlaugh and those like-minded is not to give them the primary impulse to fight for truth and right as they see them, but to give them an enduring support in the battle. The first impulse springs from veracity of character *plus* knowledge; but it is sure to be opposed by bitter criticism, imputing to the straightforward course all manner of evil results. When the reformer is convinced that not only truth and justice but the highest utility itself is on his side, he is thrice armed. And if with some unbelievers the rejection of transcendental moral principles has meant the return to a timid or a base conformity they are at least no worse guided than before, and the blame of their dissimulation must lie with the religious system which not only counsels but enforces it, not with the doctrine which classes social dissimulation as a vice. Certain it is that under the auspices of the Christian creed England has lived mainly for low and narrow utilities, and not for the high and broad; the transcendental creed availing only to worsen matters by adding to the

forces of evil the element of persecuting bigotry. Rationalism once for all excludes the last factor; and if it ever lends itself to a popular disregard of the great utilities and a pursuit of the small, which are the undoing of the great, it will assuredly not be in virtue of following such a lead as Bradlaugh's.

Of his influence on his followers those can best speak who have mixed with them. Personal and magnetic as it was, it depended for its continuance on the unvarying nobility of his appeal to the best instincts—to courage, honour, justice, and the love of truth. Hundreds of men—men to whom the generality of pulpit sermons are either inane commonplaces or maudlin nonsense—can testify to the fashion in which he stirred them to high sympathies and generous determinations, making life for all of them, however narrow their sphere, a vista of worthy activities and abiding consolations.

It is part of the condemnation of modern orthodoxy that its warfare with Atheism has run mainly to libel—not merely libel on individual Atheists, but sweeping aspersion of the whole movement. The records are embarrassing in the sheer multitude of the samples; and one utterance may serve for a thousand. In the early part of Bradlaugh's Parliamentary struggle an orthodox periodical named *Social Notes*, of which the Marquis of Townshend was editorial director, made the typical assertion:—

"It is a well-known fact that there is no criminal so fearless in doing evil, so hopelessly bad and beyond chance of recovery, as the Atheist criminal is. Atheism and ignorance commonly create the first step to crime. As Atheism grows in the minds of the lower classes, so crime increases."

The statement can only have come from a writer of a partially criminal type, since it states not merely a gross untruth, but one for which the writer cannot possibly have believed he had any evidence. So far from the fact being as he says, it is perfectly well established that there are almost no Atheist criminals. Readers can satisfy themselves on this head by reading the chapter on "Atheism in Prison" in the "Jottings from Jail" of the Rev. J. W. Horsley,* a writer not at all disposed to say any good of Atheism. But the folly of the statement cited will probably be

* Fisher Unwin.

recognised by most people on simply reflecting that crime was most abundant in the ages when Atheism was practically unknown; that it is common now in countries where there is no anti-religious propaganda whatever among the common people; that the professional brigands of Greece and Italy are faithful children of the Church; and that nearly every murderer executed in this country avows beforehand a confident assurance of being welcomed in Paradise. Only one Secularist, so far as the present writer is aware, has ever been convicted of murder; and he was no typical criminal, but a man congenitally liable to delirious fits of passion. When he knew of their approach he warned the people about him not to thwart him; and only in one of these fits, on intense provocation from a man who had wronged him, did he strike a deadly blow with a chance weapon. He expressly forbade petitions for commutation of his sentence, deliberately preferring to end a marred and maimed life.

Those who really suppose Atheism tends to promote crime know as little of the nature of criminals as of the logic of Atheism. The immense majority of criminals are unintelligent, and as such are immeasurably more likely to be superstitious than to be atheistic. A man of bad character may indeed be an Atheist in virtue of his reasoning powers; but the same powers will tend to withhold him from breach of the criminal law. The recent insinuations of the present Bishop of Manchester as to the effects of secular education in the colony of Victoria will impress no one who is conversant with criminal statistics;* and are repudiated by those qualified to speak in the colony itself. Of similar weight are the clerical assertions that the Anarchist mania in France is a result of the "godless" teaching of the public schools. It has been shown on the contrary that some of the most prominent Anarchist miscreants have had a careful clerical training; while the Anarchists themselves have never produced a criminal to compare with the priest Bruneau. The organised *Libres-Penseurs* of France have made a speciality of ethics, publishing more matter on that head than on any other.

It is not necessary to answer again, but it is edifying to cite one of the many utterances in which Atheism has been held

* The matter was dealt with at some length in the *National Reformer* January 15, 1893.

ıp to horror as tending to universal bloodshed. Such an utter-ınce was this of Bishop Magee, delivered in his cathedral of Peterborough in June 1880, and thus specially made to bear on he claim of Bradlaugh to sit in Parliament:—

"A nation of Atheists must be a nation of revolutionists; their ıistory must be a history of revolution marked by intervals of grinding, ruel, pitiless, and unreproved slaughter, because for weakness there vould be no appeal to the supreme power against present tyranny."

In the rhetoric of religion, folly and frenzy are thus sometimes o mingled that together they make censure shade into derision, ınd derision into melancholy. Neither reason nor experience an hinder some men from putting the wildest figments in place f the plainest teachings of history. Dr Magee had before him he history of his own faith, which began in bitter and sanguinary chism, and within a few hundred years had raised deadly civil ar throughout the civilised world; which has made more pretexts or war throughout its era than could possibly have arisen without ; and which in our own country was the inspiration of some f the worst strifes in our annals. He had before him the ıdgment of Bacon, unwillingly following on an unreasoned riticism, that "Atheism did never perturb states . . . ; but uperstition hath been the confusion of many states." And he Bishop's rant, despicable in itself, was used to excite new Christian malice against a man who had again and again met ıe verbal violence of pro-revolutionaries with the strongest rotests against revolutionary methods; who loved peace and ated war; and who had time and again resisted and denounced ıe unjust English wars to which the Bishop's Church had iven its blessing. Thus is Atheism impugned by piety. At ıe very time when Dr Magee's rhetoric was being used to keep radlaugh out of Parliament, the National Secular Society as on his prompting petitioning strongly against the war aged by the English Government on the Boers in South frica.*

* In October (?) 1882, the Quaker *Friend* testified to the "melancholy" ct that "with, of course, honourable exceptions, the most inveterate ponents of militarism are to be found among secularists and socialists." on afterwards Bishop Ellicott regretfully avowed that unbelief had

The only form of the orthodox imputation which is ev
decently plausible is the suggestion that the loss of religi
belief may leave some men more ready than before to vent
on vice that is not legally punishable. This is no doubt theor
cally possible; and in cases where boys have had such a religiou
bad education that they know of no rational veto on miscondu
harm may sometimes arise on their finding that the religi
taught them is incredible. But young men who reason so
are likely to reason further; and in any case a few plain c
siderations will serve to convince any candid mind that th
is no causal connection between scepticism and vice; thou
it stands to reason that the habit of scepticism will promote
critical discussion on the institution of marriage. On the
hand, the sexual instinct has in all ages gone to the worst exc
under the auspices of religions which expressly glorified asceticis
and the facts of the life of the ages of faith in Europe ma
it clear that, even on the orthodox definition of vice, there can
possibly be more of it in the future than there has been in
past. On the other hand, the utilitarian arguments agai
vice, properly so called, are much better fitted to impress th
the religious; and they leave no such loophole as the oth
inevitably do in respect of the Christian doctrine of pardon
sin, to say nothing of the iniquity of the Christian ethic wh
holds one and the same act ruinous in a woman and venial
a man. Of course, if the celibate life, and marriage with
possibility of divorce, be made the standard of virtue, rational
is likely to give piety plenty of occasion for outcry in matters
morals, as in matters of opinion.

However that may be, it has to be noted that Bradlaugh
not at all "advanced," as things go, on the subject of the marri
institution. Constantly accused of endorsing "Free Lo
doctrines, he as constantly repudiated the charge. In 1881
find him indignantly protesting that not only bad men, but
of whose honesty in other things he was sure, "constan
repeated, as though they were his, views on Socialism which
did not hold, views on marriage which never had an equivalen

---

acquired new and dangerous characteristics, in that it "now was very c
found co-existent with what they were bound to speak of as a moral an
many cases a philanthropic life."

is feelings, and declarations on prostitution which were abhorrent
o his thought."* The "Free Love" charge was commonly
ounded on his alleged acceptance of the whole doctrine of the
ork entitled "The Elements of Social Science." No such accept-
nce ever occurred. He was the last man to vilify a benevolent
nd temperate writer for doctrines with which he could not agree;
ut in the reprint of his pamphlet on "Jesus, Shelley, and Mal-
ius,"† he explicitly wrote of the author in question: "His work well
eserves careful study; there are in it many matters of physiology
n which I am incompetent to express an opinion, and some
oints of ethics from which I expressly and strongly dissent."
Tot only did he thus reject the "advanced" doctrine of sexual
reedom: he never committed himself to any such proposition
s that of Mill, that the institution of the family needs "more
undamental alterations than remain to be made in any other
reat social institution," or that of James Mill, cited without
isapproval by his son, as to the probable development of freedom
n the sexual relation. ‡

It was thus grossly unjust to cast upon the Secularist move-
ent, as did Bishop Fraser of Manchester in the worst stress of
Bradlaugh's parliamentary struggle, the imputation of promoting
ositive cruelty on the part of men towards women. That episode
as for many a melancholy proof of the perverting power of
igotry in a naturally conscientious man. The Bishop publicly
ut it as a natural deduction from Secularist teaching that a man
ight put away his wife when she grew old and ugly, or "sick, or
therwise disagreeable to him," simply because she thus ceased to
lease him; and when a Secularist wrote him to point out the
njustice of this assertion, and the nature of the ordinary rational-
t view of marriage, his Grace disingenuously quoted the state-

* Address at the National Secular Society's Conference.

† Published in 1861. Reprinted 1883.

‡ J. S. Mill's Autobiography, pp. 107, 167. A still more striking illustra-
on of the way in which one rationalist may "steal the horse" while another
ay not "look over the hedge," is the following passage in Mill's book:—
On these grounds I was not only as ardent as ever for democratic
stitutions, but earnestly hoped that Owenite, St. Simonian, and all other
nti-property doctrines might spread widely among the poorer classes; *not
at I thought these doctrines true*, or desired that they should be acted on,
t in order that the higher classes *might be made to see that they had far more
fear* from the poor when uneducated than when educated."

ment that Secularists repudiated the "sacredness" of marria without adding the explanation which his correspondent had gi as to the proper force of that term. The whole outburst was angry and unscrupulous attempt to put upon Secularist teach the vice which admittedly flourished in the Bishop's diocese am non-Secularists. All the while, the doctrine he had put u Secularism lay in his own Bible, and nowhere else:—

"When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then shall it be she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some unseer thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give in her hand, and send her out of his house" (Deut. xxiv. 1).

These and other doctrines had been made by Bradlaugh part his indictment of Bible morality. He saw that while women dependent, power of self-divorce cannot justly be allowed to h bands. He was certainly in favour of greater facilities for divor but he took no part in the discussion as to whether marriage i failure; and he always argued for a legal contract, in the inter of the woman and children, as against informal unions; though course, he passed no moral censure on women in a state of econo independence who chose the latter. His own sad experie never made him decry marriage; and he never would have s scribed to the doctrine of Professor Pearson, that "love sho have the privilege of his wings," save in so far as he would g freedom of legal divorce. In short, he did not realise the fa picture of "modern Materialism" painted by religious sentime any more than the fancy picture of the pragmatist. He was even a lover of "realism" in fiction. Like Büchner (wh favourite author is Shakespeare), he could not enjoy Zola; and Hugo's death he eulogised that poet in express contrast to the school which had begun to write him down.

But he did not set up to be a literary critic, or an æsth person in any sense. His own art was oratory, and of that he master by dint not of conscious study, but of sincerity, energy, endless activity. He spoke to persuade, to convince, to cr and he never spoke save on a conviction. It thus lay in nature that he should be a politician as earnestly as he was a F thinker. His Atheism, his logic, his utilitarianism, all combi to make him a strenuous reformer in the field of government, a full half of his whole activity—more than half in the l

ars—was turned to making life better and saner than it had been
ıder the regimen of religion. The absurd pretence that Atheism
akes men pessimistic and supine becomes peculiarly absurd when
sted by his career. He was no optimist: he had no delusions
out the speedy perfectibility of men, singly or in mass; but no man
as less inclined to the new pessimism, which turns its philosophy
the account of commonplace conservatism all round. A clerical
ponent, debating with him, protested that Atheists ought to be
a state of black despair at the evil of the world, which the
verend gentleman on his part viewed with serenity, holding that
e God who wrought it must intend to put matters right hereafter.
lay study of the problem, however, reveals the fact that hopeful
d despairing frames of mind are not as a rule determined by
eoretic beliefs one way or the other. Bradlaugh had the good
tune to combine the keenest interest in ideas and the clearest
sight into human character with a boundless enthusiasm for
tion; and he perfectly recognised that a similar temperament in
e latter respect might go with what he held to be delusion in
ilosophy. It is the fashion of conformists without beliefs to
eak of propagandist rationalism as "intolerant"—a use of the
m which, though it may be at times permissible in common
k, is a complete perversion of its essential purport. Applied to
ion, the word has no proper force save as implying the wish or
empt to curtail freedom and inflict positive injury on the score
opinion. No such charge can justly be made against Free-
inkers in general, or Bradlaugh in particular. The practice of
ycotting for opinion's sake he detested and denounced, and never
any way resorted to. He even carried the spirit of "tolerance"
an extreme degree in his own affairs, being careful, as his
ughter testifies, to avoid giving his children anything like
ecific anti-theological teaching, on the ground that the opinions
the young ought not to be stereotyped for them on points which
ey ought to reconsider for themselves when they grow up. In
ercourse with those about him he was equally scrupulous; and
the contributors to his journal can tell how complete was the
edom he gave them to express in its pages opinions from which
dissented. In this he was far superior to many who have
ersed him as overbearing. It was a point of honour with
n to give a hearing in his columns to all manner of opposition
his own views; and no man was ever less apt to let his philo-

sophical convictions bias him in his practical or political relat
with people of another way of thinking. Hence he was able
only to follow, but to follow with a chivalrous devotion, suc
political leader as Mr Gladstone, of whose latter writings
religious matters he found it difficult to speak without a sens
humorous humiliation.* But his political teaching must be se
ately considered.

* His comment on Mr Gladstone's reply to Colonel Ingersoll is, howeve
made of respectful exposure of a very bad case.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL DOCTRINE AND WORK.

§ 1.

combining the propaganda of Freethought with that of publican Radicalism, Bradlaugh was carrying on the work gun in England by Paine, and continued by Richard Carlile, n whose memory he honoured for those qualities of courage, cerity, and constancy which were the pith of his own character. e bringing of reason to bear at once on the things of Church l of State, of creed and of conduct, was for him a matter of rse, as it has been for the great majority of Atheists, from lbach onwards, and he held firmly to the old conviction that free and rational men the only right form of Government is Republic. He had all Paine's energetic disdain of the narchic principle in theory and in practice, and, coming to his rk in the latter half of the century, he could stand up for publicanism without incurring the extreme penalties which so heavily on the devoted head of Carlile that his hold of rationalist doctrine gave way under the strain of his struggle, mind seeking lethargic rest before the body found the final ose. Still the great reaction against the French Revolution, ich had made the name of Paine a byword, and the life of lile a series of imprisonments, was still far too strong in the es and sixties to permit of an avowed Republican and Atheist ng regarded without horror by the middle and upper classes. more famous Carlyle, with all his loud esteem for sincerity louder repudiation of cant, never dreamt of saying a plain d against the monarchy any more than against the current gion, though his political theories were at all times as far nder from current monarchism as from democracy. He even t out of his way to speak smoothly of a royalty which did ning. For a generation to which Carlyle figured as outspoken veridical, therefore, anything so practical as Republicanism

was wildly revolutionary, and so Bradlaugh figured from
first to the average imagination as a violent politician.

Strictly speaking, he was in a sense more violent in his polit
than in his anti-theology, because political strife is necessarily m
a matter of attack on living persons than is the doctrinal str
between Atheism and Theism. As a republican he could
avoid discussing the personalities of the Hanoverian dynas
inasmuch as the practical strength of royalism lies in
hereditary self-abasement of men before the hereditary ro
person as such, not in any common hold on a monarchic the
of Government. To people who gloried in living under
Guelphs, an exposure of the Guelphs was the only relevant
intelligible answer. We may indeed say generally of monarc
what Strauss said of dogma, that the true criticism of it is
history. But the practical sanity which in Bradlaugh balan
the fieriest zeal, showed him from the first that Republicani
could only advance by way of culture and reason, never by w
of violence. He "spoke" bullets and bayonets, but he never
an instant countenanced their use in English politics; and he
always a mixture of wrath and contempt for those who bluste
of carrying by force, or threats of force, any reform in
Constitution. Even while he was delivering in lectures
"Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," he constan
declared that the mass of the people were not yet qualified
constitute a republican state; and he declared as much wh
in 1873, he spoke at the banquet given by the then Republi
leaders at Madrid in his honour as delegate from the Republi
Conference which had just been held at Birmingham.

The almost entire subsidence of Republican agitation in Engl
within the last twenty years, after the considerable show
Republican feeling which followed on the fall of the Empire
France, is an interesting and instructive fact, worth a li
explanation here. It does not mean that the nation is less re
for a Republic; the fact is quite the other way. Recent t
have shown that in the average working-class Liberal and Rad
Club, when the question is plainly raised, there is virtually
feeling in favour of the retention of Monarchy. The old devot
to the monarch as such has almost completely passed away am
the more intelligent workers, and now subsists only among th
weaker brethren, and in the middle and upper classes. Polit

novements, however, are made and marred not by pure reasoning
ut by special stresses of feeling, and there has been little or
othing in the annals of the past twenty years to set up a new
tress of feeling against the monarchy in England, while there has
een much that has tended to put the republican ideal in the
ackground. It is hardly to the credit of the nation that it lays
ess store by a great principle or ideal than by concrete points of
ower importance; but such is and must long be the fact. The
ovement which led to the Republican Conference in 1873, to
egin with, suffered from the still vivid recollection of the horrors
f the Commune. Next it was found that among its adherents
ere many who were less concerned to set up a British Republic
an to further by that means the independence of Ireland. Thus
e movement was in itself weakened by want of unity of motive
nd purpose, and could make little headway against the vast
rces of habit and prejudice which buttress the Throne. Even
hat headway it did make was due largely to the then very
ommon feeling of personal hostility to the Prince of Wales,
hose reputed character offended many who would not of their
vn accord have been likely to raise the question of Monarchy
rsus Republic. Another ground for hostility to the Crown was
nd is the sufficiently solid one of its cost; but here again the
ectacle of the financial corruption in leading Republics has
nded to damp down anti-monarchic feeling. It is pretty clear
at, barring any new and special cause for outcry against the
rone, its abolition in this country will only result from the
w accumulation of indifference and of educated aversion to the
obbery which cherishes and is cherished by it. This certainly
nnot take place during the lifetime of the reigning sovereign,
hose age and popularity alike go to silence serious agitation. It
ay or may not come about during the next generation.

Bradlaugh used to be quoted as saying that he intended that
e heir apparent should never come to the Throne. He never
id anything so idle, though in his youth he thought it possible
at the Republic might be attained in his lifetime. As years
nt on, his insight into human nature led him to feel that
itation for an ideal form of Government was less directly fruit-
l than agitation against the abuses of class privilege; and in the
t dozen years of his life, his political work went mainly to
forms within the lines of the Constitution. Apart from this

partial change of tactic, his position underwent no change fro first to last. His political doctrine may be broadly described as demand for the fullest admission of the people to the rights self-government, and further, the application of the powers thu acquired to the removal or reform of all laws framed in the interes of the upper few. This was the ideal he had formed for himse in his youth, and he declined to substitute for it the ideal Socialism, which had begun to be vaguely popular towards th end of his life. The refusal rested on his experience, and on hi character. In his youth he had seen a great impression made b the teaching and the achievement of Robert Owen, whose propa ganda came so closely in relation with that of Secularism that i several towns the old halls of the Owenites have been till recen years, or are still, carried on by the surviving followers of Owen, a Secularist meeting-places. For Owen, whom he had met in youth Bradlaugh had much esteem. "No Socialist myself," he wrote i later life, "I yet cannot but concede that [Owen's] movement ha enormous value, if only as a protest against that terrible an inhuman competitive struggle, in which the strong were rewarde for their strength, and no mercy was shown to the weakest."* Bu he was profoundly impressed by the extravagance of Owen estimate of the present possibilities of human nature; and th later Socialism, like the earlier, represented for him the optimis of unpractical men, with the difference that the later agitators ha at once much less gift for social organisation than Owen, and far more difficult programme to realise. Thus, where Owen s himself to create a State within the State, Bradlaugh addresse himself to making the political State truly democratic—a cours the wisdom of which is admitted by the action of the Socialist who now adopt it. He was in a general sense the successor the Chartists; and in that connection it is impossible not to fe that if such a one as he had been in the place of Fergus O'Conno the political advance of the past half century would have be considerably quickened. As it was, his labours have probab counted more than those of any other single man in his d to rouse the workers in the towns to vigorous political actio Before they had the vote, he not only helped to lead the agitati for their enfranchisement, but appealed to them directly on t

* "Five Dead Men whom I knew," p. 6.

issues which he wanted their suffrage to settle. It is the fashion of the new Socialism to represent that the old Radicalism wrought for political enfranchisement without any notion of what use the vote was to be turned to. Common sense and common candour will put that account of things aside without much trouble. Bradlaugh for one had very definite notions of what he wanted the vote to do. His programme was both positive and negative. He strongly supported the Radical demand for retrenchment of an expenditure which was always tending to benefit, not the many, but the few; and he detested the policy of "safe" foreign aggression which, after being long associated with the name of Palmerston, came to be identified with that of Beaconsfield. The fact that his policy had the support of some who later figured as Socialists, did not increase his esteem for their after-course. His sympathy with the small and weak nationalities whom England selected for attack was rooted in the intense sense of justice which inspired his whole life. After working for struggling Italy and Poland, he refused to stand by in silence while his own country unscrupulously made war on Afghans, on Zulus, and on Egyptians, on pretexts which all Englishmen would have execrated had they been put forward by Russians. And as he never made popularity his guiding principle, he as instantly and resolutely opposed the aggressions of Mr Gladstone's Government as those of the Tories. In none of the sins of modern Liberalism, whether in Africa or in Ireland, was he implicated. But he had a constructive as well as a limitary ideal, a home policy as well as a foreign; and whereas his course on the latter head will now be endorsed by most Liberals, his social doctrine is still in need of exposition and justification.

§ 2.

A notable fact in the history of popular Freethought in England has been its association with the social teaching of Malthus, which first came before the world only a few years after Paine's attack on orthodoxy. There is nothing to show that Paine ever realised what a blow was struck at his optimistic Theism by the essay which his fellow-Theist Malthus wrote to rebut the optimist assumptions on the "Political Justice" of Godwin, a Freethinker who held by the revolutionary optimism in the sphere of politics, while tending away from Deistic optimism in philosophy. Paine,

who was certainly as much bent on construction as on destruction sketched a socio-political system which will be found by many readers as impressive to-day as it was found by Pitt. He proposed on the one hand a progressive income-tax, which should yield new revenue and break up large estates, and on the other hand a system of stipends to poor families; annuities to decayed tradesmen and others over fifty, increasing after sixty; provision for the education of the children of the poor; donations for births marriages, and some funerals; and "employment at all times for the casual poor in the cities of London and Westminster." Save as regards the old age pensions, which represent a great improvement on pauper relief, and the education scheme, all of this plan comes under the destructive criticism of Malthus, inasmuch as it does not recognise the fatal tendency of an untaught population to multiply in excess of the economic possibilities of maintenance. The plan of allowancing poor families at so much per head would have quickened immensely the progress towards national bankruptcy which was carried so far under the old Poor Law. It would have bred paupers by the thousand.

The demonstration of Malthus naturally was not relished by the Radicals, to whom it was first addressed; and Godwin in particular met it with indecent acrimony, as did Coleridge, the Conservative. But the next generation of Freethinkers assimilated the argument and a certain propaganda for the restriction of families was carried on by Richard Carlile. It is a remarkable fact that two Christian priests have laid two corner-stones of the structure of Atheistic polity for modern England. Butler in confuting the Deists wrought as much for Atheism as for orthodoxy; Malthus, in meeting the remaining Deists on the ground of sociology, confuted their optimism on the practical side. Freethought finally accepted both services, rectifying Malthus as it rectified Butler; and under Bradlaugh it made for science all round. Malthusianism in its original form certainly lent itself to Toryism; and no amount of benevolence on the part of Malthus could make his doctrine acceptable to democracy so long as it was tied down to his Christian ethic. The step which reconciled the knowledge of the law of population with energetic Radicalism in politics was taken when rationalists laid it down that the prudential check need not mean prolonged celibacy. Teaching as he did the all-importance of checking the birth-rate, and knowing as he did

the possibility of bringing about the restraint, Bradlaugh had no further cause for misgiving as to political progress than his recognition of the general capacity of human nature to blunder.

He took up the neo-Malthusian position emphatically in his early pamphlet on "Jesus, Shelley, and Malthus," published in 1861, a somewhat youthfully rhetorical, but still a very notable presentment of the three main influences successively brought to bear on the problem of poverty—the spirit of religious submission, the spirit of humanitarian revolt, and the spirit of science. He pleaded for the last. "An acquaintance with political economy," he there declares, "is as necessary to the working man as is a knowledge of navigation to the master of a ship. It is the science of social life, the social science." And he was able in those days of the "orthodox" economics to cite in support of his definition, from the high priest of orthodoxy, a deliverance which may surprise readers whose knowledge of the old economics is not commensurate with their censure of it.

"The object of political economy," says Mr M'Culloch, "is to point out the means by which the industry of man may be rendered most productive of those necessaries, comforts, and enjoyments which constitute wealth; to ascertain the circumstances most favourable for its accumulation, the proportion in which it is divided among the different classes of the community, and the mode in which it may be most advantageously consumed."

And in another early pamphlet on "Poverty and its Effect on the Political Condition of the People," first published in 1863, he put as one of his mottoes, after a more guarded sentence from John Mill, this from Sir James Steuart:—

"The object of political economy is to secure the means of subsistence to all the inhabitants, to obviate every circumstance which might render this precarious, to provide everything necessary for supplying the wants of society, and to employ the inhabitants so as to make their several interests accord with their supplying each other's wants."

But his application of the principle was democratic and Neo-Malthusian, not Collectivist. "Unless," he wrote, "the *necessity* of the preventative or positive checks to population be perceived; unless it be clearly seen that they must operate in one form if not in another, and that, *though individuals may escape them, the race*

cannot, human society is a hopeless and insoluble riddle." And for years before this he had persistently pressed the point in his lectures, steadily defying the odium which his action brought upon him. As early as 1862 we find him temperately replying to denunciation on this head in a lecture on "Malthusianism and its connection with Civil and Religious Liberty," of which a partial report happened to be taken in shorthand. "It may almost seem unwise," he remarked, "to be continually putting this subject before you; but really I find myself so misrepresented, and so liable to be misunderstood, in quarters where one would expect better things, that you must not wonder if I seek to make it clear to you why I persist in this advocacy." He here pressed the law of population as a fundamental datum of political science.

"I shall urge upon you this morning that there can be no permanent civil and religious liberty, no permanent and enduring freedom for humankind, no permanent and enduring equality amongst men and women, no permanent and enduring fraternity, until the subject which Malthus wrote upon is thoroughly examined, and until the working men make that of which Malthus was so able an exponent the science of their everyday life; until, in fact, they grapple with it, and understand that the poverty which they now have to contend against must always produce the present evils which oppress them."

Again:—

"Poverty, so long as it exists, is in fact the impassable barrier between man and civil and religious liberty. You can never have true liberty so long as men are steeped in poverty. So long as men do not comprehend what liberty, what freedom really is, they will be ignorant how to attain it. Ignorance is the necessary sequence of their poverty. Are the people poor? For the poor there are no museums, no pictures, no elevating spheres of life, no grand music, no ennobling poetry. All these phases are closed to them; and why? Because their life is a constant struggle to live. . . . What is the use of preaching to the masses if the masses do not understand the language in which you talk to them? What is the use of your phrases to them when their education compels them not to comprehend the words you say, nay, makes them misunderstand you—for unfortunately *poverty has its education*, and is in this case worse than mere ignorance. There is a miseducation in poverty, which distorts the human mind, destroys self-reliant energy, and is a most effectual barrier in the way of religious liberty. Liberty, equality, fraternity, are words used very often about the Republican institutions of the world; but you can never have liberty, equality, and fraternity as long as there is poverty dividing one class from another."

These words have been echoed since by Socialists and others who represent Bradlaugh as a "Manchester" politician; and who either evade the question of the birth-rate, or deny that it is of any account. Their argument takes two main forms: (1) That to urge prudence on the poor is useless, since they will not listen; while the better workers who do listen are "sterilised;" (2) that there would be no over-population if only wealth were properly distributed. Both arguments are fallacious; the first proceeding upon ignorance of the facts, and the desire to shirk a troublesome question; the second upon non-comprehension of the law of population. In the first case, the objector first implies that it *might* be good to limit families if only people could be got to do so, and then proceeds to say that the limiting of families is harmful when practised. Both of these conflicting views are erroneous in fact. It is *not* difficult to make the majority of poor men and women listen to reason on the subject; with those who say it is, the wish is father to the thought, in that they do not want to try to give the requisite knowledge. Thousands of poor women ignorantly use the most disastrous means to limit their fecundity; and extreme poverty often hampers them even where they have the knowledge. A little money spent by the charitable in helping the very poor in this way would obviate the need for endless alms to relieve the misery which ignorant instinct multiplies. Nor is there the least need to fear the "sterilising" of the more prudent, as the limitation of the family has been unwarrantably termed. Small families do not necessarily mean lessened total population. A man who has only three children and rears them all healthfully, maintains the species more efficiently than a man who has eight, loses six, and perforce rears the two survivors badly, because what might have nourished two or three well was for years spent in merely keeping more alive. The extreme case of France, over which there has been so much superficial talk in France and elsewhere, is no such portent as it is made out, but is in part explicable by the stress of the influenza plague, which heavily affected even the English birth-rate, and is in part a useful reminder to French statesmen that they are pressing too heavily on their country's resources, and need to mend their methods. Withal, the misery in France is far less grinding and pervasive than the misery in England.

As to the argument that it is not over-breeding, but bad dis-

tribution that causes poverty, the answer is that both causes operate, but that over-breeding can work misery under any system of distribution whatever, and is a main support to bad distribution at present. Some Malthusians have supposed that with a proper proportionment of population to the resources of the time being, poverty would wholly disappear. This is over-sanguine; but the case of the United States in the first half of the century, when resources were still far ahead of labour supply, gives abundant support to a more moderate claim. On the other hand, unless the lesson of prudential restraint be learned, the most thorough socialistic system of distribution will simply incur the most complete ruin. People reason that if only the resources of the world were properly utilised, all could be fed and housed comfortably. That is quite true; but they forget that if there be no restraint, the population of the world, being better placed than ever, will double at least every twenty-five years, and will thus soon upset any possible system of housing and feeding, and reduce the general condition to toil and poverty all round. This is so obvious when put, that the optimists are fain to fall back on a theory that population slackens spontaneously under conditions of comfort. Mr George moves nimbly between this theory and one which absolutely negates it. But all such pleas resolve themselves into either an admission that the race *must and will learn to practise prudential restraint*, which is a surrender to Malthusianism, or an assumption of a pre-ordained beneficent harmony in Nature, the old optimism in a new dress, or rather an old dress "turned."

We come back to the common plea of all the antagonists of Neo-Malthusianism—that there is no need to check over-breeding *at present*—a position so crudely unreasonable, so irreconcilable with any knowledge of the great facts of the case, that it is a mystery how it can be taken up by candid and well-informed men. No amount of demonstration that the world *might* feed all its inhabitants can do away with the dreadful fact that myriads of babes *are* actually born into the world every year only to die of the troubles made by poverty; that these babes had much better not have been born; that their birth might have been prevented; and that the survivors suffered from their birth. That men can shut their eyes to these overwhelming facts, and go on arguing, on an "if," that there is no need to restrain the

birth-rate "in the meantime," is one of the darkest anomalies of political science.

Between the obstinacy of the opposing fallacy and the brutality of the resistance of prejudice, many men who recognise the truth have yet been wearied into holding their peace, in a pessimistic conviction that mankind in the mass cannot be enlightened on the matter. Of that attitude Bradlaugh was to the last incapable, though he had more cause than most men to know how tremendous were the odds in the struggle. Later generations will find it hard to credit the facts. A policy which on the face of the case could only be motived by public spirit and zeal for the truth was met by the vilest aspersions, the most malignant imputation of the most preposterously bad intentions. Personal vice was freely charged in explanation of an action which no vicious man would have had the self-denial to undertake. It is the bare truth to say that for many years a main part of the work of the Christian Evidence Society in England has been to employ hirelings to charge Secularism with the promotion of sexual vice —this on the strength partly of Bradlaugh's work for Neo-Malthusianism, and partly of the vogue of the anonymous work entitled "The Elements of Social Science," in which the arguments for family limitation are combined with a perfectly well-intentioned argument for sexual freedom as against celibacy and prostitution, the evils of which are not only exposed, but provided against in the book by careful medical instruction. Of this book, as we have seen, while honouring the moral courage and absolute benevolence of the anonymous writer, Bradlaugh expressly disclaimed the more advanced doctrines; but he has been saddled with them all the same, as if his burden of unpopularity were not already heavy enough.

He had fit though few compensations. He lived to see the rightness of his course more and more widely and openly admitted; and to see some Freethinkers and others who had unworthily attacked him for it come round and follow in his steps. And at his trial with Mrs Besant for selling the Knowlton pamphlet in 1877 he was able to tell the jury of higher sanctions than these. Mill in his "Autobiography," telling how he was attacked for subscribing to Bradlaugh's election fund in 1868, says of him :—

"He had the support of the working-classes; having heard him speak, I knew him to be a man of ability, and he had proved that he

was the reverse of a demagogue, by placing himself in strong opposition to the prevailing opinion of the democratic party on two such important subjects as Malthusianism and Personal Representation. Men of this sort, who, while sharing the democratic feelings of the working classes, judged political questions for themselves, and had courage to assert their individual convictions against popular opposition, were needed, as it seemed to me, in Parliament."

It may here be added that Grote, who was a regular reader of the *National Reformer* and a Neo-Malthusian also, approved even more strongly. The further fact, now established, that Mill was in his youth actually prosecuted for distributing Neo-Malthusian literature, should serve to check the malice of those persons, clerical and other, who still divide Freethinkers into two classes—one of "irreproachable morals," following Mill, the other of "loose and dissolute character," following Bradlaugh.

Some Neo-Malthusians have been charged, despite their rejection of the *non-possumus* of Malthus, with excluding all other reforms in their advocacy of family limitation. If this charge was ever valid, it certainly was not against Bradlaugh. He might much more reasonably be criticised for not keeping the population question to the front in every discussion of main reforms than for unduly obtruding it, or using it to discourage reforms made in disregard of it. After he had thoroughly forced it on the public attention, he trusted more to the quiet dissemination of educative literature on the subject, and the enlistment of individual self-interest in the reform, than to the political handling of it on the platform, where the insistence on it seems still to arouse the resentment of many Socialists and others, who can see no need for any reform save those they themselves propose, and are particularly wroth at the suggestion that working men can be in any degree accountable for their own troubles. The defence of the Knowlton pamphlet, as has been shown in the foregoing pages, was forced on Bradlaugh; and it was the more trying for him in that he was always personally averse to the detailed discussion of sexual topics. At the same time, it was impossible for him to submit to the stupid suppression by the authorities of the only cheap literature that gave to the poor the necessary knowledge for the limitation of their families. He was bound to resist that by every principle he professed; by his doctrine of freedom for the press and his doctrine

of prudence in the family. So resisting, he identified himself once for all with the Neo-Malthusian doctrine in politics, though the resulting special notoriety of the topic was thus the work of the prosecutors themselves, who probably did more by their hostile act for the spread of popular knowledge than Bradlaugh had before been able to do by his years of advocacy.

How important was his introduction of the principle into politics can only be realised by those who know how much the principle means; and it is still in the stage of being vilified by the pious and contemned by the superficial, in which latter class may be included a good many Socialists. The former heap upon avowed Neo-Malthusians an abuse which they withhold from eminent politicians who confess opinions that imply Neo-Malthusianism or nothing. Mr John Morley, for instance, has expressed his regret that "we,"—that is, the Liberal party in general—shirk the population question so much; and Mr Leonard Courtney has laid it down that we may as well build a house in disregard of the law of gravitation as hope to make a community prosper without regard to the law of population. The late Lord Derby spoke to similar effect. Either, then, such politicians mean to urge, with Malthus, that working-men shall postpone marriage until they have saved a good deal of money—that is, till middle or late life—or they approve of early marriage with conjugal prudence. That is the whole matter; for the nature of the prudence is a quite subsidiary question, on which no wise man or doctor will narrowly dogmatise. But nobody, not even the *Times*, denounces or insults Mr Courtney or Mr Morley or the late Lord Derby for saying what each of them has said. As usual, the man who says explicitly what other men say implicitly is singled out for attack, not on the score of taste, but on the score of the plain doctrine, however put.

On the whole, however, the tone of the discussion improves from year to year. In the "Knowlton" trial, the then Solicitor-General, Sir Hardinge Giffard (now Lord Halsbury), after hearing abundant evidence to show that the details made known in the pamphlet were just such as were made known in a number of other current works never prosecuted, though freely circulated by prominent booksellers; and after himself expressly avowing that the book, I think it may be said, is carefully guarded from any vulgarity of expression"—nevertheless persisted in coarsely

describing it as "dirty and filthy." Yet he himself was so gratuitously indecent in his own language that in a number of passages it had to be paraphrased or expunged in the report. And though the puzzle-headed jury "entirely exonerated the defendants from any corrupt motives in publishing," they were "unanimously of opinion that the book in question is calculated to deprave public morals," and allowed their foreman to present a verdict of guilty under the indictment. Probably no metropolitan jury would now come "unanimously" to the degrading conclusion that to spread specific physiological knowledge is to deprave public morals, even if the members were the "average sensual men" who habitually circulate and gloat upon lewd anecdotes, to say nothing of their acts. It is true that the abominable imputations packed into the indictment of Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant were repeated in the miserable prosecution * which took place at Newcastle in 1892; and that the Recorder who tried that case, Judge Digby Seymour, displayed gross prejudice at every stage of the trial, finally vilifying such a perfectly well-meant and well-done treatise as Dr Allbutt's "Wife's Handbook," and the old "Fruits of Philosophy," as "two of the filthiest works that could be circulated to debauch and demoralise the minds of the people." Odious aspersions of this kind represent merely the fanaticism of ignorant custom, and take no heed of the enormous harm which physiological ignorance breeds. The Solicitor-General in the Knowlton trial flatly refused to deal with any such considerations; and Judge Seymour similarly would listen to no rational argument. But a decisive current of public opinion now begins to set the other way. Even a number of clergymen now admit the frightful evils of over-breeding, and are thus at least in part disentitled to cry out against rational prudence. The Newcastle prosecution, moreover, was strongly condemned in the local press; the accused was liberated; and at a public indignation meeting one speaker declared, with applause, that "the verdict of Judge Digby Seymour was an insult and a libel upon their English manners." And though a Neo-Malthusian student was heavily fined † in London

* Of Henry Loader, a professed Christian.

† He was fined £40, while two brothel-keepers were fined only £5 each in the same week.

in the previous year for circulating information in a slightly irregular manner, the language of the counsel for the Crown, who declared that "*the only check against immorality in this country is the fear of pregnancy*," excited general indignation, as did the conduct of the magistrate in ruling that decent language was "obscene." This prosecution, too, was repented of; and the most direct journalistic challenge afterwards failed to bring on any prosecution of Neo-Malthusian doctrine as such.

Even the comparatively reasonable attitude of Sir Alexander Cockburn in the "Knowlton" trial would not now recommend itself at all points to educated people. In the hearing of the evidence he thought fit to suggest that only "strong-minded ladies" could acquire medical knowledge without becoming "less pure-minded." Nor would any thoughtful people now agree with him and the Solicitor-General that "no better tribunal can be found in the world to judge of such a question as this than the average sound sense and enlightened judgment which is to be found in English society." These flights of declamation on the Bench are part of the general cant of English society, which can decorously endorse the moral reflections of a judge whose own life is the subject of chronic and much-relished scandal. But Cockburn at least put a new obstacle in the way of legal molestation of honest propaganda by expressing his agreement with the Malthusian doctrine as to over-population; and the later judgment of Judge Windeyer in Victoria, vindicating Mrs Besant's "Law of Population" when it was prosecuted there, marks the turn of the legal tide.

§ 3.

The constructive policy which Bradlaugh joined with his Neo-Malthusian doctrine had for its main item the radical reform of the land laws. He was thus in practical harmony with those individualists who except the land from the operation of the individualist principle, though he did not declare like them for land nationalisation. Nationalisation he considered too vast and difficult a transaction in the present state of political evolution; but progressive interference with the land monopoly he held to be as practicable as it is necessary. Property in land, he held with Mill, "is only valid in so far as the proprietor of the land is its improver; when private property in land is not expedient it is

unjust." And the control of the land, in his opinion, must become the subject of a great and decisive struggle between the people and the landowning class, who may or may not be aided by the rest of the capitalist class. On this subject he felt no less strongly, though he always spoke with more restraint, than do Socialists with regard to capitalism pure and simple.

"It is for the use of air, moisture, and heat," he puts it, "for the varied natural forces, that the cultivator pays; and the receiver talks of the rights of property. We shall have for the future to talk in this country of the rights of life—rights which must be recognised, even if the recognition involves the utter abolition of the present landed aristocracy." *

And he could say of the landed class, what can hardly be said of the labour-employing class in the main, that they had stood in the way of every reform:

"The great rent-takers have been the opponents of progress; they have hindered reform; they kept the taxes on knowledge; they passed combination laws; they enacted long Parliaments; they made the machinery of Parliamentary election costly and complicated, so as to bar out the people. They have prevented education, and then have sneered at the masses for their ignorance. All progress in the producing power of labour has added to the value of land; and yet the landowner who has often stood worse than idly by while the land has increased in value, now talks of the labourer as of the lower herd which must be checked and restrained."

To carry out in legislation the principle of the common interest in the land was accordingly one of his main aims; and at the time when his illegal exclusion from Parliament forced him to concentrate all his energies in the struggle for bare political life, he had gone far to give effect to it. Early in 1880 he took the leading part in establishing the Land Law Reform League, of which the formulated objects were:—

"1. In case of intestacies, the same law to govern the distribution of real and personal property. This would destroy primogeniture, but to be useful would need to be followed by some limitation of the power of devise, say as in France

* Pamphlet on "The Land, the People, and the Coming Struggle," fourth ed., p. 8.

"2. Abolition of the right to settle or entail for non-existing lives. It would be far better to abolish all life estates. . . . .

"3. Transfer of land to be made as cheap and easy as the transfer of a ship. Security to be ensured by compulsory registration of all dealings with land. . . . .

"4. Abolition of all preferential rights of landlords over other creditors. . . . .

"5. Abolition of the Game Laws.

"6. Compulsory cultivation of all lands now uncultivated, and not devoted to public purposes, which are cultivable with profit. That is, make it a misdemeanour to hold cultivable lands in an uncultivated state. The penalty on conviction to be dispossession, but with payment to dispossessed landowners of say twenty years' purchase of the average annual value of the land for the seven years prior to the prosecution. The payment to be by bonds of the State bearing the same interest as the Consolidated Debt, and payable to bearer. The land to be State property, and to be let to actual tenant cultivators on terms of tenancy . . . longer or shorter according to the improvement made in the estate. The amount paid as rent to the State to be applied to the payment of the interest and to form a sinking fund for the liquidation of the principal.

"7. Security to the tenant-cultivator for improvements.

"8. Re-valuation of lands for the more equitable imposition of the land-tax.

"9. Land-tax to be levied on a scale so graduated as to press most heavily on excessively large holdings.

"10. One and the same land law for Great Britain and Ireland."

Within a few months this League, numbering among its Vice-Presidents four clergymen, two of them belonging to the State Church, had established a number of strong branches, enrolled members, and affiliated societies representing many thousands more, thus attracting an amount of notice in the press which promised important results. An illustration of the effect produced may be seen in a letter which Mr Ruskin thought worthy of insertion in *Fors Clavigera*:—

"May I take an advantage of this note, and call your attention to a fact of much importance to Englishmen? and it is this. On reference to some Freethought papers—notably the *National Reformer*—I find a movement on foot amongst the Atheists, vigorous and full of life, for the alteration of the Land Laws in our much-loved country. It is a movement of much moment, and likely to lead to great results. The first great move on the part of Charles Bradlaugh, the premier in the

matter, is the calling of a conference to discuss the whole question. The meeting is to be attended by all the National Secular Society's branches throughout the empire; representatives of nearly every Reform Association in England, Scotland, and Ireland; deputations from banded bodies of workmen, colliers, etc.—such as the important band of Durham miners—Trade Unionists, and, in fact, a most mighty representative conference will be gathered together. I am, for many reasons, grieved and shocked to find the cry for Reform coming with *such a heading* to the front. Where are our statesmen—*our clergy*? The terrible crying evils of our land system are coming to the front in our politics without the help of the so-called upper classes; nay, with a deadly hatred of any disturbance in that direction, our very clergy are taking up arms against the popular cry.

"Only a week ago I was spending a few days with a farmer near Chester, and learned to my sorrow and dismay that the Dean and Chapter of that city, who own most of the farms, etc., in the district where my friend resides, refuse now—and only *now*—to accept other than *yearly* tenants for these farms; have raised all the rents to an exorbitant pitch, and only allow the land to be sown with wheat, oats, or whatever else in seed, etc., on a personal inspection by their agent. The consequences of all this is that poverty is prevailing to an alarming extent; the workers all the bitter, hard toil; the clergy, one may say, *all* the profits. It is terrible, heart-breaking; I never longed so much for heart-searching, vivid eloquence, so that I might move men with an irresistible tongue to do the right."

It is vain now to guess what the movement might have done if Bradlaugh, who was its main force, had been left free to carry it on continuously. But, on the one hand, his overwhelming contest with the House of Commons forced him to put aside a undertaking which depended so much on a seat in that House and on the other hand, to say nothing of the precedence inevitably given to the Irish land question in Parliament, it cannot be questioned that the fall in agricultural land values took much of the wind out of the sails of English land reformers. The phenomenon of land going out of cultivation put a new face on the dispute. When Bradlaugh at length got his seat, he at once showed his continued grasp of the problem by introducing a Bill for the Compulsory Cultivation of Waste Land, the principle of which was, that wherever land of more than one hundred acres lay uncultivated, and not used for public pleasure,* while cul-

* This stipulation was often ignored, and he was accused of wanting to parcel out Hyde Park in allotments.

tivable with profit by a cultivator paying no rent, or a smaller rent than the landlord held necessary to make it worth his while to lease, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests should be empowered to take possession of such land and offer it for tenancy. The keeping of the land uncultivated was to be a misdemeanour; but the dispossessed owner was to receive in compensation an annual payment for twenty-five years of a sum representing the average annual value of the land during the fourteen years prior to his dispossession, whatever that might be. The justification given by Bradlaugh for making it a misdemeanour to hold land idle was that already it was a misdemeanour for a labourer to live as an idle vagrant, and that the law insisted on his utilising his labour power. If labour, then *a fortiori* land. In introducing this measure Bradlaugh emphatically maintained that if the land would not yield the "three profits" of Lord Beaconsfield's formula, it ought not to be allowed to be kept idle and useless by the landlord. So long as a cultivator could make *his* profit, the State was bound to give him the opportunity. Needless to say, the Bill was violently denounced by the Conservative press. The *Times* talked of "downright plunder." The *Spectator* was especially indignant on the score that "great properties in the home counties, *kept waste in the hope that London will build on them*, would be confiscated"; and that and other journals held it a sufficient objection that in cases where land had been worth nothing the landlord would get nothing. Many Liberal members further objected that a Bill of such importance ought not to be introduced by a private member; and generally there was more hostility than help. On its discussion in the House (April 1886) Bradlaugh agreed to withdraw the Bill on the ground that its machinery was insufficient, he having come to the opinion that provision should be made for the lending of money to moneyless men to enable them to cultivate on their own behalf. In 1887, still seeing no hope of carrying a Bill, he took the course of moving a resolution on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, reaffirming the principle that "the right of ownership carries with it the duty of cultivation," and proposing to empower the "local authorities" to act as in the Bill of 1886 he had proposed to make the Commissioners of Woods and Forests act. This time he had considerable support, his resolution getting 101 votes, to 175 against. Not one of the front bench Liberals voted; but the Irish Home Rulers

did so in considerable force, making some amends for old hostility.* Again, in 1888, he moved a modified resolution, proposing to empower local authorities to purchase compulsorily waste lands at the "capital agricultural value." This time, some hours having been lost by a Scotch motion for the adjournment of the House on a point affecting crofters, the discussion came to nothing, the House being counted out while it was in process. Those who were behind the scenes may be able to give the explanation of the apathy of the Liberal and Radical members generally. The passing of an Allotments Act by the Conservative Government may have had something to do with it. Be that as it may, Bradlaugh again in March 1889 gave notice of a resolution on the subject, this time proposing to give local authorities power to levy a "waste and vacant land rate," or in the alternative, to acquire the land by payment either "for a limited term of an annual sum not exceeding the then average net annual actual produce," or of a sum representing the capital agricultural value. This resolution, however, never came to discussion. He again put it down in 1890, immediately after his return from India, but again it failed to reach discussion. In 1891 his work was over.

It will be seen that his land policy was more advanced than any that has yet been put in force by the Liberal party, though the legislation of 1894 has advanced considerably towards the adoption of his principle of compulsion. To that principle later legislators must inevitably come; and as regards land not utilised it has irresistible force. The proper answer to the demands of landlords for protection against the import of cheap corn from land paying no rent in America, is that when land goes out of cultivation here owing to such competition making it fail to yield its old rent, or three profits, the opportunity of cultivating it should pass to the State, which may fitly try the experiment of placing on such land the labourers who are driven to swell the crowd of unemployed in the towns. But this answer has never yet been effectively made in politics.† The doctrine of the nation's ownership of its land needs apparently to be asserted to-day more emphatically than ever.

* For the details of the case in favour of compulsory cultivation of land, see Bradlaugh's pamphlet on the subject, published 1887.

† It has lately been advanced by a "Unionist" politician, Mr T. W. Russell, in the *New Review*.

Asserting it as he did, Bradlaugh represented a midway position etween out-and-out Socialism and out-and-out Individualism. ime will show whether it was on the line to be taken by progres- ve reform. What is clear is that if energetically adopted it may on lead to the complete overthrow of that land system which is e foundation of the reactionary party politics of this country. his pamphlet on "The Land, the People, and the Coming ruggle," Bradlaugh put very clearly the social ideal he had in ew. "The enormous estates of the few landed proprietors," he eclared, "must not only be prevented from growing larger, they ust be broken up. At their own instance, and gradually, if they ill meet us with even a semblance of fairness, for the poor and ngry cannot well afford to fight; but at our instance, and rapidly, they obstinately refuse all legislation." To this end he proposed, we have seen, re-valuation of all lands, and a graduated land-tax, press most heavily on the largest holdings. The Budget of 94, although stopping short of graduation of the annual taxes, s made the first step towards them by graduating the death ties; and the further steps are probably not far off. The broad litical problem of the future is the control of wealth distribution, the end of making the rendering of services a condition of the joyment of services for all able-bodied persons; and it seems rly clear that the easiest of the various possible main steps wards that consummation are the restriction of private property land and the indirect or direct absorption of "economic rent" the State, such adaptations being to the socialisation of other eans of wealth production as the simple to the complex. And ile Bradlaugh, as has been said, stipulated for gradual action en in the regulation of the land, he never refused to contemplate e nationalisation of its rent as an ultimate ideal.

§ 4.

It may now be easily inferred how Bradlaugh came to feel for the pular Socialism of the day a mixture of distrust and aversion. was for him a flying off at a tangent from the right spiral line progress. He had counted on seeing the slowly-won political wer of the mass of the people turned to the enforcement of ndamental reforms in taxation and land-tenure, so as to better life-conditions of the people in the mass; and he had trusted a gradual learning of the lesson of family prudence, with the

result of an immense saving of friction, waste, and misery. Whi
he had got to the front of the political struggle, the neec
reforms were still nearly all to make; and the great lesson
conjugal prudence was only beginning to be learned on a lar
scale. What was wanted, to his mind, was a combination
energy with patience. He had no belief in the possibility
raising the lot of vast masses of people to a high level suddenly
violent legislation for the direct transfer of all property from t
"haves" to the "have-nots": he knew how enormously difficult
was to effect even the modifying measures for which he w
working. But he believed that with persistent toil and good se
it might so be carried out that the life of the people should in t
next generation be greatly improved, and the stress of their l
materially lessened. Just at this stage, however, he saw t
struggling people suddenly and vociferously appealed to by teach
who taught the uselessness of all gradual action; the futility of
preceding parliamentary effort; the impossibility of any impro
ment so long as private property in any of the means of producti
subsisted; the limitation of the alternatives to the whole loaf
no bread; the necessity of subjecting all industrial action wh
ever to collective control at one sweep; in a word, the absol
necessity of effecting at a stroke, by violence if need be, suc
social and moral revolution as the world had never yet se
Already the folly of all this is recognised by many even of th
who resent Bradlaugh's popular exposure of it. Within
years there has been developed in England a progressive Socialis
which repudiates violence, substitutes evolution for revoluti
proposes to utilise all the existing political machinery, is glad
gradual advance, is content to urge forward Radicalism, and mo
fies mathematical politics by biological conceptions. But Br
laugh had to bear the brunt of the anger not only of the hea
crowd who had shouted for the impossible, but of the new se
mental journalists who had patronised them.

First he had been constantly and violently abused, in the ea
days of his Parliamentary struggle, as being himself a Socialist,
people who knew nothing whatever about his life and doctri
and his alleged Socialism was one of the pretexts on which so
opposed his entry into the House of Commons. The noblem
who then represented the historic name of Percy took that li
A fair sample of the current tone on the subject among the ig

nt rich is supplied by their votes *vates sanctissima*, the lady novelist "Ouida," in a letter to the *Fortnightly Review*,* in which he discussed the class politics of Italy. "It is the towns," she xplained, "which are the centres of eagerness for unconsidered var, and the foolish credulity of bombastic Radicalism;" and she vent on in her best-informed manner to particularise "the educated' cad of the Turin or Florence streets, who has heard ust enough of Fourier and Bradlaugh to think that society ought o maintain at ease his ugly idleness." The idleness which felt ure of its beauty was naturally resentful. All the while, Bradaugh was at sharp strife with the Socialists of the moment; and e soon came to be applauded for his course in this matter by the ame precious upper-class opinion which had just imputed to him he views he assailed, while new assailants vituperated him as a raitor to principles he had never accepted. It is largely to his estructive criticism that the undefined fashionable Socialism of he present hour owes its comparative rationality;† but there is mall thought of acknowledging the service.

Certainly he had struck hard, and this not merely because he as iniquitously and ferociously attacked by Socialists generally.‡ Ie saw the new doctrine appealing to and applauded by, not the lear-headed and self-controlled workers, but the neurotic, the oisy, the passionate, the riotous. Instead of meetings of men at nce earnest and orderly, such as he had gathered and addressed or so many years, meetings at which debate could go on without

---

* November 1881, p. 842.

† His longer criticisms of Socialism make a fair volume. They are: (1) ocialism; For and Against: written debate with Mrs Besant, 1887; (2) Will ocialism benefit the English People? debate with Mr Hyndman, 1883;) Written debate with Mr Belfort Bax, under same title; (4) "Socialism; s Fallacies and Dangers," article in *North American Review*, January 1887, printed as a pamphlet; Pamphlet, "Some objections to Socialism," 1884. ee also his articles and debate on the "Eight Hours Question," and his cture on "Capital and Labour."

‡ I happened to be standing by when, at a Freethought Conference, the te Dr Cæsar de Pæpe, a leading Belgian Socialist and Freethinker, personly and fraternally remonstrated with Bradlaugh on his opposition to ocialism. He vehemently answered that he had found the English Socialists nong the most unscrupulous of his enemies, they having not only lied about m freely, but put in his mouth all sorts of things he had never said or ought.

disorder, he saw gatherings of wildly excited men, who could no
listen to opposition, who could not sit still in their seats wh
their view were countered, and who turned a public debate into
public disturbance. Significantly enough, the one town in whic
the Socialist party, even when pretty numerous, can be trusted
give an opponent a fair hearing, is Northampton, where for
many years he disciplined the workers to orderly activity, and
self-control under extreme provocation. No cause ever needed suc
discipline more than that of Socialism. It is quite reasonable
plead for consideration for men whose life is hard, and who s
idlers at their ease; but extenuating circumstances do not affe
the stream of tendency; and no amount of sympathy with th
luckless can make up for want of judgment in those who undertak
to lead them. And to talk, as so many of the Socialist talkers di
a dozen or less years ago, of resorting to physical force, to revol
tionise society, was only to expose the luckless to new disaster.

Whether all Bradlaugh's argumentation against Socialist theo
will hold good is another question. It is probable that th
extreme statements of Socialist doctrine with which he had
deal led him latterly to define his Individualism at times mo
sharply than before. Not many years before his death he declin
to dub himself either Individualist or Socialist. He sought
legislate for an evolving society, conditioned by all sorts
anomalous survivals; and he must prescribe for each juncture
trouble in view of all the facts of the case. As he put it in h
pamphlet on "Parliament and the Poor":—

"All progressive legislation in this country is necessarily compromi
It is not possible to legislate on hard and fast lines of principle alo
A state of things has grown up through generations which can only
gradually changed. The expedient has to be considered in all la
making. Legal interpretations of right have received judicial sanctio
which have become so much part of our general political and soc
system that sudden reversal would be attended often with the grav
mischief. Temporary concessions have usually to be made on the o
side, to win consent from the other, to a sure step in advance; but
compromise is final."

But the affirmation by Socialists of principles which seemed
make an end of self-reliance and self-determination led h
to offer definitions of the sphere of Government; and while
concrete decisions—as in the case of the Eight Hours movement

ll probably be found to be in all cases sagacious, it may be that litical science will yet endorse action which he declined to con-mplate. His practical justification is that his Socialist adversaries ways argued the case *in vacuo*, and demanded the nationalisation all the means of production, and, by consequence, the State termination of all destinies, at a time when not only is the blic in the terms of the case still largely predatory and anti-cial in instinct, but the Socialists themselves are divided by curable animosities. Mr Hyndman chose to debate with him on e issue, "Will Socialism benefit the English People?"—"if orted to here and now" being implied. Only when it is asked, Can we evolve up to Socialism?" will Bradlaugh's rebuttal be rid of.

What may perhaps be urged against him, as against land tionalisers from Mill onwards, is that the theory which makes land main matter is partly undermined by the economic evolution in ich agricultural land values in this country have receded, the food pply being more and more derived from abroad, in return for orted goods. On this head, however, it may here suffice to wer that that is in all likelihood a temporary phase; that in case, English industry rests on the coal supply, which is a tter of land in the economic sense; and that a Socialism which nks to maintain a forever increasing population, on the basis a mere national workshop system, is much more short-sighted n the doctrine which makes the land the fulcrum of all indus-l movement.

There is just one criticism of Bradlaugh's politics which the sent writer will not undertake to meet, since it raises a point which he was driven to differ from him. It is the objection to optimistic assumption that the mass of the people can sur-nt the trouble of chronic trade-depression by means of thrift. s was perhaps the one touch of uncritical optimism in Brad-h's political system. He argued that the workers could acquire necessary capital for themselves by simple saving. "You can it," he tells them, at the close of his lecture on pital and Labour,"—"the Rothschilds' wealth, the Over-es' wealth, the Barings' wealth—you, the millions, if you are loyal to yourselves and to one another, may put all this into own Savings Banks, and your own friendly societies, and own trades unions, within a dozen years. You accumulate it

for others: you can do it for yourselves." The answer to this is that the capital in question depends for its continuance on the continuance of industrial production, and of the demand for the product; whereas, if the workers were to stint their consumption to the extent of saving great masses of capital from wages, they would to that extent check their total production, unless, that the other classes increase their consumption to a balancing extent which, however, they could not conceivably do. Even if the birth-rate be so checked as to lessen the nett population, the increasing power of machinery would so far balance the lessened supply of labour that the tactic of parsimony on a large scale would defeat itself. At present the successful savers are so in virtue of the ill-luck of other investors and the non-saving of the mass. Saving all round would neutralise itself, since the saving could only be profitably invested in production to meet increasing demand, whereas in the terms of the case there would be decreasing demand. It is spending that keeps the machine going, not saving.

But supposing this criticism to be valid—and there are few but few who will endorse it—the final estimate of Bradlaugh, as of any politician, must be in terms of comparison; and if he erred on the theory of thrift, so have all the statesmen of time; while on other great issues on which they were backward he was alert and enlightened. Even the Socialists who oppose him, and throw at him the ancient epithet of "Manchester," have in many cases committed themselves to the Manchester school's doctrine of saving, deriding those who contravene it. And on the concrete issues on which they were opposed to him, it is not difficult to show that Manchesterism had the right end of the stick. On the Eight Hours' question, in particular, the Socialist attack on him is not only subversive of other Socialist doctrine, but is a *reductio ad absurdum*. He is accused of inconsistency, because he wrought for State interference with the relations of labour and capital in his Truck Act, but opposed State regulation of working hours. But, on the one hand, the two cases are fundamentally different, since working hours depend on the whole economic situation, while Truck is an arbitrary arrangement of the master only possible in peculiar local circumstances; and on the other hand, if the Truck Act logically commits us to interference with working time, then a time law will logically commit us to a wage law, which even the Socialist critic admits to be folly.

That Bradlaugh was no pedantic individualist is shown, not nly by his Truck Act, but by his agitation for a Labour Bureau, hich was the origin of that institution, though the official iberal press usually gives all the credit to Mr Mundella, who erely acted on Bradlaugh's urging. And while the latter held iat the action of the trade unions was in some cases mistaken, e never ceased to urge their attention to political affairs all nnd.

"Many of the great trades organisations and friendly societies," he rote in 1889, "have until recently prided themselves on being non-litical. Some of the trades societies and nearly all the friendly cieties still so pride themselves. This has been a serious blunder, pecially in a country where much legislation has been the work of a ry limited class for the conservation of their own privileges." *

is limitary principle was one of sound common-sense, whether not he recognised the full force of the economic indictment of mpetitive individualism.

"A good working doctrine for legislatures should be to mould con-uct rather by the development of sound public opinion than by the eration of penal laws. Especially should the legislature be careful t to profess to do that for the worker, which it is reasonably possible r him to do for himself without the aid of the law. A duty enforced r others is seldom so well performed as a duty affirmed by the doer."

nd these principles, which perhaps serve even some professed iberals mainly as a ground for doing nothing, were with him ground for insisting on an act of justice and expediency which ch Liberals have been very loth to accede to. Bradlaugh's action the great test case of recent English politics is a decisive proof his foresight.

§ 5.

As the story of his life has shown, Bradlaugh had had special portunities of studying the Irish question from the inside; d from the day when his young blood boiled at the murderous uelty of an Irish eviction, he steadfastly supported the cause the misruled Irish people. He never ceased to love England th that touch of pride and faith which is the whole stock-in-

* "Parliament and the Poor."

trade of the average patriot; but, combining it as he did wit an intense sense of justice, he could never let that devotion blin him to the wrongs of other peoples at England's hands. An in the first years of his political activity, when he was pleadin for rebel Poles and rebel Italians, he seems to have so fa recognised the right of Irishmen to use force against the forc of England, that he assisted the Fenian conspirators of 1867 t draw up their Republican proclamation, so revising it as t exclude every expression of race hatred and every appeal t religious feeling; "the complete separation of Church an State" being one of its stipulations. The full details of tha connection will probably never now be known; but what i quite clear is that Bradlaugh was not only then opposed to th idea of an Irish Republic, but soon ceased to have the lea faith in the possibility of a successful or even a well-planne Irish rising; while his invariable opposition to useless violenc was emphatic in the case of the Clerkenwell and other outrage All the more earnestly did he continue his propaganda for Iris reform. Holding as he did that the land question was funda mental in English politics, he could not but see that it was th very heart of the Irish trouble; and to the agitation for Iris land law reform he gave energetic support. But he was alway far ahead of the slow movement of average English opinion; an while English Liberals were hoping that the concessions carrie out by Gladstone would make Ireland a contented partner i the Union, Bradlaugh had already given his assent to the clai for Home Rule; always, however, flatly opposing the doctrin of separation. On this he was explicit when, speaking in Ne York in 1873, he found otherwise friendly Irish auditors dispose to be satisfied with nothing short of absolute severance fro England. Home Rule, however, he all along considered t be not only just but inevitable. While those of us who hope for a real Union (with Irishmen admitted to perfect equality i the Executive system) were urging that as a solution whic escaped the proved dangers of Federalism, he had made up h mind that Englishmen could not and would not ever deal wit Ireland as an integral part of the State; and he had declare himself a Home Ruler long before Mr Gladstone, who ha frustrated the hope for a true Union by consistently keepin Irishmen out of his cabinets. That, helping as he thus did th

ome Rule movement, he should yet have been treated with goted hostility and injustice by the bulk of the Irish Nationalists his Parliamentary struggle, was so remarkable that explana- ons were demanded; and the Nationalists offered several, to the fect that Bradlaugh had turned against them. It is necessary go into some detail to show that this is untrue.

At the outset of his Parliamentary struggle Bradlaugh was not ly not regarded as an opponent by the Nationalists as a political rty, but was even defended by Parnell, although against the sh of most of that leader's Catholic followers; and despite the ickly shown ill-will of these, Bradlaugh continued to support their use in the House during the nine months of his conditional tenure his seat, 1880-81. But as he never hesitated to counter what held to be wrong policy among English democrats, so he con- mned, albeit reluctantly, what he held to be unjustifiable courses the part of the Parnellites. This appears in his "Parliamentary ttings" in his journal under date 5th September 1880, where says he "much regretted, during the long conflict of Thursday- iday, to find himself brought into collision with the Irish mbers." Nineteen Irish members had spoken, with his entire mpathy, against the Constabulary Vote; and after midnight ey sought to postpone the discussion, on the ground that "more sh members wished to speak," though not a penny of the imates had been voted. There were only twelve more Home lers present, and they could all have spoken had they wished. ey, however, appealed to the Radicals to help them to delay siness, on the score that the Constabulary Vote was a "life and ath question." As obstruction could only delay and not stop vote, Bradlaugh objected, and made a speech to that effect, ich was warmly cheered by the Liberals, and as warmly con- mned by Home Rulers; though, when it came to voting, only of the 61 Home Rulers went into the lobby. Obstruction always condemned. This was a pretext for Irish hostility, ugh there had been abundance of that already. Some weeks r he writes:—

My personal position as to Ireland is by no means an easy one. nd English Radicals in general, and myself in particular the ject of constant abuse in Irish journals. I read words attributed rish members of the House of Commons full of the most intense ility to everything English, and find speakers in their presence

declaring that the land movement is only the cover for the disruptio of the two countries."

And after quoting some of the frenzied sayings of Irish American he appeals to "Mr Parnell and his co-traversers," and oth responsible Nationalists, "not to check our desire to co-opera with them by their open declarations of hostility to our race: and "in the name of humanity . . . to check the tendenc of the people whom they lead to waste their energies in wor than useless force." At the same time, he protested again the prosecution of Mr Parnell and his colleagues by the Liber Government, supported the fund for their defence, and incurre new hostility in England in consequence. Correspondents wro him on both sides, and he answered: *—

"We must ask both sides to be a little patient. The agrarian crim cannot be justified, nor does our contributing to the Parnell Defen justify these. We subscribe in order that he and others may have fa play: it is never easy to be defendant in a State trial. . . . Son remind us that three-fourths of the Irish M.P.'s voted against us, an nearly every Irish paper attacks us. That is so, but it does not alter c duty. Our duty is to work honestly for redress of Irish grievance although even every Irishman should be personally unjust to us."

One form of the injustice is seen in an editorial sentence fro the Dublin *Freeman* about the same time, *àpropos* of the argume of the Tory *St James's Gazette*† to the effect that over-populatio was the cause of Irish distress. "Does the *St James's* propose asked the *Freeman*, "the introduction of Bradlaughism in Ireland, when it says that the 'rapid growth of population, whi is checked in some countries,' must be fatal to the prosperity cotter families across the Channel?" The Tory argument w really a sample of the method of utilising the principle of popul tion solely as a reason for not doing justice, while vilifying tho who not only see the trouble but point out the remedy. Not word of support did Bradlaugh ever get from a Tory organ in h attempt to avert the evil of over-population. But as regar Ireland, he not only recognised that over-population there w positively fostered by the unjust land system, but he again a again in the House denied that even wholesale emigration,

* *National Reformer*, Nov. 20, 1888.

† Then edited by Mr Frederick Greenwood.

practicable, would cure the evil while that system endured. In July 1880 he writes:—

"I had to listen to the Hon. B. Fitzpatrick, sent by 118 votes for the borough of Portarlington, who, in the course of a wild display of imbecility, had the audacity to declare that wholesale emigration of the natives of Ireland was the 'only remedy' for Irish distress; and this was said by an Irishman."

On the 15th of the same month, in the debate on the second reading of the Irish Tenants' Compensation Bill, he protested against the irrelevance of the Tory opposition to the Bill.

"There had been renewed the argument that Ireland was over-populated, and that the tenants who were distressed ought to find in some other country the relief they could not find in Ireland. Now, there was no colony in England, and there was no part of the United States of America, to which any poor man without means could go, hoping to benefit himself at the present time. Therefore, those who recommended emigration had either never taken the trouble to investigate the matter, or were simply talking against time to delay the measure going into committee."

Again, though in January 1881 he found himself "driven into the lobby, for the first time this Session, against the Irish members, only to vote that the business of the House was not to be absolutely stopped by an utterly irregular discussion," he took a most active part in opposing the Government's coercive measures. In the debate on the address he "made one of eight English Radicals who alone had been found to record their votes in favour of Mr Parnell's amendment," though feeling that the Irish methods of hindering business had kept many English members out of the Nationalist lobby; and when Mr Forster made his appeal for special powers, Bradlaugh made a strong speech in support of one of the Irish amendments.* Yet again he felt bound to vote for the suspension of Mr Biggar, doing it "with very heavy heart," and grieving "that Irish members should so play into the hands of their

* Those were "the days of all-night sittings," forced by the policy of the Nationalists; and Bradlaugh missed voting on the motion for leave to bring in the Coercion Bill, by reason of having gone home to rest after having sat for twenty-six hours out of thirty, the vote being suddenly taken in his absence on the decision of the Speaker.

enemies, and so totally damage the cause of their country." Of th later suspensions of Mr Dillon and the O'Gorman Mahon, he wrot with much regret; but for others who had, outside, "boasted tha they wished to degrade Parliament," he confessed he had "littl pity." None the less, he moved the rejection of the Coercion Bi on the second reading, in the never-explained absence of Mr Parnel who had suddenly gone to Paris. The Irish Anti-Coercion Com mittee, who had just denounced him in one of their leaflets for hi votes against obstruction, felt constrained about this stage to sen him a vote of thanks. All the while, his journal had publishe numerous articles sharply attacking the Government's coercio policy.

A vote on the Arms Bill was the last act by which Bradlaug ministered to the wish of the Nationalists to have a case again him. He had repeatedly protested against the advice given by M Dillon and others to Irish peasants to buy rifles; and he held tha the case of Ireland was bad enough without adding to wrong an misery the freedom to seek amends in murder. His vote on thi point, like his votes against obstruction, were held by th Parnellites to outweigh all his protests against coercion and all h appeals for land law reform; his exclusion from Parliament aft the decision in the Law Courts in the spring of 1881 was haile by most of them with delight; and during his long battle outsid they were among his worst enemies, the Irish press and people full abetting them. Still he never relaxed his advocacy of the cau of the Irish peasantry, pleading for a merciful and conciliato treatment of them when they were hooting his name; and when h at length obtained his seat in 1886 he gave his unhesitatin support to the Home Rule policy of Mr Gladstone. It was in th year that a leading Irish Nationalist went up to him in the Hou with the greeting, "Mr Bradlaugh, you have been the be Christian of us all." Considering that only the influence of t Catholic priesthood could account for the course taken by t Parnellite party, the acknowledgment—in spirit if not in form was suggestive of some moral progress on the Christian side.

It may be questioned whether many Liberals could have th borne the test undergone by Bradlaugh on the Irish question. is certain that Bright, with all his chivalry and rectitude, w somewhat influenced in his latter attitude on that question by t evil return which Irishmen had made to him for all his efforts

heir behalf. Bradlaugh suffered far worse treatment at their ands, but was in no way turned by it from his conviction of what vas just. He was content to recognise that the people were swayed by the priests, and that in any case it is vain to look for he moral fruits of equality from a people to whom equality has been for ages denied. He had been treated by Irish Nationalists as he had been by English Conservatives; and though he felt the ngratitude of the former, he would not admit that they had shown ny grosser unscrupulousness than the latter, who had denied ustice to an Englishman on motives of party strategy, reinforced by religious malice. If there was any difference, it was that the rishmen had been more moved by religious malice and less by arty strategy; and it is usual to rate the latter motive the lower f the two.

Bradlaugh himself would never have claimed that he had shown ny special magnanimity in the case; but those who know how nuch personal interest or pique counts for in political action will ecognise the singularity of his course. It belonged to his haracter, equally with his avowal and advocacy of unpopular pinions. Later, when the question of Woman Suffrage was being ressed on his constituency, he was told by Mr Labouchere, as he ad been told by others before, that if the women of Northampton ad a vote he would not be returned. His public answer was:—

"If I knew this to be true, it would not hinder me from casting my ote in favour of woman suffrage, even if my vote alone should be equired to pass the Bill. I deeply value the representation of North- mpton, but the grant of the right of woman to the suffrage cannot e determined by the fact that, if legalised, her exercise of that right ccording to her conscience would be personally hostile to myself."

It may be doubted whether Mr Labouchere gauged the situation right. When Bradlaugh stood for Northampton in 1868 and as beaten, the wives and women-folk of his supporters subscribed heir scanty pence, and bought him a gold pencil-case. If after earing the utterance above cited the Northampton women of to-day ere capable of voting in the mass against a man so declaring imself, they would indeed give Mr Labouchere a better case gainst their enfranchisement than he has yet been able to make it. But would they?

§ 6.

In virtue of the qualities which made him a warm friend c Ireland, Bradlaugh was all his life, and in his latter years sti more warmly, the friend of India. All his instincts of justice an sympathy were moved by the spectacle of that vast congerie of immemorially immature races, ruled by a bureaucracy of English men, none of whom would for a moment be trusted to exercis similar power over their fellow-countrymen, but all of whon collectively are assumed by their countrymen to need next to n supervision when ruling a "lower" race. Again and agai Bradlaugh protested, as other Englishmen had protested befor him, against the inveterate apathy with which the House o Commons regards Indian questions, as shown by the scant handful of members who attend to hear them discussed onc a year. The death of Professor Fawcett, "the member for India," left Indian interests ill cared for indeed, and immediately o gaining his seat Bradlaugh stepped into the vacant place, althoug it was by itself work enough for one man, and he had three men' work on hand besides.

His speech on India in 1883 to his constituents shows th broad and systematic way in which he approached the problem He studied it with the minute care he bestowed on every subjec he handled; and in a few years he acquired by his work a amount of popularity among natives such as had never before bee earned by an Englishman outside India, and by few Angl Indians. As this work was mostly done after his Parliamentar struggle was over, the record of it belongs to the story of h closing years; but it was only the consistent sequel to h previous political life. He took up the cause of India as he ha done those of Italy, Poland, Ireland, of Boers, Zulus, an Egyptians, with no thought or prospect of personal gain, out sheer zeal for justice and hatred of oppression. And inasmuch Anglo-Indians of the school of Mr Rudyard Kipling ha consistently derided and denounced his Indian policy, it may fitting to note at this point the advantage that policy has ov such opposition in respect of its relation to universal politic principles. The doctrine of Mr Kipling's school—who may defined as barbaric sentimentalists—is that Asia in general, a India in particular, are absolute exceptions to all the principles

European politics. The East, they say, is unprogressive, unchangeable, unimprovable. The most direct confutation of that doctrine is supplied by the simple fact of the persistence of the Congress movement, which at its outset the sentimentalists scouted as a chimera. Whatever may be its outcome, they are for ever discredited, in that they declared the thing itself, when broached, to be impossible. And those whose sociology goes deeper and wider than a rule-of-thumb acquaintance with part of the actual life of a race or a region are aware that India can no more than any other land resist the laws of social transmutation, given the transmuting forces and conditions. It is extremely unfortunate that many Englishmen are ready to accept as final the sweeping sociological dicta of Mr Kipling, on the score merely of his first-hand knowledge of Indian life and his literary genius. Foolish generalisations on social possibilities have been made in every country in every age by men with first-hand knowledge of their theme; and it must be regretfully said that foolish men of genius are among the most eminent darkeners of counsel on such matters. When Mr Kipling gives a particular account of a particular phase of Indian life, Englishmen who in the terms of the case have no knowledge of that life accept the account as a "revelation," when obviously their estimate of it in that light has no critical value whatever. Strong in the suffrages of such judges, Mr Kipling has been pleased to speak of Bradlaugh as being prepared by defective education to take that mistaken view of Indian life which Mr Kipling inexpensively imputes to all inquiring Englishmen at home. The sufficient answer to that criticism is that there are many kinds of defective education, and that nobody can well be further wrong about India than Mr Kipling, inasmuch as he has himself contradicted every one of his own numerous generalisations by others. He first came forward with pictures of the Indian Civil and Military Services, in which they appeared nearly as corrupt as those of Russia are said to be: husbands getting promotion on the score of their wives' adultery, and so forth. Later he saw fit to represent the Indian Civil Service as embodying every virtne a Civil Service can have. As a rule, he pictures the English in India as the "Dominant Race," with impressive capitals, and the natives as being universally cowards. When, however, a native officer can "play like a lambent flame" on the polo-field, and can transgress every law of hospitality by thrasonically declaring

defiance to Russia in the person of a Russian officer at a British mess-table, that native becomes even as an Englishman in Mr Kipling's eyes. The simple canon of Mr Kipling is the feeling that any race which thwarts his own must be base. Thus every indiscreet Russian officer must needs be a blackguard, and every disaffected Irishman a ruffian and a sneak; the evil principle being so deep rooted that the Asiatic children of an Irishman spontaneously take to cutting off cows' tails: though at the same time the Irish soldier is a hero of heroes, if only he is duly devoted to "the Queen, God bless her." It will be a bad business for English rule in India when minds which sociologise in this fashion come to be the guides of the British people in their political relations with their dependency.

Bradlaugh, it may suffice to say, was under no delusions as to the present political capacity of the Indian races. He perfectly recognised their bias to rhetoric and their immaturity of character as well as the enormous difficulties in the way of their political amalgamation. Hence his programme for them was an extremely gradual introduction of the principle of self-rule. Nothing could be more judicious and restrained than his brief address to the Congress on his brief visit to India after his dangerous illness of 1889, within about a year of his death. And the chances are that before a generation is over his view of the case will be the accepted commonplace of Liberal politics; while the notion of a perpetual domination of Englishmen in a country where they cannot rear healthy children will be regarded as a crowning flight of unscientific political sentiment. In any case, it implies no great rashness to predict that an England which ignores the affairs of its subjects as much as possible in Parliament will not long be able to maintain a despotic rule over a people accessible to Western ideas. The Home Rule principle, which was for Bradlaugh the principle of universal virtue, however different the degree of its application to a given case at a given moment, must in time be wrought out in India as elsewhere, if only it goes forward in the West, and the West keeps up its growing intercourse with the East. And it was one of his many political merits to have been one of the first to see this not only abstractly but in the concrete.

Enough has now been said to convey a broad idea of the manner and matter of Bradlaugh's philosophy of life, cosmical and political

as it was developed and acted on by him at the time of his most memorable appearance on the arena of British public life. At that time much work, though not many years of life, remained to him, so that some who then opposed him claimed afterwards that they could not have known his capacities for good, as exhibited in his extraordinary Parliamentary labours. But the foregoing account of his teaching and action will probably suffice to show that his political career was all of a piece, and that at the time of his ostracism he had given proof of all the powers and opinions which were later admitted to do him honour. Neither, as we shall see, did he in later life surrender any one of the teachings of his earlier years. He laid more stress on some and less on others; but he unsaid nothing, and for the most part he did but carry on his youthful programme. Before 1880 he had been the ardent and yet sagacious friend of oppressed nationalities, the advocate of Radical land law reform, the defender of liberty of conscience, the exponent of the claims of the poor against the rich, the preacher of unpopular but all-important doctrines on personal conduct. In the brief period of his first tenure of his seat he wrought vigorously against the abuse of Perpetual Pensions, which he was later the means of removing, though not in a fashion fully satisfying to himself. In the same period he exhibited a constant concern for the remedying of all manner of grievances. As early as 1863, too, he had taken what Mill rightly calls the extremely undemagogue-like line of publishing a pamphlet in favour of Proportional Representation, on the lines of Hare's scheme—a "counsel of perfection" still too high for most democrats.

As for his general tone of feeling on the questions which turn in an equal degree on feeling and judgment, it is well illustrated by the last non-personal speech he made in the House in the period of his conditional tenure of his seat. It was delivered on 28th March, and was on the subject of flogging in the army:—

"Mr Bradlaugh said he wished to say a few words on this matter from a different point of view than other members who had spoken. He had been a private in the army during the time that flogging was permitted for offences now described as trivial, and he heard the same argument used, that it would cause a relaxation of discipline if flogging were abolished. If hon. members opposite knew the feeling of the soldiers at that time it would have much modified some of the speeches delivered to-day (hear, hear); and

the hon. member for Sunderland (Sir H. Havelock-Allan) would b surprised to hear the number of letters he had received fro private soldiers, asking him to speak on this subject to-day There was a feeling of utter detestation against the punishment not simply on the part of the men who were likely to suffer fro it, but on the part of every one else. Private soldiers in Englan occupied a position which no other private soldier in the whole o Europe occupied, and he did not know any other country in th whole world where it was a disgrace to wear the uniform of you country. He remembered upon one occasion he went into an hote in a great city and ordered a cup of coffee, and was told that h could not be served because he wore the uniform of his country All punishments which made soldiers seem less reputable tha their fellow-citizens ought to be abolished. He asked the Govern ment to allow nothing whatever to influence them in favour of thi most degrading punishment. The men who once felt the lash wer not loyal to any command, and they felt a bitterness and an abho rence of every one connected with the ordering of the punishment If they flogged a man engaged on active service, he was either good man or a bad man, a man of some spirit or none at all. If h were a man of any spirit, there were weapons in his hands, and h might use them for purposes of revenge. The hon. and gallan member for Wigton Burghs talked of men who preferred the lash The army would be far better without such men. (Mr Childers Hear, hear.) He had seen the lash applied, the man tied up, an stripped in the sight of his comrades; he had seen the body blacke and the skin break; he had heard the dull thud of the lash as fell on the blood-soddened flesh, and he was glad of having th opportunity of making his voice heard against it to-day, and truste that nothing would induce the Government to retain under an conditions such a brutal punishment. (Cheers.)"

And it was with these matters in their knowledge that a majorit of the House of Commons subjected him for five years to a extremity of wanton injustice of which it is still difficult to thin without burning anger. The story of that injustice must now b separately told.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE.

Chronological Summary.

1880 April 2. Bradlaugh elected (with Mr Labouchere) for Northampton.
May 3. Asked to be allowed to make affirmation of allegiance. A Select Committee agreed to be appointed to consider his claim.
12. Committee of 17 appointed.
—20. Committee reported, by casting vote of Chairman, against the claim to affirm.
Bradlaugh announces his intention to take the oath.
21. Presented himself at the table of the House to do so. Motion made that he be not permitted. Amendment moved by Mr Gladstone, that the claim to take the oath be referred to a Select Committee, carried by 289 votes to 214.
28. Committee of 23 appointed.
June 2. Bradlaugh examined by Committee.
—16. Committee reported that Bradlaugh could not properly take the oath, and recommended that he be allowed to affirm at his legal peril.
—21. Motion made by Mr Labouchere that he be allowed to affirm.
22. Motion defeated by 275 votes to 230.
—23. Bradlaugh again presented himself, claiming to be sworn. Made his *First Speech at the Bar*. Refusing to withdraw, was finally taken into custody on motion of Sir Stafford Northcote.
24. Bradlaugh unconditionally released from custody.
July 1. Mr Gladstone moved as a Standing Order that members-elect be allowed at their choice to affirm, at their legal peril. Motion carried by 303 votes to 249.
—2. Bradlaugh made affirmation of allegiance and took his seat. On giving his first vote, was served with a writ suing for penalty.
14. Tory Bill introduced to incapacitate all Atheists for membership (fell through).
1881 Mar. 11. Judgment given against Bradlaugh in suit for penalty, he being thus pronounced unqualified to make affirmation of allegiance. Bradlaugh gave notice of appeal.
31. Judgment given against him on appeal. Seat thus vacated.

1881 April 9. Bradlaugh re-elected for Northampton, by 3437 votes t 3305.

26. Presented himself to be sworn. Made his *Second Speech at th Bar.* Motion made that he be not allowed to take th oath, carried by 208 votes to 175, many Liberals an Home Rulers abstaining. Bradlaugh again presented him self to be sworn, and refused to withdraw. Hous adjourned.

27. Bradlaugh presented himself as before, and refused to with draw. After debate, withdrew on informal understanding that Government should attempt to introduce an Affirma tion Bill.

29. Government announced this intention.

May 2. Attorney-General in Commons moved for leave to introduc Bill. Debate adjourned.

Lords Justices of Appeal decided against Bradlaugh on th separate issue of his affirmation being a sufficient answer t the claim that he was liable in a penalty for voting withou being sworn.

6. Debate in Commons again adjourned owing to Tory obstruc tion.

10. Government, owing to continued obstruction, postponed th Bill. Resolution carried, on motion of Tory leader, tha Bradlaugh be prevented entering House.

16-17. Clarke's counsel moved before Lord Coleridge and M Bowen for judgment. Bradlaugh moved to be hear afresh on the point of the validity of the writ, the issue o which he contended had been too soon for legality,

25. Bill of indemnity to Bradlaugh, introduced by Mr Labouchere blocked by Mr Newdegate, who had been the privat maintainer of the action for penalties.

June 20-21. Plaintiff having amended statement as to date voting, and Bradlaugh demurring that writ was void a being dated on the day of the voting sued upon, Justice Denman and Watkin Williams decided against him on th legal point. Bradlaugh appealed.

July 19, 20, 22. The question of fact as to the actual hour of issue the writ came before Justice Grove and a special jury. Th jury, after declaring themselves unlikely to agree, gave majority verdict in favour of Clarke.

27. Police summonses obtained on Bradlaugh's behalf again Mr Newdegate and his solicitor for the criminal offence maintenance.

28, and Aug. 1. Bradlaugh moved before Justices Grove an Lindley for a new trial on the point of time of issue Clarke's writ, and argued the point. Decision delayed.

881 Aug. 3. Bradlaugh, on trying to enter the House, was seized by officials; and he resisting, was forcibly ejected after a struggle by four messengers and ten policemen. Immediately afterwards he was formally resisted in a formal attempt by Inspector Denning.

5. Application by Bradlaugh for a summons against Inspector Denning refused by Mr D'Eyncourt, police magistrate.

8. Rule *nisi* for a new trial granted by Justices Grove and Lindley.

Sept. 20. The summonses against Newdegate and his solicitor dismissed by Mr Vaughan, magistrate.

Nov. 12 and 14. Bradlaugh's appeal from the decision of Justices Denman and Watkin Williams (as to validity of writ dated on day of ground of action) heard by Lord Coleridge and Lord Justices Baggallay and Brett. Decision again against Bradlaugh.

Dec. 2 and 3. Pleadings heard on the rule *nisi* for a new trial on the question of fact as to the hour of issue of the writ. Rule made absolute in Bradlaugh's favour.

882 Feb. 7. On the reassembling of Parliament, Bradlaugh again presented himself, the excluding order having expired with the Session in which it was passed. Northcote moved that he be not allowed to swear. Government moved the previous question. Bradlaugh *heard at Bar for the Third Time.* Northcote's motion carried by 286 votes to 228. Bradlaugh again presented himself, but being ordered to withdraw below the bar, did so.

20. Mr Labouchere moved for a new writ for Northampton. This refused by 307 votes to 18. Bradlaugh then advanced to the table, administered the oath to himself, withdrew below the bar on the Speaker's order, but returned and took his seat. Churchill moved that the seat be declared vacant. Debate adjourned.

21. Northcote moved an amendment to exclude Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House. On its being noticed that Bradlaugh had again seated himself within the House (he proposing to speak), the Speaker ordered him to withdraw, and Northcote moved his complete expulsion. This carried by 297 votes to 80, and a new writ was agreed to.

21. Judgment given against Bradlaugh in Clarke's appeal against rule for a new trial.

Mar. 2. Bradlaugh once more elected for Northampton by 3796 votes to 3688.

6. Northcote again moved that Bradlaugh be not allowed to take the oath should he again present himself. Mr Marjoribanks moved amendment that it was desirable to amend the law, making affirmation optional. Northcote's motion carried by 259 votes to 244.

1882 Mar. 29. "Judgment" given against Bradlaugh for £500 penalty. Costs reserved.

April. Action brought by Bradlaugh against Mr Erskine, Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, for assault of 3rd August 1881.

May 9. Bradlaugh moved before Lord Justices Brett and Cotton for leave to appeal in Clarke case on point of costs. Appeal dismissed: matter left to the House of Lords with the main appeal.

15. Justices Manisty and Watkin Williams declined to hear friendly action by Gurney against Bradlaugh for not taking his seat. Pleadings to be readjusted.

July. Affirmation Bill, introduced by Duke of Argyll in House of Lords, defeated.

11. Prosecution begun against Bradlaugh, Foote, and Ramsey, by Sir Henry Tyler, before Lord Mayor, for "publication of blasphemous libels" in the *Freethinker*.

21. Bradlaugh "committed for trial." Bail accepted.

Nov. 10. Justice Mathew declined to hear Gurney's action on re-adjusted pleadings, and discharged jury.

Dec. 18. Bradlaugh's action against Mr Erskine dismissed by Justice Field.

1883 Feb. 2. Second *Freethinker* prosecution begun, Bradlaugh not being included.

20. Government moved for leave to introduce an Affirmation Bill: motion carried by 184 votes to 53.

Mar. 5 and 6. Bradlaugh's appeal in the Clarke suit heard by the House of Lords, he pleading in person.

6. Foote, Ramsey, and Kemp sentenced to terms of imprisonment in *Freethinker* prosecution.

9 and 17. Bradlaugh's action against Newdegate for "maintenance" heard by Lord Coleridge, Bradlaugh appearing by counsel.

April 9. House of Lords gave judgment for Bradlaugh in his appeal with costs.

10. Bradlaugh separately tried on the first *Freethinker* indictment before Lord Coleridge and a jury. Verdict of acquittal.

23. Lord Coleridge gave judgment for Bradlaugh against Newdegate, with costs.

April 24 and 25. Foote and Ramsey (now prisoners on conviction in second prosecution) tried before Lord Coleridge and jury on the original indictment. After the judge's summing up, the jury disagreeing, the Crown decided to abandon this prosecution (prisoners already very heavily sentenced).

23—May 3. Debate on second reading of Affirmation Bill. Bill rejected by a majority of 3—292 against and 289 for.

May 4. Bradlaugh again presented himself to be sworn. Northcote moved that he be not allowed to take the oath. Being

allowed to speak, Bradlaugh made his *Fourth Speech at the Bar*. Mr Labouchere moved the "previous question," and was defeated by 271 votes to 165.

1883 July 9. Bradlaugh having notified his intention again to present himself (by way of raising a testing action at law) Northcote moved his exclusion. Carried by 232 votes to 65.

19. Bradlaugh began test action against the Sergeant-at-Arms for resisting his entrance to the House.

Dec. 7. Bradlaugh *v.* Gossett heard before Lord Coleridge and Justices Stephen and Mathew.

1884 Feb. 9. Judgment given against Bradlaugh.

11. Bradlaugh once more presented himself at the table of the House, and administered the oath to himself. Motion by Northcote that he had not really sworn, and that he be not allowed to swear, carried by 258 votes to 161. Motion by Northcote of complete exclusion, carried by 228 to 120.

12. New writ allowed for Northampton after Tory resistance.

19. Bradlaugh re-elected for Northampton by 4032 votes, to 3664 for Richards.

21. Though Bradlaugh undertook not to present himself till the decision were given in the action to be brought against him by the Government for his last oath-taking, Northcote moved afresh his complete exclusion from the precincts of the House. Carried by 226 to 173.

June 13-18. Government's action against Bradlaugh for illegally taking the oath, heard before Lord Coleridge, Mr Baron Huddleston, and Mr Justice Grove, "sitting at bar," and a jury, five counsel acting for the Crown, Bradlaugh pleading his own cause.

30. Lord Coleridge summed up. Jury gave answers for the Crown. Bradlaugh asked for a stay to move for a new trial.

Dec. 6. Motion for new trial heard by the same judges sitting "*in banc*." Rule refused. Bradlaugh appealed.

15. Appeal heard by Lords Justices Brett, Cotton, and Lindley.

18. Judges of appeal gave rule *nisi* on points of law only, the appeal in arrest of judgment to be argued at the same time.

1885 Jan. 26. Arguments heard on whole case.

26. Judgment given against Bradlaugh as incapable of taking an oath in law. Notice of appeal given.

July 6. On the new (Conservative) ministry taking office, Bradlaugh again presented himself to be sworn. Motion of exclusion by Sir M. Hicks-Beach. Amendment moved by Mr Hopwood (who had introduced an Affirmation Bill) declaring that legislation was necessary, lost by 219 votes to 263.

1885 Nov. 25. Bradlaugh again carried for Northampton at the general election, the figures being—Labouchere 4845; Bradlaugh 4315; Richards 3890.

1886 Jan. 13. The new Speaker (Mr Peel) permitted Bradlaugh to take the oath, refusing to allow any interference.

Affirmation Bill introduced by Mr Sergeant Simon, but never brought to a second reading.

1888 Aug. 9. Bradlaugh carried a general Affirmation Bill, which passed the House of Lords and became law.

1891 Jan. 27. While Bradlaugh lay dying, the House of Commons passed a resolution, moved by Mr W. A. Hunter, expunging from the Journals of the House the resolutions excluding him in former years.

§ 1.

In the general election of 1880 Bradlaugh was at length elected member for Northampton. He had fought the constituency for twelve years, and had been defeated at three elections, at one of which he was not present. As has been made plain from the story of his life thus far, it was his way to carry out to the end any undertaking on which he entered, unless he found it to be wholly impracticable; and he was very slow to feel that an aim was impracticable because it took long-continued effort to realise it. He seems first to have thought of standing for Northampton about 1866. At that time Northampton was already reckoned a likely Radical constituency, not so much on account of its Parliamentary record as on the strength of the Radical element in its population. The trouble was that for long the bulk of the workers were not electors. His eloquence could win him a splendid show of hands in the market-place, but the polls told a different tale. The Whiggish middle classes were in the main intensely hostile to him, on political as well as on religious grounds; and the influence of pastors and masters alike was zealously used against him. After the passing of the Household Suffrage Act of 1868, however, the constituency became every year more democratic. The Freehold Land Society, some of whose founders and leading members were among his most devoted and capable followers, created year after year scores of freeholds, the property of workers, in a fashion that has finally made Northampton almost unique among our manufacturing towns. The electorate, which in 1874 had stood at 7629, had in 1880 risen to 8189; and of these it was estimated

that 2,500 had never before voted. Of the new voters, the majority were pretty sure to be Radicals, and as Bradlaugh's hold on the constituency had grown stronger with every struggle, it began to be apparent to many of the "moderate Liberals" that a union between their party and his must be accepted if the two seats were not to remain in Tory hands. In the early spring, however, the confusion of candidatures seemed hopeless. Mr (now Sir) Thomas Wright of Leicester stood as a Liberal candidate at the request of a large body of the electors, and though not combining with Bradlaugh, deprecated the running of a second and hostile Liberal candidate. Other Liberals, however, brought forward in succession three candidates, of whom the once well-known Mr Ayrton was the most important. He, however, failed to gain ground, partly by reason of the qualities which had made him a disastrous colleague to Mr Gladstone's ministry, partly by reason of coming to grief in a controversy with Bradlaugh as to the facts of the agitation for a free press, and free right of meeting in Hyde Park, in regard to which Mr Ayrton claimed official credit. His candidature finally fell through when he met with an accident. A Mr Hughes was brought forward, only to be removed from the contest by an attack of illness. Mr Jabez Spencer Balfour, of recent notoriety, made a very favourable impression, but could not persuade "moderates" enough that the Liberals ought to unite with the Radicals. A little later Mr Labouchere was introduced, and giving his voice at once for union, found so much support that Mr Wright, with great generosity and public spirit, shortly withdrew, giving his support to the joint candidature of Bradlaugh and Labouchere, who stood pretty much alike in their Radicalism, though the latter was described in the local Liberal press as the "nominee of the moderate Liberals." As he explained in his own journal, a man who was a moderate Liberal in Northampton would rank as a Radical anywhere else. The joint condidature once agreed upon, victory was secure.

The Tory candidates were the former sitting members, Mr Phipps, the leading local brewer, and Mr Merewether, a lawyer. Their platform opposition was not formidable, and the greatest play on their side was made by the clergy and the press, who sought to make the contest turn as far as possible on Bradlaugh's atheism and on his Neo-Malthusianism. Nearly all the Established Church clergy, and some of the Nonconformists preached

fervently against the "infidel." On the Sunday before th election the vicar of St Giles' intimated that "to those noble men who loved Christ more than party, Jesus would say, 'Well done!' and on the day before the poll many thousands of theological circulars were showered upon the constituency. On the othe hand, the deep resentment of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy felt by a great part of the nation led to unheard-of concession on the part of the Nonconformists. The late Mr Samuel Morley a representative Dissenter, wealthy and pious, being appealed to for an expression of opinion on the Northampton situation, sen to Mr Labouchere a telegram—soon repented of—"strongly urging necessity of united effort in all sections of the Liberal party, and the sinking of minor and personal questions, with many of which I deeply sympathise, in order to prevent the return, in so pro nounced a constituency as Northampton, of even one Conservative." At the same time Mr Spurgeon was without the slightest founda tion described in the Tory press as having said, with regard to th fight at Northampton, that "if the devil himself were a Libera candidate, he would vote for him;" and it was supposed that th anecdote affected some votes.

But before any of these episodes had occurred, Bradlaugh wa tolerably well assured of victory. His organisation, then controlle by his staunch supporter Councillor Thomas Adams, who lived t be Mayor of Northampton, was perfect; and he knew his strengt as nearly as a candidate ever can who has not already been elected The combination of his forces with those of Mr Labouchere of cours strengthened him; yet such was still the strength of religious an mosity that though the joint candidature stood on the footing of strict division of votes, every elector having two, for the two seat the Liberal press still encouraged "plumping," and many the as later, voted for Mr Labouchere who would not vote for Bra laugh, thus provoking a smaller number of the latter's supporte to "plump" for their man in turn. The result was that th election figures stood:—Labouchere (L.) 4518; Bradlaugh (R 3827; Phipps (C.) 3152; Merewether (C.) 2826.

No sooner were the results known throughout the country tha the Northampton election became a theme of special commen ard of course of special outcry from the defeated party. O journal, the *Sheffield Telegraph*, which about the same tim described the Scriptural phrase about the dog and his vomit as

"popular, though somewhat coarse saying," designated Bradlaugh as "the bellowing blasphemer of Northampton." Mr Samuel Morley was hotly assailed, and promptly wrote to the *Record* a pitiful letter of recantation, which ended :—

"No feeling of pride prevents my saying that I deeply regret the step I took, which was really the work of a moment; and I feel assured that no one who knows me will doubt that I view with intense repugnance the opinions which are held by Mr Bradlaugh on religious and social questions."

To which Mr Bradlaugh in his own journal replied that he had had no part whatever in the appeal to Mr Samuel Morley, and that he would have been elected all the same if Mr Morley had done nothing, adding the following :—

"We have no knowledge of the opinions of Mr Morley except that he is reputedly very rich, and therefore exceedingly good; but we must express in turn our intense repugnance to the conduct of Mr Morley, who having accidentally been betrayed into an act of kindness to a fellow-creature, regrets the act when pressure is brought to bear upon him by a pack of cowardly and anonymous bigots, and couples the public expression of his regret with a voluntary insult to one for whom Mr Morley publicly expressed great respect on the only occasion on which the two have yet come publicly in contact."

Mr Spurgeon, who had been quite falsely accused of avowing readiness to welcome the devil as a Liberal candidate, had the manliness to declare, while indignantly repudiating that latitudinarian doctrine, that Mr Bradlaugh's claims to be returned to Parliament were not to be measured by his piety or orthodoxy.

§ 2.

But the question was soon carried into a greater arena. The elections were over in April; on 3rd May Parliament assembled, and Bradlaugh's first problem was to choose his course in the matter of the oath of allegiance, the taking of which by members of Parliament is still made a condition of their taking their seats. It has long been felt by the thoughtful few, even including Theists, that oath-taking, a barbaric and primevally superstitious act under all circumstances, is gratuitously absurd in the case of admission to Parliament, where it serves to bring about the maximum of

religious indecorum without in any way affecting the action c anybody. Originally set up in the reign of Elizabeth, the Parlia mentary oath was maintained in the interest of disputed dynasties though it was notoriously taken by hundreds of men who were perfectly ready to overthrow, if they could, the dynasty t which they swore allegiance. Now that there is no longer an question of rival dynasties, and that no instructed person disputes the power of Parliament to abolish the Monarchy, the oath c allegiance is maintained by the stolid unreason which supports th monarchic tradition all round. State after State has abandoned th practice as absurd; but Britain clings to it with hardly even demur, save from men of the chair. France since 1870 ha had neither oath nor affirmation, though, if oaths could be supposed to count for anything, the Republic might fitly have exacted them. Since 1868 affirmation has been substituted for th Parliamentary oath in Austria; and congressmen and senators i the United States have their choice between swearing and affirm ing. Neither oath nor affirmation is exacted in the Germa Reichstag, though the members of the Prussian Diet, like thos of the States General of Holland, still swear. In Italy, th performance is attenuated to the utterance of the one word "Giuro, "I swear." In Spain, where it has never deterred rebellion, th oath, as might be expected, remains mediævally elaborate.

Before Bradlaugh's time the oath in England had been adapte to the requirements of Catholics, Quakers, and Jews successively the resistance increasing considerably in the last case. O'Connell refusal to take the Protestant oath of supremacy in 1829, whe there were three separate oaths—one of allegiance, one of supren acy, and one of adjuration—led to the passing of an Act permittin Catholic members to take the Catholic oath, already provide under the Catholic Relief Act for use in Ireland. Protestan public opinion avowedly regarded all Irish Catholics with distru as being disaffected, but the Tory leaders being committed Catholic Emancipation, the resistance was overpowered. Th next extension took place under Whig auspices.

In 1833 the Quakers, who in the case of Archdale in 1699 ha been held incapable of sitting in Parliament by reason of the refusal to swear, were allowed to affirm, first by resolution of th House, later by Act. This was done at the instance of a Quak member, Sir Joseph Pease, who besides being rich enjoyed perso

ally the respect latterly accorded to his sect by those which formerly persecuted it.

Then came the case of the Jews, first raised in the person of Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, in 1850. There was now a triple Protestant oath, and an alternative Catholic oath, the theoretically dangerous church being allowed to swear in its own way; but for the small community of Jews there was no formula, and the Jewish banker had to choose between exclusion and swearing "on the true faith of a Christian." He omitted these words from his oath, and was accordingly declared disentitled to sit, the House at the same time formally resolving to take Jewish disabilities into its consideration at the earliest opportunity in the next Session. In 1851, another Jew, David Salomons, returned for Greenwich, refused to take the oath in the Christian form, formally resisted the Speaker's ruling against him, was formally removed, and was excluded from his seat. Not till 1858 was the relief given. In that year a single (Christian) oath was substituted for the triple asseveration of the past, and on the re-elected Baron Lionel again refusing it, he was allowed, by resolution of the House, to swear without the Christian formula. In 1859 he, with Baron Mayer Amschel de Rothschild and Salomons, was again sworn theistically. Finally, in 1866, by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, the oath was made simply theistic for all, the familiar expletive "So help me God" being held sufficient to associate the First Cause ethically with the proceeding in hand.

This movement was doubtless due to a certain semi-rational perception of the futility of oaths in general, as being a vain formality to honest men, and a vain barrier to others. Sir William Hamilton, a thinker so fervent in his instinctive Theism that he undid his philosophy to accommodate it, had in his day created a strong impression by his essays (1834-5), on the right of Dissenters to be admitted into the English universities, in which he emphatically reiterated the declaration of Bishop Berkeley—made when the oath test was in fullest use—that there is "no nation under the sun where solemn perjury is so common as in England." "If the perjury of England stand pre-eminent in the world," said Hamilton, "the perjury of the English Universities, and of Oxford in particular, stands pre-eminent in England." Doctrine like this had made for an abolition of oaths which could easily be classified as "unnecessary," and for the

simplification of those retained; but though the very step of reducing the act of imprecation to a curt conventional form meant, if anything, the belittling of the act of imprecation as such, the Parliamentary formula had for half a generation remained unchallenged. John Mill had in 1865 sworn "on the true faith of a Christian," and a good many Agnostics and Positivists have since unmurmuringly invoked the unknown God. It was left for Bradlaugh to attempt a departure from the course of dissembling conformity. When he stood for Northampton in 1868 (as he stated in answer to Mr Bright on the second select committee of 1880), he had gravely considered the question of oath-taking, there being then no possibility of affirmation. Believing now that he had the right to affirm under the Act which permitted affirmation to witnesses, he felt bound to exercise it.

As every step in his action has been and still is a subject of obstinate misconception and wilful falsehood, the story must be here told with some minuteness. The usual statement is that he "refused" to take the oath of allegiance. He did no such thing. A professed Atheist, he had been the means of bringing about the legal reform which enabled unbelievers to give evidence on affirmation, albeit the form of enactment was, to say the least, invidious. A great difficulty is felt by many Christians in regard to the abolition of the oath, in that they fear to open the way for false testimony by witnesses who would fear to swear to a lie, but do not scruple to lie on mere affirmation. It is for Christians to take the onus of asserting that there are such people among their co-religionists; and they have always asserted it in the House of Commons when there is any question of dispensing with oaths. And it was on this plea that the first Act framed to allow unbelievers to give evidence on affirmation was made to provide that the judge should in each case satisfy himself that a witness claiming to affirm was not a person on whom an oath would have a binding effect. That is to say, he was to make sure that the witness was not a knavish religionist trying to dodge the oath, in order to lie with an easy mind. It was the duplicity of certain believers, and not the duplicity of unbelievers, that was to be guarded against, though, of course, the only security against the lying of believers in answer to the judge was that a known conformist would be afraid publicly to pretend that he had scruples against the oath. But the main effect of the clause, framed to

guard against pious knavery, was to stigmatise unbelievers as persons on whom an oath would have "no binding effect." An ill-conditioned judge was thus free to insult Freethinking witnesses, and even a just judge was free to embarrass them by an invidious question, since the bare wording of the Act enabled and even encouraged the judge to ask them—not, as he ought to have done, whether the oath was to them unmeaning in respect of the words of adjuration, but—whether the oath as a whole would be "binding on their conscience." * While recognising the invidiousness of such a question, Bradlaugh always claimed to affirm in courts of law, though to him, as to most professed rationalists, the repetition of an idle expletive was only a vexation, and in no way an act of deception, when made the inevitable preliminary to the fulfilment of any civic duty. He had openly avowed his opinions, and if the oath was still exacted, the responsibility lay with those who insisted on it. On his return to Parliament he felt that not only would it be inconsistent for him to take the oath if he could avoid it, but it would be gratuitously indecorous, from the point of view of the believing Christian majority. Sitting in the house before the "swearing-in," he remarked to Mr Labouchere that he felt it would be unseemly for him to go through that form when he believed he was legally entitled to affirm. And in this belief, it must always be remembered, he had the support of the former Liberal law officers of the Crown, who had privately given it as their opinion † that he was empowered to affirm his allegiance under the law relating to the affirmation of unbelievers. With that opinion behind him, he

* In the action of Richards *v.* Hough and Co., however, in May 1882, Mr Justice Grove expressly remarked that some judges did not think it necessary to enquire at all as to the belief of a witness claiming to affirm. In the prosecution of Bradlaugh, Foote, and Ramsay in 1883 for blasphemy, on the other hand, Lord Coleridge, a very considerate judge, expressly asked Mr Foote, before letting him affirm, whether the oath "would be binding on his conscience," though Mr Foote, declaring himself an atheist, rightly objected to such a query. His lordship after discussion agreed to modify the question, making it apply only to the words of invocation; and he put the question with still more modification to Mrs Besant, who, warned by what had been done to her partner, declared in so many words that any promise she made would be binding on her, whatever the form.

† Sir Henry James later avowed that they adhered to that opinion all along.

was in the fullest degree entitled—nay, he was morally bound as a conscientious rationalist—to take the course he did. Other rationalists, real or reputed, were returned to the same Parliament. Professor Bryce, as candidate for the Tower Hamlets, had been assailed as an Atheist, and was yet returned at the head of the poll. Mr Firth had been similarly attacked, but was nevertheless carried in Chelsea. Neither of these gentlemen, however, made any public avowal, direct or indirect, of heresy. Mr John Morley, who was justifiably regarded as a Positivist or Agnostic on the strength of his writings, when elected later made no demur to the oath; and Mr Ashton Dilke, who afterwards avowed his heterodoxy in the House of Commons,* also took it without comment. It was left to Bradlaugh to fight the battle of common sense—I might say of common honesty, were it not that long usage has in these matters wholly vitiated the moral standard of the community, and honourable men are free to do, and do habitually, things which, abstractly considered, are acts of dissimulation.

§ 3.

Bradlaugh's first formal step after obtaining the opinion of the last Liberal law officers and privately consulting the officials of the House, was to hand to the Clerk of the House of Commons Sir Thomas Erskine May, on May 3rd, a written paper in the following terms:—

"*To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

"I, the undersigned Charles Bradlaugh, beg respectfully to claim to be allowed to affirm as a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration, instead of taking an oath."

He had already explained, in answer to the questions of the Clerk, that he made his claim in virtue of the Parliamentary Oath Act, 1866, the Evidence Amendment Act, 1869, and the Evidence Amendment Act, 1870, which "explains and amends" the Act of 1869. The Clerk formally communicated these matters to the Speaker (Sir Henry Brand), who then invited Bradlaugh to make a statement to the House with regard to his claim. Bradlaugh replied

* In the discussion on the Burials Bill, 1881.

"Mr Speaker,—I have only now to submit that the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, gives the right to affirm to every person for the time being permitted by law to make affirmation. I am such a person; and under the Evidence Amendment Act, 1869, and the Evidence Amendment Act 1870, I have repeatedly for nine years past affirmed in the highest Courts of Jurisdiction in this realm. I am ready to make the declaration or affirmation of allegiance."

The Speaker thereupon requested him to withdraw, and formally restated the claim to the House, remarking that he had "grave doubts" on the matter, and desired to refer it to the House's judgment. On behalf of the Treasury bench, Lord Frederick Cavendish, remarking that the advice of the new law officers of the Crown was not yet available, moved that the point be referred to a Select Committee. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Tory leader in the Commons, was at this stage not actively hostile. A man of well-meaning and temperate though meagre quality, made up of small doses of virtues and capacities, well fitted to be a country gentleman, but of too thin stuff and too narrow calibre to be either a very good or a very bad statesman, he was a Conservative by force of tradition and mental limitation, and a partisan leader in respect of his pliability to his associates. As his biographer puts it, he was "not recalcitrant to compromise" in matters of party strategy and leadership. Being personally willing to substitute affirmation for oath,* he seconded the Liberal motion without any show of animus, and only some of his minor followers, as Earl Percy and Mr Daniel Onslow, sought to effect the adjournment of the debate. This attempt, however, was not pressed to a division, and the Select Committee was agreed to.

Only a few of the speeches in the House thus far had indicated a desire among the Tory party to make Bradlaugh the victim of their feud with the Liberals. But outside the House, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, member for Portsmouth, speaking at Christchurch, had already publicly declared his intention to oppose Bradlaugh's entry: the broaching of the oath question in legal and other journals before the assembling of Parliament having given

* He wrote in his diary at the time: "It seems strange to require an oath from a Christian, and *to dispense with it from an Atheist.* Would it not be better to do away with the member's oath altogether, and make the affirmation general?" (Mr Lang's "Life of Northcote," ii. 154.)

to such politicians their cue. Over and above the purely factio motive of such men, and of the mass of the Tories, there was th motive of genuine religious malice; and the two instincts in cor bination wrought memorable results.

On 10th May Lord Richard Grosvenor, the Liberal Whi announced to the House the names of the proposed members the Select Committee whose appointment he should move nex day:—Mr Whitbread, Sir J. Holker, Mr John Bright, Lord Henr Lennox, Mr W. N. Massey, Mr Staveley Hill, Sir Henry Jackson the Attorney-General (Sir Henry James), the Solicitor-Gener (Mr Farrer Herschell), Sir G. Goldney, Mr Grantham, M Pemberton, Mr Watkin Williams, Mr Spencer H. Walpole, M Hopwood, Mr Beresford Hope, Major Nolan, Mr Chaplin, and M Serjeant Simon. Although the motion was not to come on ti next day, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff sought, in despite of th Speaker's opposition, to raise at once a debate on the legitimacy the Committee; and on the following day he was able to do s He moved "the previous question," and pronounced the cours taken "inconvenient, unprecedented, and irregular," although had been agreed to by his nominal leader; thus beginning th tactic of independent action which served to mark him off wit three colleagues,* as constituting a "fourth party" in the Hous the other three being the main bodies of Liberals and Tories, an the Irish Home Rulers. The debate, once begun, was carried with great violence and recklessness, Mr Stanley Leighton allegi that Bradlaugh had been pressed on the Northampton constituenc by the Liberal "whip," prompted by Mr Gladstone; and Sir Knightley affirming that the election had been determined by th interference of Mr Samuel Morley. A member known as F. H O'Donnel, but originally named Macdonald, an Irish Catholi asserted that Bradlaugh had "explained religion as a disease the brain, and conscience as a nervous contraction of th diaphragm." After more random discussion the House divide when there voted for the appointment of the Committee 171, again it, 74, giving a majority of 97 to the Government. Most of t Conservative leaders walked out of the House before the divisio

* These were Mr Gorst, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Mr A. J. Balfo The latter took little oral part in the Bradlaugh struggle, but always vo with his party.

us already showing a disposition to surrender to the irresponsibles
their side.*

Already, too, there began to be apparent what can now no longer
disputed—the mismanagement of the Speaker. Only bad judg-
ent or partiality could account for his permission of such
oss irrelevance as filled the speeches of Mr Leighton and Mr
H. O'Donnel, *alias* Macdonald. On the language of the latter
w forgotten personage Mr Bradlaugh thus commented in the
ational Reformer:—

"I remember, fourteen or fifteen years ago, when the countrymen of
at member's constituents came to me for help and counsel. The
nourable member professes to now represent those Irishmen who then
ught and had my aid; and on Tuesday he in effect told the House
at it ought to exclude from it one who did not believe in God, and
d no standard of morality. But I see from the division list that the
ird party,' of which he pretended to be the spokesman at the election of
e Speaker, went into the lobby opposed to that into which their
der went, so that the really Irish members did not forget old ties."

Unfortunately the latter tribute was not long to be deserved.
On 20th May the Select Committee presented its report. There
d been eight members in favour of the view that Bradlaugh was
gally entitled to affirm, and eight against; and the casting vote of
e chairman, Mr Spencer H. Walpole, was given for the Noes. It
s said, and it was believed by Mr Bradlaugh, that Sir John
olker had avowed a belief that his claim was valid, but Sir
hn Holker on the Committee voted with his party. Save for
e fact that the Noes included Mr Hopwood, the vote would
nd as a purely party one, the rest of the Noes being Conservatives,
ile the rest of the Liberals took the affirmative side. And so
neral was the attitude of reckless prejudice that we still find the
airman's son giving a flatly misleading account of the situation.
r Spencer Walpole, in his work on "The Electorate and the
gislature"† published in 1881, and re-issued in 1892, has made
75) this statement (italics ours):—

---

* Northcote's diary, so far as published, naturally offers no confession or
lanation as to the change in his attitude. Under date May 24, he simply
ords that "we agreed to stand firm for Wolff's motion" (Mr Lang's
ife," ii. 159).

† Macmillan & Co., "The English Citizen" series.

"In 1880 . . . the legislature was suddenly confronted with a n dilemma. The borough of Northampton sent a representative to P liament who *refused to take an oath*—not because he had any conscie tious objection to be sworn, but because an appeal to a God—in wh he had no belief—seemed to him an idle formula which was not bir ing on his conscience."

Since Mr Walpole has chosen to print and reprint th maliciously untrue statement, and takes no notice whatever published protests against it, I am obliged to say in so many wor that he, a professed historian, is here grossly perverting histo Much might indeed be set down to his carelessness. Issuing 1892 the second edition of what should be an authoritati treatise, Mr Walpole inserts (p. 77) a passage as to Parliamenta affirmation which is completely quashed by the passing of M Bradlaugh's Affirmation Act of 1888. Of this Act, in 1892, M Walpole does not seem to have any knowledge; but however may contrive to overlook such a fact as this, he cannot have be unaware in 1880 that Mr Bradlaugh did *not* refuse to take the oa and that he repudiated the expression that the oath would not binding on his conscience,* repeatedly declaring that any promi he made would as such be binding on his conscience, whether not an idle formula should be appended to it. Bradlaug position on this point was always explicit; for him a promi however embellished, was a promise which as an honourable m he was bound to keep. By the majority of the British House Commons it is still implicitly ruled that a certain promise wo not necessarily be binding on the consciences of Christian memb unless accompanied by the popular imprecation "So help God."

The decision of the first Select Committee, on the casting v of the chairman, at once carried the question to a new pha Bradlaugh immediately published a statement † of his position to the oath, the taking of which he now held to be forced u him by the refusal of the right to affirm.

---

* A technical assent to this ambiguous question was, as we have seen, condition attached to affirmation in the law courts. But common dece usually gave the formula there a purely technical and non-natural force.

† Printed in *National Reformer* of 30th May 1889, p. 338, and in sev London newspapers.

It ran :—

"When elected as one of the Burgesses to represent Northampton in he House of Commons, I believed that I had the legal right to make firmation of allegiance in lieu of taking the oath, as provided by sec. 4 the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866. While I considered that I had is legal right, it was then clearly my moral duty to make the affirmaon. The oath, although to me including words of idle and meaningss character, was and is regarded by a large number of my fellowuntrymen as an appeal to Deity to take cognizance of their swearg. It would have been an act of hypocrisy to voluntarily take this rm if any other had been open to me, or to take it without protest, as ough it meant in my mouth any such appeal. I therefore quietly id privately notified the Clerk of the House of my desire to affirm. is view of the law and practice differing from my own, and no similar se having theretofore arisen, it became necessary that I should tender yself to affirm in a more formal manner, and this I did at a season eemed convenient by those in charge of the business of the House. In ndering my affirmation I was careful, when called on by the Speaker to ate my objection, to do nothing more than put, in the fewest possible ords, my contention that the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, gave the ght to affirm in Parliament to every person for the time being by law rmitted to make an affirmation in lieu of taking an oath, and that I was ch a person, and therefore claimed to affirm. The Speaker, neither fusing nor accepting my affirmation, referred the matter to the House, hich appointed a Select Committee to report whether persons entitled affirm under the Evidence Amendment Acts, 1869 and 1870, were der sec. 4 of the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, also entitled to irm as Members of Parliament. This Committee, by the casting vote its Chairman, has decided that I am not entitled to affirm. Two urses are open to me—one, of appeal to the House against the decision the Committee; the other, of present compliance with the ceremony, hile doing my best to prevent the further maintenance of a form which ny other members of the House think as objectionable as I do, but hich habit and the fear of exciting prejudice has induced them to subt to. To appeal to the House against the decision of the Committee uld be ungracious, and would certainly involve great delay of public siness. I was present at the deliberations of the Committee, and hile, naturally, I cannot be expected to bow submissively to the statents and arguments of my opponents, I am bound to say that they re calmly and fairly urged. I think them unreasonable, but the fact t they included a legal argument from an earnest Liberal deprives m even of a purely party character. If I appealed to the House inst the Committee, I, of course, might rely on the fact that the torney-General, the Solicitor-General, Sir Henry Jackson, Q.C., Watkin Williams, Q.C., and Mr Sergeant Simon, are reported in the

Times to have interpreted the law as I do; and I might add that t
Right Honourable John Bright and Mr Whitbread are in the sam
journal arrayed in favour of allowing me to affirm. But even then t
decision of the House may endorse that of the Committee, and shou
it be in my favour, it could only—judging from what has already tak
place—be after a bitter party debate, in which the Government speciall
and the Liberals generally, would be sought to be burdened with my an
theological views, and with promoting my return to Parliament. As
matter of fact, the Liberals of England have never in any way promote
my return to Parliament. The much-attacked action of Mr Adam ha
relation only to the second seat, and in no way related to the one f
which I was fighting. In 1868 the only action of Mr Gladstone and
Mr Bright was to write letters in favour of my competitors, and sin
1868 I do not believe that either of these gentlemen has directly
indirectly interfered in any way in connection with my parliamenta
candidature. The majority of the electors of Northampton had dete
mined to return me before the recent union in that borough, and whi
pleased to aid their fellow-Liberals in winning the two seats, my co
stituents would have at any rate returned me had no union taken plac
My duty to my constituents is to fulfil the mandate they have given m
and if to do this I have to submit to a form less solemn to me than t
affirmation I would have reverently made, so much the worse for tho
who force me to repeat words which I have scores of times declared a
to me sounds conveying no clear and definite meaning. I am sorry f
the earnest believers who see words sacred to them used as a meanin
less addendum to a promise, but I cannot permit their less sincere c
religionists to use an idle form, in order to prevent me from doing m
duty to those who have chosen me to speak for them in Parliament.
shall, taking the oath, regard myself as bound not by the letter of
words, but by the spirit which the affirmation would have conveyed h
I been permitted to use it. So soon as I am able I shall take such ste
as may be consistent with parliamentary business to put an end to t
present doubtful and unfortunate state of the law and practice on oat
and affirmations. Only four cases have arisen of refusal to take the oa
except, of course, those cases purely political in their character. Two
those cases are those of the Quakers John Archdale and Joseph Pea
The religion of these men forbade them to swear at all, and they nob
refused. The sect to which they belonged was outlawed, insulted, a
imprisoned. They were firm, and one of that sect sat on the very Co
mittee, a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council and a member of t
actual Cabinet. I thank him gratefully that, valuing right so high
he cast his vote so nobly for one for whom I am afraid he has but sca
sympathy. No such religious scruple prevents me from taking the oa
as prevented John Archdale and Joseph Pease. In the cases of the Ba
Rothschild and Alderman Salomons the words "upon the true faith o

hristian' were the obstacle. To-day the oath contains no such words. he Committee report that I may not affirm, and, protesting against a ecision which seems to me alike against the letter of the law and the irit of modern legislation, I comply with the forms of the House."

As might have been expected, this decision to take the oath evoked esh outcry, and this time some Freethinkers joined. The most jurious attack of this kind came from Mr George Jacob Holyoake, ho had long been on strained terms with Bradlaugh, and avowedly garded him with disfavour as a too militant Atheist. Before ie assembling of Parliament Mr Holyoake, in answer to a corre- ondent who asked him whether Mr Bradlaugh would take the th, had written to the effect that Mr Bradlaugh had taken the th scores of times before, and would doubtless do so now. This mark had reference to a long-standing dispute as to the propriety oath-taking by a Freethinker under any circumstances. Before e reform of the law which permitted unbelievers to affirm, r Bradlaugh had without hesitation taken the oath in courts of w, holding the forced formality a much smaller matter than the il of a miscarriage of justice. Mr Holyoake condemned all such th-taking; but it was pointed out that while he was in business rtnership with his brother Austin, the latter, a highly esteemed eethinker, had taken the oath wherever it was necessary for the rposes of the business. This, of course, would not altogether aside Mr G. J. Holyoake's argument, if put forward only as a tement of his own position; but he was not content with that. ter avowing his expectation that Bradlaugh would take the th, he expressed surprise and reprobation when Bradlaugh posed to do so. Needless to say, such a deliverance was eagerly lcomed by Bradlaugh's enemies, and zealously used against him; it was when repeated by Mr Holyoake in the following year, th expressions about Freethinkers being made to hang their ads for shame by the action of their nominal leader. Were re not reason to presume that Mr Holyoake would not now eat or defend his former language, it might be fitting to endorse e some of the very emphatic comments made on it at the time Mrs Besant and others. It may suffice to say, however, that Holyoake had never before taken such an attitude against ethinkers who took the oath; that he had once himself ressed readiness to take it in court if it were regarded as a il act, and not as a confession of faith (exactly Bradlaugh's

case); and that he later seemed to other Freethinkers to qu
once for all his own case by justifying quite gratuitous acts
conformity and co-operation with churches whose teaching he h
to be false. The common sense of nine hundred and ninety-n
out of every thousand Freethinkers, including attached friends
Mr Holyoake, decided that such an act of enforced ceremonial
official oath-taking by an avowed Atheist surrenders no jot
principle or self-respect, particularly when the Atheist is ope
striving for the abolition of all such compulsions. Of all Fr
thinkers who have taken oaths in England, Bradlaugh was t
very least open to the charge of temporising; and the expressio
used by Mr Holyoake at different times in this connection as
"apostolic" conduct have been, to say the least, unfortunate
coming from a professed Freethinker, not usually acquiescent
orthodox phraseology.

§ 4.

The document above quoted, announcing Bradlaugh's intentio
was dated 20th May, the date of the Committee's report. On
following day Bradlaugh went to the House to take the oath a
his seat. Immediately on his presenting himself, Sir He
Drummond Wolff rose and objected to the oath being administe
whereupon Mr Dillwyn protested against the interruption.
Speaker now made the fatal mistake of allowing the interrupt
to be carried out. It is established by the highest possi
authority—that of the present Speaker—that the holder of
Chair as such had and has no right to permit any such in
vention between an elected member and the statutory oath.
Henry Brand, intimidated by the action of men like W
weakly stated that he "was bound to say he knew of no instan
in which such an intervention had taken place; but "at the sa
time" he would allow Wolff so to intervene. That personage t
made a speech, resting on the two arguments that Atheists
had made affirmation in the law courts thereby admitted that
oath "would not be binding on their conscience," and that B
laugh had further, in his "Impeachment of the House
Brunswick," affirmed that Parliament "has the undoubted ri
to withhold the Crown from Albert Edward Prince of Wal
The hon. baronet "could not see how a gentleman professing
views set forth in that work could take the oath of allegian

t was in the course of this speech that the hon. baronet was nderstood by all his auditors to say, of the sects permitted by aw to affirm, that they "had a common standard of morality, a onscience, and a general belief in some divinity or other."*

The Tory case against Bradlaugh's admission to Parliament was aus at the outset a combination of a moral subterfuge and a otorious political fallacy. All concerned knew perfectly well iat the oath was habitually taken by men to whom the adjuration as an idle form, and that their consciences could only be bound" by the simple promise. It had further been ruled by the ighest judicial authority, in the cases of Miller *v.* Salomons, and ie Lancaster and Carlisle Railway Company *v.* Heaton, that the sence of the oath consisted in the promise, and not in the ords of imprecation. Yet further, Wolff had before him, and in s speech quoted from, the statement above cited, in which radlaugh expressly declared that he held himself bound, in taking e oath, "not by the letter of its words, but by the spirit which e affirmation would have conveyed had I been permitted to use " These words he suppressed. On the other hand, as regards e point of allegiance, he was negating the whole established ctrine of the British constitution. It is a commonplace of that ctrine that Parliament can repeal, as Parliament passed, the Act Settlement. The contrary is now maintained by nobody, and as not really maintained even by Burke, in his furious feint of sputing the constitutional principle in his "Reflections." As e law stands, any member of Parliament is entitled to move nstitutionally for the abolition of the Monarchy. The oath, amed though it be for the dynasty, and not for the State, omises allegiance to the sovereign as by the law established. If e law in future quashes sovereignty, there will be no sovereign whom to bear legal allegiance.†

---

* Some years afterwards he stated in the House that what he had really d was "one Deity or the other," meaning either the Unitarian or the nitarian God. The explanation did not seem to be credited.

† It is worth noting that Mr Keir Hardie, a professed Christian Socialist, en recently (28th June) protesting against the foolish ceremony of con-tulating the Queen on the birth of a great-grandchild in the direct line, it the length of declaring, "I owe no allegiance to any hereditary ruler" his after he had sworn allegiance to the Queen. Bradlaugh never ltified himself in this fashion.

But such protests as those of Wolff were perfectly fitted to serv the turn of the Tory party in a campaign of faction. The cue c shocked piety and the cue of "loyalty" came alike easily to th representatives of the feudal and the capitalistic interests; and th "bag-baron" and the "crag-baron" vied with each other in th display of sham godliness and sincere zeal for the Throne. Neve was there such a reek of cant in St. Stephen's before. All th English gift for hypocrisy, unrivalled in Europe, was brought t bear on the task. Alderman Fowler, a fitting exponent of the cul of Mammon in His sacred city, followed up Wolff with a petitio emanating from bankers and merchants, all praying with on consent that an unbeliever in their gods should not be allowed t sit at Westminster. The honour of God was avowedly the on concern of the Alderman and of the men, so many of them gros with fortuitous gain, who made him their mouthpiece. And thos strategists who knew the imperfect efficacy of bogus religion as means of keeping an Atheist member out of his seat, took care t supply the additional weapons needed.

Mr Gladstone met Sir Henry Wolff's motion with a counte motion for the appointment of a fresh select committee to conside Bradlaugh's competence to take the oath—a sufficiently unwis course, in view of the action of the previous committee. At onc however, the official Tories gave their full support to Wolff motion, declaring that the matter should not even go to committee. Mr Gibson, formerly Attorney-General for Ireland argued that Bradlaugh had deserved all that befell him for raisin the question. "The hon. member might have taken his seat witl out opposition, but he had chosen to obtrude himself on the Hous and the country. He must therefore accept the grave respon sibility of thus thrusting his opinions on the House." Observe th situation. Bradlaugh had acted not only as a scrupulous man i his place was bound to do, but as a man careful of other men susceptibilities would do. Had he simply taken the oath, h would certainly have been yelled at as a hypocrite, and further a blasphemer. The point had been publicly discussed in the pre beforehand, and his enemies were prepared. Trying to avoid once inconsistency and scandal, he quietly and circumspect sought to make affirmation. The right to affirm was denied hi in committee by the champions of the oath, joined by o conscientious Liberal. When he then came to take the compell

oath, these men and their fellows assailed him as one who "obtruded his opinions"; and Mr Gibson, their spokesman, proceeded to allege in so many words that the member for Northampton had "walked up the floor of the House with that oath and Book before him and declined to take the oath." It was a falsehood; and Mr Gibson himself had just before, in the same speech, admitted that Bradlaugh had "claimed for himself, in careful and guarded language, the right to make an affirmation."

There are many points in the story of this struggle at which it is hardly possible to abstain from imputing wilful falsehood to some of the actors. But on this point it seems right to conclude that one or other form of prejudice or passion made men all round incapable of realising when and how they grossly perverted a simple fact. It was not merely the factious Tories who repeated the misstatement, though they naturally used it most industriously. Mr Chaplin, M.P., was reported in two newspapers as having asserted that at a public meeting on 1st June "Mr Bradlaugh announced his intention of refusing the oath, and asked that he might affirm instead." Mr Chaplin, at the time of speaking, was a member of the second select committee appointed to sit on the oath question, and Bradlaugh indignantly protested to the Chairman, who was again Mr Spencer Walpole. Mr Chaplin, after some fencing, declared that the report was inaccurate. Baron Henry de Worms, another of the champions of Omnipotence, publicly averred* that "he was in the House when Mr Bradlaugh came to the Speaker and said he could not and would not take an oath which in no way bound him, as he did not acknowledge any God." Challenged as to this statement, Baron Henry de Worms avowed that the words from "which" onwards were his own comment, but could not see anything unwarrantable in the previous statement as to the facts. Such were the notions of truth and honour among English —and other—oath-taking gentlemen and noblemen with which Bradlaugh had to contend. And he was only in part supported by the remarks of Mr John Morley in the *Fortnightly Review* for July 1880:—

"There is no precedent for Mr Bradlaugh's case, for the simple reason that there is no precedent for the frank courage with which he has considered it desirable to publish his views as to the nature of an oath.

* Report in *Standard* of 11th June 1880.

That the oath is just as meaningless, so far as its divine appeal is concerned, to many past and present members of the House of Commons as Mr Bradlaugh protested it would be to him, no one doubts. Whether and how far he was justified in asking to be sworn, *after he had declined to be sworn*, is a different question. Whatever the answer to that may be, it cannot at least be said that the course adopted by Mr Bradlaugh involved the surrender of any principle."

The last clause is so candid that it is a pity Mr Morley should have "considered it desirable" to fortify his own position by penning that above italicised. He had previously spoken of Bradlaugh's "pertinacity" in "parading" his views—a statement which obtrudes its inspiration. When a leading Liberal publicist wrote so, the godly multitude naturally asserted in chorus that Bradlaugh had first ostentatiously refused to take the oath, and then insisted on taking it. Dean Boyd, of Exeter, capped the record by asserting that when Bradlaugh first "advanced to the table of the House," he "openly, boldly, and defiantly affirmed that he believed there was no such being as a Deity."

In the frame of mind represented by a variety of such utterances as these, the House of Commons deliberated on Mr Gladstone's motion that the question of Bradlaugh's competence to swear should be referred to a second special committee. On the second day of the debate, Sir Stafford Northcote, the nominal leader of the Conservative party in the House, accepted the position into which he had been ignominiously forced by irresponsible and even semi-defiant adherents, and opposed the appointment of the Committee. He is reported as saying:—

"Without raising any question as to whether there is anything irreverent in the course which the hon. member proposes to take, it seems to me that we, in allowing him to take it, should be incurring a responsibility from which our better judgment ought to make us shrink"

—a fair sample of the hon. baronet's forcible-feeble oratory. Some Tory speakers, as Earl Percy, admitted that "the hon. member, to do him justice, had sought to avoid taking an oath to which he attached no sacred character"; but these ingenuous combatants were concerned only to prevent the House from "incurring the guilt of an act of hypocrisy," and had no anxiety about avoiding an act of iniquity. When John Bright met the subterfuges of the Opposition with the retaliatory criticism of

which he was a master, the temperature naturally rose. If, he asked, they set up the principle of a creed test, where were they going to end? Would they next question members known to be unbelievers, though not publicly professed ones? As certain Conservative members were actually known by their comrades to be Gallios in these matters, Bright's challenge created the appropriate resentment, as did his emphatic avowal, "One thing I believe most profoundly, that there is nothing amongst mankind that has done more to destroy truthfulness than the forcing of men to take an oath." But the memorable part of his speech was this :—

"I have no right to speak of the member for Northampton. I think it never happened to me more than once to address to him a single sentence, or to hear any expression from him. I never saw him to my knowledge but once, before he appeared in this House; but he is returned here by a large constituency, to whom his religious opinions were as well known as they are now to us. . . . Now, I have no doubt whatever, though I have no authority to say so, that the oath as it stands is binding on the conscience of the member for Northampton, in the sense that an affirmation would be binding on his conscience—that the words of the oath, so far as they are a promise, are words which would be binding upon him, but that their binding character is not increased by the reference to the Supreme Being, of whose existence, unhappily as we all think—such is the constitution of his mind, and such has been the constitution of many eminent minds of whom we have all heard—he is not able to form that distinct opinion and belief which we, who I think are more happy, have been able to do. Therefore if he were to come to the table and to take the oath as it is, and as he proposes to take it, I have no doubt that it would be binding on his conscience as my simple affirmation is binding on mine; because in my affirmation there is no reference to the Deity. I make a promise. My word is as good, and is taken to be as good, as your oath. (Loud Ministerial cheers.) And that is declared by an irrevocable Act of Parliament. And if Mr Bradlaugh takes this oath, as he proposes to take it, I have no doubt that, though the last words of the oath have no binding effect upon him, yet his sense of honour and his conscience—(Opposition laughter, and cries of 'Hear, hear' from some Ministerialists)—his sense of honour and his conscience would make that declaration as binding on him as my affirmation is on me, and as your oath is on you."

Among those who joined in the brutal laughter of the gentlemen of the Conservative party at these passages were men who had com-

mitted bribery, unscrupulous stock-jobbers and company promoters, men about town, topers, libellers, and liars. But some who thought it fitting to laugh with these would be normally classed as chivalrous and well-bred gentlemen.

The debate remained picturesque to the close. Lord Randolph Churchill, who has within the present year proved afresh his capacity to create a Parliamentary sensation, protested that "if the words 'so help me God' were held to be a mere superstitious invocation, the idea or the faith which had for centuries animated the House of Commons that its proceedings were under the guidance of Providence would lose its force, and would very soon have to be abandoned altogether." The better to exemplify the energy of the divine supervision, the noble lord, after quoting a somewhat strong passage from Bradlaugh's "Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," threw the pamphlet violently on the floor of the House, in parody of Burke's performance with the daggers. Baron de Worms hazarded the proposition that "this was an irreligious, not a religious question." The late Mr Thorold Rogers, an economist whose incapacity for logical thought led to his not unsuccessful cultivation of the department of historical detail, made a foolish and offensive speech on the Liberal side, setting out with a statement of his sense of intellectual superiority to Bradlaugh. "In his opinion, a person who recognised no law beyond that of his own mind, and such scanty rules as he thought fit to lay for his own guidance, very much weakened his own character and lessened the value of his own life and acts." Further, Mr Rogers had over and over again found "in the course of the study of history" that Atheists were Conservatives; and he cited in proof the names of Hobbes, a Theist; Hume, who till the latter part of his life was an emphatic Deist; and Gibbon, who was on till his death. "He knew something of the political views of educated sceptics; and when this unhappy gentleman became a little better educated it would undoubtedly be found that he was migrating towards the opposite benches." After other remarks to similar effect, Mr Rogers provoked even the protest of the much tolerating Speaker by charging the Tories with being indisposed to "act as generously as they did in their sports, and to give a little law even to vermin." For this felicitous figure Mr Rogers made a stumbling apology. On this being privately repeated, Bradlaugh with his usual magnanimity, later forgave the speech as a whole,

Where a professed Radical could be thus insolent, on the score of his sense of superiority to opinions which he was incapable of discussing, the language of the customary Tory may readily be imagined. The revelations of ardent piety made by some eminent capitalists and company-promoters were unexpectedly gratifying to the religious feelings of the nation; and the unrelieved malignity of the personal allusions of these and other Christians to a man precluded from turning unto them there and then the other cheek, proved the injustice of the charge that this is an age of lukewarm religious convictions.

After two days of largely irrelevant debate, Wolff's motion was rejected by 289 votes to 214—a result not ungratifying to the Tories, as showing that already certain Liberals had taken their side. A select committee of twenty-three was duly appointed, the Tories being defeated in an attempt to strengthen their representation on it. The members were:—The Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, Messrs Bright, Chaplin, Childers, Sir Richard Cross, Mr Gibson, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr Grantham, Mr Staveley Hill, Sir John Holker, Mr Beresford Hope, Mr Hopwood, Sir Henry Jackson, Lord Henry Lennox, Mr Massey, Major Nolan, Messrs Pemberton, Simon, Trevelyan, Walpole, Whitbread, and Watkin Williams. The Committee began by examining Sir Thomas Erskine May as to precedents; and Mr Bradlaugh was allowed to put questions to him likewise, bringing forward precedents Sir Thomas had not noted, among them the important case of Sir Francis Bacon, who, as Attorney-General, was challenged for breaking the law in making oath that he was duly qualified to sit, when, as a practising barrister, he was legally disqualified under an Act of Edward III. (It was in this case that the House ruled: "Their oath their own consciences to look unto, not we to examine it.") After Sir Thomas May, Bradlaugh was himself examined, and conducted his case with the lawyer-like exactitude and the more than lawyer-like concision and cogency which even his enemies admitted to belong to all his legal pleadings.* He pointed out that if it were competent to the House to interfere between a member and the oath, the first forty members sworn in Parliament might prevent the sitting of any of the rest; and

* See the report of the Committee's proceedings, reprinted in his "True Story of my Parliamentary Struggle."

that if he were held legally incompetent to make affirmation o allegiance, he stood legally bound, as an elected member, to tak the oath, no matter what his opinions were. He formall stated—

"That there is nothing in what I did when asking to affirm which i any way disqualifies me from taking the oath.

"That all I did was—believing, as I then did, that I had the righ to affirm—to claim to affirm, and that I was then absolutely silent a to the oath.

"That I did not refuse to take it; nor have then or since expresse any mental reservation or stated that the appointed oath of allegianc would not be binding upon me.

"That, on the contrary, I say and have said that the essential par of the oath is in the fullest and most complete degree binding upon m honour and conscience, and that the repeating the words of asseveratio does not in the slightest degree weaken the binding effect of the oath o allegiance upon me."

These explicit statements he repeated again and again in answe to questions, saying once :—

"Any form that I went through, any oath that I took, I shoul regard as binding upon my conscience in the fullest degree. I woul go through no form, I would take no oath, unless I meant it to be binding."

This emphatic explanation was given in reply to a question o what is, to my mind, the only obscure point in his examinatio Asked: "Do you draw any distinction between the binding effe upon your conscience of the assertory oath, as it is called, and th promissory oath?" he answered—

"Most certainly I do. The testimony oath is not binding upon n conscience, because there is another form which the law has provid which I may take, which is more consonant with my feelings. T promissory oath is and will be binding upon my conscience if I take because the law, as interpreted by your Committee, says that it is t form which I am to take, and the statute requires me to take it."

There is here, I think, a momentary confusion among t terms "assertory," "promissory," and "testimony"; and t phrase "not binding on my conscience" is also used in a ser probably not intended by the questioner, and not that intend

y Bradlaugh in his next answer, above quoted. The "because" inconsequent. What he meant to convey was simply that he xpressly rejected the testimony oath because in giving evidence e was free to affirm; whereas he was compelled to take the oath f allegiance, there being no legal alternative in the opinion of a Committee of the House. He had been forced to submit in the aw courts to the invidious formula that the oath was not binding n his conscience, because it had been expressly ruled in law * hat if a witness simply said "I am an Atheist," the judge was ound to infer that an oath did not "bind" him. But Bradlaugh's nswers to the Select Committee, taken together, made it superuously clear that in the natural sense of the words he held any ormula of promise he took to be binding on him, whether with r without an imprecatory tag. And inasmuch as members of the ommittee nevertheless thought fit afterwards to allege that he ad all along declared the contrary with regard to the oath, we are riven to one of two conclusions. Either (*a*) these gentlemen old that a formal public promise is not fully binding on *their* onsciences unless they add "so help me God," or something of ne sort, and that an Atheist cannot be more conscientious than ney; or (*b*) they deliberately chose to bear false witness for party urposes. And it finally matters little which conclusion we draw; or the acceptance of the first leaves open the chance of the econd being true also.

The Committee, after a variety of votes, finally reported to the ffect that Bradlaugh, by simply stating [though in answer to fficial question] that he had repeatedly affirmed under certain cts in courts of law, had brought it to the notice of the House hat he was a person as to whom judges had satisfied themselves hat an oath was "not binding on his conscience"; that, under he circumstances, an oath taken by him would not be an oath within the true meaning of the statutes"; and that the House herefore could and ought to prevent him from going through the rm. They further suggested that he should be allowed to affirm ith a view to his right to do so being tested by legal action, ointing to the nearly equal balance of votes in the former committee as a reason for desiring a decisive legal solution.

* In a case not legally reported, however—that of *ex parte* Lennard *re* Holyrych, in the Court of Queen's Bench, in April 1875,

For this report of course only those members are responsib who voted for its main clauses. Under this reservation it falls be said that the use made of the mean technicality of an oa being held not "binding on the conscience" of an Atheist was itself profoundly unconscientious. That formality was, to beg with, expressly intended to prevent the evasion of the oath b religious knaves, and not at all to imply that an Atheist who toc the oath could not be believed. What was more, Bradlaugh ha only specified the Evidence Amendment Acts in reply to th express challenge of the Clerk of the House of Commons. T turn an accidental ambiguity to the account of an iniquity, decide that a man was untrustworthy under the pretext of a leg subterfuge, was merely to show that the oath is less than r security for right action, and that under its cover men can f outgo the lengths of injustice that they are likely to venture o in the name of simple law. In the words of Bright, who oppose the conclusion come to as "absolutely untenable," "the cour taken was one involving a mean advantage over Mr Bradlaugh What the proceeding proved against Bradlaugh was simply thi that he had done wrong in ever accepting, even as a technic phrase, the juridical formula that an oath as a whole is not "bin ing on the conscience" of one to whom an imprecation is an id barbarism. He ought in the law courts to have repudiated eve the technical shadow of an implication that a rationalist's word worth less than a religionist's oath. Nothing but persiste resistance will ever make tyrannous religion give way to justic and he, who was habitually accused of gratuitously defyi religion, had simply not defied it enough. And the lesson taug to other rationalists by his struggle is this, that oath-taking mu in future be stigmatised and warred against as implying not higher but a lower moral standard than that of rational ethi Men who must swear to be believed are not to be believed.

§ 5.

On 21st June, a few days after the presentation of the Committe report to the House, Mr Labouchere moved a resolution to t effect that Bradlaugh be allowed to make affirmation instead taking the oath—the course the Committee had recommended. had previously given notice of a general Affirmation Bill, but h

stponed the discussion of it, pending the report. He now moved resolution, after presenting a petition in support of Bradlaugh m some thousands of the people of Northampton, on the heels a large Tory petition, also from Northampton, praying that adlaugh "might not be permitted to take the holy name of d in vain." Mr Labouchere in an extremely able and persuasive eech dwelt on the prime fact that the Parliamentary Oaths t of 1866 gave to all persons legally qualified to affirm in courts law the right to affirm in Parliament, and that by later Acts adlaugh was entitled to affirm in courts of law. [The opposition w presumably was that the Act of 1866 could only refer to persons *n* entitled to affirm; but no argument to that effect appears on reports consulted by the present writer.] He further warned enemy that if they carried their hostility to the point of seating Bradlaugh, he would simply be re-elected—a statement ich evoked confident "No's" from members whose faith in ity was more deep than philosophical; and remarked what was fectly true—that there were "exceedingly few persons in rthampton of Mr Bradlaugh's views" on religious matters. Hardinge Giffard (now Lord Halsbury) rang the changes on the ument about obtrusion of views; and pietists like Alderman wler and Mr Warton expressed afresh their corpulent horror of heism. One Irish member, Mr Arthur O'Connor, took occasion to test—in a debate on a proposal to permit an affirmation—against ing Bradlaugh take the oath; and the Speaker seems to have de no objection. On the other side, Mr Hopwood, whose vote in first committee had possibly permitted all the trouble, made a verful speech against the "obtrusion" argument, which, as he tly said, amounted to telling Bradlaugh, "If you had come to table with a lie on your lips, we would have allowed you to sworn." But again the great speech in the debate was Bright's. remark, "There are many members of this House who take oath and greatly dislike it," was his first home-thrust; and soon, r a temperate and weighty argument, he nobly repeated his laration of belief in the honour of the Atheist, whose opinions e probably as repugnant to Bright as to any other man in the use. "I pretend," he said—and his voice rose with his theme, I pretend to have no conscience and honour superior to the science of Mr Bradlaugh. (Ironical cheers from the Opposition.) is no business of mine to set myself up—perhaps it is no

business of yours to set yourselves up—(cheers)—as having c
science and honour superior to that which actuates Mr Bradlaug
He went on to protest that the course taken by the majority of
committee was "one involving a mean advantage over Mr Br
laugh." The speech, however, mainly ran to perfectly judi
argument; and it was the obvious determination of the To
to give no ear to argument that evoked the flashes of feel
which lit it up. Bright having said that the oath was now m
a theistic test, where before it had been a Protestant and a Ch
tian test, a "No," came from Mr Spencer Walpole, the Chairm
of the Committee. "Why," retorted Bright, "the right h
gentleman must have forgotten everything in the committee;
cannot have been conscious of his own opinions. Why, sur
the object of this motion is to establish the test of theis
There were again "No's" from the party which denies;
Bright, after establishing his point, thrust afresh. "The thei
test," he repeated, "is proposed by the member for Portsmouth
the front bench opposite appears to have abdicated entirely—th
is now only an abject, a remarkable submission to gentlemen
sit in the lower part of the House." A plain statement of
obvious fact that Wolff was establishing a precedent for in
vention elicited more blatant "No's," and Bright began to wa
up to his peroration. He reminded the House that a Positivis
Comtist who had been concerned in the issue of an anti-thei
pamphlet might quite as plausibly be challenged as Mr Bradlau
going on to speak of certain Positivists as "some men for wh
I have the utmost respect in regard to everything but th
opinions on the question of religion, which I deplore, and
connection with which I can only commiserate them. But,"
went on, correcting the touch of superciliousness,—

"I know that many people have much greater power of belief t
others have; and I am not one of those—having myself passed thro
many doubts—to condemn, without sympathy at any rate, those
are not able to adopt the views which I myself hold. (Hear, h
Now, sir, only one word more. There are members of this Hous
different Churches, but generally all, I trust, of one religion—of
religion which inculcates charity, and forbearance, and justice,
even generosity. There are those who belong to the Roman Cath
Church. I need not remind them of what they and their ance
have gone through in Ireland—(hear)—for the last 200 or 300 y

more, or of how long a time they were kept out of this House, and by very same class of arguments which the honourable and learned mber for Surrey used. (Cheers.) He tells us that for a very long e past there has been a gradual relaxation. Yes, no doubt. Did ever sit among those who have promoted those relaxations? I have n here for thirty-seven years, and I have heard these questions cussed over and over again; but I never found that the time had ie when the party opposite, represented by gentlemen who now there, were willing to make these relaxations. They submitted not argument, not to sentiments of generosity or of justice; they sub-ted only to a majority which sat on this side of the House. (Cheers.) n there are the Nonconformists. I am told that there are some nconformists even—but I think it is rather in the nature of a take or a slander—who have great doubts as to how they should on this occasion. It is occasions like this that try men and try ciples. (Hear, hear.) Do you suppose that in times past the nder of Christianity has required an oath in this House to defend religion which He founded? Or do you suppose now that the reme Ruler of the world can be interested in the fact that one man es to this table and takes His name—it may be often in vain—rmurs)—and another is permitted to make an affirmation, rev-tly and honestly, in which His name is not included? But one g is essential for us, the House of Commons representing the lish people, which is, to maintain as far as we can the great ciples of freedom—freedom of political action and freedom of cience."

n allusion to the remark of Mr Labouchere that the North-ton constituency in the mass had no sympathy with Brad-h's theological opinions evoked another Conservative laugh, Bright continued:—

Well, hon. gentlemen who know nothing about it laugh at that. ink it very possible that, finding that Mr Bradlaugh in his ical opinions was in sympathy with them, those electors so little l the political opinions of hon. gentlemen opposite that they erred Mr Bradlaugh, with his political opinions, to some opposing idates who have represented them, and whose religious views nt have been entirely orthodox. (Hear, hear.) . . . *To a large t the working people of this country do not care any more for the as of Christianity than the upper classes care for the practice of that ion.* (Cheers, and loud cries of 'Oh,' and 'Withdraw.') I wish my heart that it were otherwise. (Cheers, and renewed cries of hdraw.')"

espite the Tory wrath, there was no withdrawal.

This great speech was followed, after the adjournment, by a from Gladstone, less powerful because less fired with mo feeling, but eloquent, cogent, and unanswerable, save for t slip of the statement that Bolingbroke, the Theist, was "witho any religious belief at all."* Yet the end of the debate—af a series of speeches, including one by Sir Henry Tyler in whi he brutally dragged the name of Mrs Besant into his attack Bradlaugh—was that only 230 voted for Mr Labouchere's motio and 275 against. This was on 22nd June. What Bright h thought could not be had taken place, though the Nonco formists were not the bulk of the Liberals who enabled t Tories to trample underfoot the first principles of Liberalis Thirty-six Liberals and thirty-one Home Rulers voted in t majority, and doubtless joined in its exultant cheers.

A number of Liberals, further, were absent without pai There were found among the allies of tyranny representatives nearly all of the sects which had themselves suffered persecuti Catholics, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Jews, as well as members the Established Church. When, therefore, Mr John Tenniel *Punch* caused his weekly contribution to the gaiety of his nat to take the shape of a cartoon joyfully representing Bradlaugh "kicked out," with a crumpled paper in his hand bearing legend "Atheism," he was more than usually in touch with social sentiment of which he is the leading artistic expone Our "English love of fair play" was never more neatly illustrat even by that "primitive pencil." †

The action of the Home Rulers is perhaps specially nota Some of them later pretended that their hostility to Mr Bradla was due to a single vote he gave on the Arms Bill. It will seen that they opposed him in great force before he had ever a chance to vote at all, and this on a simple claim that he sho be allowed to make affirmation. Mr Justin M'Carthy, in keep with his general attitude on religious questions, sought from first to exclude the Atheist from Parliament. The only other open to the majority was that Bradlaugh had "forced his Athe

* On the other hand, Tory journalists went much further astray in as ing that Bolingbroke believed in future rewards and punishments.

† It should be noted that the "kicked-out" idea is a favourite one the cartoonist. He used it lately in the case of the Irish Ev Tenants Bill.

the House." This was the line taken, for instance, not only by Hardinge Giffard, but by Sir Walter Barttelot, a typical Tory ıire and "English gentleman," who just before Bradlaugh's ıth in 1891 won for himself some credit by a frank tribute to honesty of character. Were it not for the countenance given Mr John Morley at the time to a patently unjust account of adlaugh's action—an account which Gladstone as well as Bright en explicitly contradicted—one would be disposed to point to the ıeral repetition of the untruth by the Tory press and party as prov- how worthless a thing the "honour and conscience" of English ntlemen is in matters of public action. It is a matter of simple t that Bradlaugh all along anxiously sought to keep his Atheism t of cognisance of the susceptibilities of the House; * and it is rfectly certain that had he come forward to take the oath at the tset, he would not only have been afterwards vilified by the position as a blasphemous hypocrite, but would have been allenged all the same by Wolff and the rest. The matter had en openly discussed beforehand. There is thus no conclusion en save that the majority in the vote on the affirmation motion l a gross injustice; and though the really religious men in the ouse, as Gladstone and Bright, were mostly on the other side, l the religiosity of the aggressors was in many cases a nauseous ce, it must be assumed that religion counted for much † in the tter. Parnell in the next stage of the question avowed that he l been on Bradlaugh's side from the first, but had found himself posed on the point by "the great majority of the Irish mbers." There would seem to be no doubt that the Catholic esthood—actively represented by Cardinal Manning—deter- ned the action of Parnell's followers, and later his own. It is

---

* The Select Committee persistently examined him to get avowals which he l not made, and had no wish to volunteer.

† The *Echo* of 25th May 1880 has the passage: "Say what we like, ıpants of the Tory benches are penetrated with deep and undying religious victions. The very reference to an unbeliever, unless it is in fierce unciation of him, reddens their faces. . . . But strange to say, the very ı who apparently were so jealous of religious or semi-religious forms last ning will this evening vote that Parliament shall not sit to-morrow because ill be the Derby day. Now if there be one place on this wide earth which y be denominated a pandemonium it is the Epsom Downs on a Derby ."

perhaps not unprofitable to reflect that most of the "Libera wrongdoers have since paid some penalties. Some dozen lo their seats at next election on the Bradlaugh issue. The Hor Rulers have felt to the full the power of fanaticism against ther selves; and Parnell, who later yielded to the bigotry of his part lived to know all the bitterness of religious injustice. A min Scotch Liberal then on the wrong side, Mr Maclagan, has late been unseated by clerical effort; and doubtless others could testi that they who draw the sword of bigotry tend to perish by it. would doubtless be giving an undue air of moral regularity to th business to lay any stress on the final political fate of Northcot who in the Bradlaugh struggle made himself the catspaw of th worst section of his followers. He certainly had his due reward.

§ 6.

Being thus expressly denied the right to affirm by a vote of th whole House, Bradlaugh promptly reverted to his position that he could not affirm, he was legally bound to take the oath and h seat. A committee had declared by a casting vote that he cou not affirm, and left him to swear. The House referred the poi of his swearing to a larger committee, which decided by a majori that he could not swear, but recommended that after all he allowed to affirm. The House stood by the finding of bo committees in so far as it was hostile, and overruled that of t second in so far as it was favourable. It remained to fight t whole House on the point of the oath.

On 23rd June, after the "prayers," which remain one of t institutions of the House, Bradlaugh walked to the table an some cries of "Order," and spoke to the Clerk. The Speak then formally intimated to him the decision of the House, a called upon him to withdraw. Amid roars of "Withdraw" fr the furious mob of Tory members, Bradlaugh contrived to let t Speaker understand that he claimed to be heard. He had to wi draw while the question was discussed, and when Mr Labouch sought to move that he be heard, the Speaker had to rise to secu order. On grounds not easily inferred, the House, sudden changing its temper, with very little dissent agreed to let Bradlau be heard at the "Bar," which was at once drawn across the bott of the House, and at which he proceeded to speak, as represen

n the admirable portrait done after his death by Mr Walter Sickert. This, his first speech at the Bar of the House,* I have heard escribed as perfect by some Liberals who thought less highly of the hree others it was his lot to make from the same place. It is erhaps the most vividly impressive, but only, I think, because it as the first. Certainly it is the most memorable address of hallenge ever made to the House, though it has all the straight-orward, terse simplicity of Bradlaugh's general speaking, which as never rehearsed. It was measured and controlled throughout. he mean insult of a "Hear, hear" when he asked, "Do you tell e I am unfit to sit amongst you?" did not discompose him. The more reason, then," he went on, "that this House should ow the generosity which judges show to a criminal, and allow very word he has to say to be heard." Even in rebuking the ost dastardly attack made upon him in the House he was gravely ignified.

"I have to ask indulgence lest the memory of some hard words which ave been spoken in my absence should seem to give to what I say a tone defiance, which it is far from my wish should be there at all; and I am e more eased because although there were words spoken which I had ways been taught English gentlemen never said in the absence of an tagonist without notice to him, yet there were also generous and brave ords said for one who is at present, I am afraid, a source of trouble and scomfort and hindrance to business. I measure the generous words ainst the others, and I will only make one appeal through you, sir, hich is, that if the reports be correct that the introduction of other mes came with mine in the heat of passion and the warmth of debate, e gentleman† who used those words, if such there were, will remem-r that he was wanting in chivalry, because, while I can answer for yself, and am able to answer for myself, nothing justified the introduc-n of any other name beside my own to make a prejudice against me. heers, 'Question,' and cries of 'Order.')"

He went on to deal with the common objection to his action:—

"It is said, 'You might have taken the oath as other members did.' ould not help, when I read that, sir, trying to put myself in the place each member who said it. I imagined a member of some form of

* See the verbatim report reprinted in the volume of his Speeches.
† The reference was to the ever-offensive Sir Henry Tyler, who had made a ardly allusion to Mrs Besant.

faith who found in the oath words which seemed to him to clash wit[h] his faith, but still words which he thought he might utter, but which h[e] would prefer not to utter if there were any other form which the law provided him; and I asked myself whether each of those member[s] would not then have taken the form which was most consonant with hi[s] honour and conscience. If I have not misread, some hon. member[s] seem to think that I have neither honour nor conscience. Is there no[t] some proof to the contrary in the fact that I did not go through the form[s] believing that there was another right open to me? ('Hear, hear' and 'Order.') Is that not some proof that I have honour and conscience?"

The most searching thrusts were delivered with entire amenity.

"It is said that you may deal with me because I am isolated. I could not help hearing the ring of that word in the lobby as I sat outside last night. But is that a reason—that because I stand alone, the House are to do against me what they would not do if I had 100,000 men at my back? That is a bad argument, which provokes a reply inconsistent with the dignity of this House, and which I should be sorry to give."

And no less measured was the warning that the struggle would not end with his exclusion:—

"Do you mean that I am to go back to Northampton as to a court, to appeal against you? that I am to ask the constituency to array themselves against this House? I hope not. If it is to be, it must be. If this House arrays itself against an isolated man—its huge power against one citizen—if it must be, then the battle must be too. But it is not with the constituency of Northampton alone . . . ."

The peroration was as austere as the rest of the speech:—

"I beg your pardon, sir, and that of the House too, if in this warmth there seems to lack respect for its dignity; and as I shall have, if your decision be against me, to come to that table when your decision is given, I beg you, before the step is taken in which we may both lose our dignity—mine is not much, but yours is that of the Commons of England—I beg you before the gauntlet is fatally thrown down—I beg you not in any sort of menace, not in any sort of boast, but as one man against six hundred, to give me that justice which on the other side of this wall the judges would give me were I pleading before them."

Then ensued a fresh debate. Northcote at some length expressed himself to the effect that there was nothing to be said. Gladstone at similar length agreed. The Speaker asked whether

radlaugh should be called in, and after some confused discussion Ir Labouchere was allowed to move that yesterday's resolution be scinded. Mr Gorst moved the adjournment of the debate; but n an appeal from Gladstone, Mr Labouchere withdrew his motion. he Speaker then recalled Bradlaugh to the table, and informed m that the House had nothing to say beyond calling upon him nce more to withdraw. Bradlaugh replied: "I beg respectfully insist upon my right as a duly elected member for Northampton. ask you to have the oath administered to me, in order that I may ke my seat, and I respectfully refuse to withdraw." The help- ss Speaker "thought it right to point out to the hon. gentleman" hat he had pointed out before. Again Bradlaugh replied: "With spect, I do refuse to obey the orders of the House, which are ainst the law;" and the Speaker had to appeal to the House o give authority to the Chair to compel execution of its orders." adstone remained silent, despite calls for him, and Northcote in s flabbiest manner proceeded to move, "though I am not quite re what the terms of the motion should be, that Mr Speaker do ke the necessary steps for requiring and enforcing the withdrawal the hon. member for Northampton." The Speaker confusedly plained, to the perplexity of the House, that according to "former cedents" the motion should simply be "that the hon. member do w withdraw"—precisely what he had already declared to be the olution and order of the House. The motion being challenged, re voted for it 326, and only 38 against, the Government having osen to give effect to the vote of the majority of the day before. e scene now became still more exciting. On the Speaker's again ling on Bradlaugh to withdraw, he answered: "With submission you, sir, the order of the House is against the law, and I respect- ly refuse to obey it." The Speaker then called on the Sergeant- Arms to remove him, and that officer, coming up, touched him the shoulder and requested him to withdraw. He said, "I ll submit to the Sergeant-at-Arms removing me below the bar, I shall immediately return to the table," and he did so, saying his way back towards the table, "I claim my right as a member he House." Again led back to the bar by the officer, he again ked up the floor of the now tempestuous House, saying "in a ce rising high above the din" (says a contemporary report), "I m my right as a member of this House. I admit the right of House to imprison me, but I admit no right on the part of the

House to exclude me, and I refuse to be excluded." Again led t
the bar by the Sergeant-at-Arms, he awaited the action of the House

His action had been taken with a forethought. He was detee
mined to force the House to further steps, and to make its path
cul de sac. The Speaker again appealed to the House for order
and Northcote, making an effort to get up a state of vigorou
purpose in himself, conscious the while that the moral right wa
all on the other side, once more took action. He somewha
disappointed the followers who had led him by remarking: "I am
quite sure that none of us are disposed to make any persona
complaint of the conduct of the hon. member. We know that h
is in a position which calls for our consideration, and that w
must make all proper allowance for the course which he ma
think it right to take." Complaining that the duty ought to hav
been taken up by the leader of the House, Northcote proceeded t
move that Bradlaugh, having defied the House, be taken into th
custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. Gladstone once more explaine
that he thought those who had got the House into the troubl
should get it out, and wordily went on to indicate that he though
the Opposition were taking a consistent course. But again
discussion arose. Mr Labouchere began by remarking on th
position of a citizen sent to prison for doing what some high leg
authorities thought he had a perfect right to do. Mr Courtne
suggested that the arrest be formally carried through to permit
the legality of the House's course being tested on a writ of habea
corpus. The appearance of a shorthand writer at the bar takin
notes led to a question of order; and the Speaker explained tha
he was there by authority, reporting the proceedings, "not th
debate, which would clearly be out of order." A friendly motio
for the adjournment of the debate was made, discussed, and with
drawn. Another was made by Mr Finigan, a friendly Iris
member, and seconded by Mr Biggar; but only five voted for
and 342 against. Mr Parnell then made the very creditab
speech in which he avowed his dissent from the majority of th
Home Rulers; and some of these in turn expressed their disse
from him. At length Northcote's motion was carried by 27
votes to 7. The result was received "without any manifestatio
of feeling," and members laughed when the Speaker announce
the resumption of "the private business." Already the majori
had begun to feel that its triumph was a fiasco. In an hour th

Sergeant-at-Arms, called upon by the Speaker to report, announced to the House that "in pursuance of their order and Mr Speaker's warrant, I have taken Mr Bradlaugh, the member for Northampton, into custody."

He was in the "Clock Tower"—in a room, that is, on the second story of that part of the House—whither he had gone with the slight requisite show of formal resistance, passing first a short time in the Sergeant's private room. There he was visited by Parnell, Mr O'Kelly, Mr O'Connor Power, Mr Finigan, and Dr Commins, all of whom expressed their cordial sympathy. The imprisonment was a farcical form. A constant stream of friends visited him; and he went about the business of fighting his battle in the country as he would do in his own rooms. On the very evening of his arrest a Committee was formed to secure his liberation, and an appeal drawn up in its name by Mrs Besant. This was distributed by thousands next day; and a fresh petition for signature was likewise framed and sent out broadcast at once. But the democracy did not wait for petitions. The moment the news of the House's action reached the public, a cry of indignation arose, loud enough to alarm Beaconsfield,* on whose urgent advice (so it was said at the time) Northcote on the next day moved for Bradlaugh's unconditional release, which was hurriedly agreed to. The stultification of the majority was now complete; and the course taken by Northcote thus far may stand as a fair sample of modern Conservative statesmanship—the policy of irrational resistance, with no better principle than that of partisan habit, ending in ignominious collapse. Still the cry of protest swelled in volume. In less than a week two hundred meetings were held throughout the country to pass resolutions in Bradlaugh's favour; Radical and Liberal clubs and societies of all kinds sent their messages of protest and appeal; and Liberal members who had voted on the wrong side were sharply called to account. Even before matters had come to a crisis, abundant proof was given that a large and earnest minority were dead against the policy of intolerance. In May Mr Labouchere had given notice of a Bill to permit affirmation by any member in place of the oath of allegiance; and by

* This perhaps understates Beaconsfield's protest. Bradlaugh heard that he condemned the whole proceedings, and called his followers "fools" for their pains.

6th July there had been presented 462 petitions in favour of th measure, with 40,434 signatures, largely obtained through th organisation of the National Secular Society. The effect of thes and other displays of popular feeling began to be seen in th House. Liberal members who had voted on the Tory side out o fear of the bigots in their constituencies began to hesitate. O 28th June leave was given to Mr Labouchere to introduce h Affirmation Bill, which was read a first time. The Governmen however, took the view that Bradlaugh's rights ought to be legall determined in respect of the state of the law at the time of hi election; and instead of supporting or giving facilities for M Labouchere's Bill, they proposed the compromise of moving tha the excluded member be allowed to affirm pending the legal settle ment of his position. This was accepted; and, on 1st July, M Gladstone moved as a standing order that members-elect b allowed, subject to any liability by statute, to affirm at their choice

This was of course the signal for a fresh storm. On Mr Glad stone's preliminary motion that the Orders of the Day be postponed Mr Gorst pronounced the motion disorderly, and opposed th proposal in advance as being to the effect that "the House shoul break the law, in order to smuggle Mr Bradlaugh into the House. Gladstone, in moving his order, was studiously moderate, givin as a reason for the Government's not introducing a Bill th impossibility of having the question calmly discussed in the the state of feeling, while urging the necessity of preserving th dignity and decency of the House as a reason for doing somethin He went on to defend Bradlaugh fully and forcibly against th charge of having "obtruded his Atheism" on the House, an wound up with a calm contention that it was the duty of th House to further the claim of any member to take his seat und a given law, leaving it to be settled in the law courts whether h claim was valid. Northcote opposed, arguing that there was n fear of a repetition of the scene of last week, since the Speak could give instructions that Mr Bradlaugh be not allowed to ent the precincts. To accept the motion "would be to some exte humiliating to the House."* No question of justice or righteou

* Again he was surrendering his own convictions to the partisanism of h colleagues. He had been personally willing to support legislation for t settlement of the difficulty, but was overruled as usual by his associates. S Mr Lang's "Life," ii. 172.

ess was raised by the Tory leader. One of his followers, Lord Henry Scott, advanced the pious proposition that "the mere affirmation of a person who did not believe in a Supreme Being ould not be regarded as a binding engagement upon him." Another ignoramus named Smyth explained that the "test of Theism" "pervaded the whole body of the Constitution, of which, ike the soul of man, it was the animating principle." "Let Atheists be admitted within its walls, and there would be Atheistcal legislation. . . . Such teaching it was that led to the outbreak of the French Revolution." Thus were old lies made to support new. An Irish Catholic named Corbet spoke of "Mr Bradlaugh's Byzantine doctrines of morality," either forgetting that Byzantium was the typical Christian State for a thousand years, or desiring to aspurse the Christian Church which had all along been the great ival of his own. Mr A. M. Sullivan, another Catholic, made a abid speech, supporting the cause of religion with the plea, 'Where was the class that was oppressed now? It was nothing but an individual." He went on to avow that he sought to keep Mr Bradlaugh out of Parliament on the score that his Malthusianism, "taken in conjunction with his Atheistic opinions, struck fatally at the foundation of civil society." The Church of the confessional is naturally zealous for the sacredness of the family; and the Church of the Inquisition for the "foundations of civil society." Men who regard the hamstringing of cattle as at most a pity are naturally warm on the subject of rational control of human procreation. On the other hand, Parnell "wished, as an Irish Protestant, with the utmost diffidence, to say a few words in explanation of the vote he would give to-night." Already he seemed shaken by the resistance of his followers; and he was at pains to say "he regarded the religious tenets of Mr Bradlaugh and his doctrines with reference to over-population as abominable" —a deliverance which reads dramatically in connection with the close of his own career, when an only less insensate and irrational ethic than his own gave the sanction for similar vilification of himself. There was finally a ring of anxious bravado in his avowal that "it was personally an odious task for him to take the course he should on this occasion"—(this after he had voluntarily gone to shake hands with Bradlaugh after the arrest)—"but if he had to walk through the lobby alone, he should deem himself a coward if he did not act up to his conviction."

Less self-regarding, and much more helpful, was the speech of Mr Richard, the most impressive in the debate. Mr Richard was one of the extremely few Christians who keep one set of gospel passages so constantly in view as never to be led into imitating the rest. He never echoed their words of execration. His very rebukes to his fellow-Christians for their pious scurrility were gentle; and he must have caused some searchings of heart when he observed that "no man who watched what went on, on the first day of the present Parliament, when hon. members were squeezing round the table, and scrambling for the New Testaments amid laughter—('No, no,' and Ministerial cheers)—no man could have watched that scene, and believed that the act had any of the solemnity of a religious act about it." When the otherwise pious Wolff followed, the altered balance of feeling was shown by impatient interruption of his remarks. An exceptionally offensive Catholic, named M'Coan, was called to order by the Speaker for the remark that "a more offensive representative of Atheism never was seen" than Bradlaugh. Finally, after General Burnaby had mentioned that "the Chief Rabbi, although refusing to interfere with political questions, felt very deeply on this subject," the vote was taken, and by 303 votes to 249 Gladstone's motion was carried.

Bradlaugh was now free to make affirmation, and did so next day. Almost immediately on taking his seat he had occasion to vote, and immediately thereafter he was served with a writ to recover a penalty of £500 for illegal voting. The writ had apparently been prepared beforehand. The suitor was one Henry Lewis Clarke, the tool of Mr Newdegate, M.P.,—the latter, a man of the most restricted understanding, notorious as an old opponent of the admission of Jews to Parliament and a rabid assailant of Catholicism, but now eager to combine with Jews and Catholics against the Atheist. A few days afterwards a similar writ was served at the instance of one Cecil Barbour, of Nightingale Lane, Clapham; and yet a third was given notice of; but the work was left to Mr Newdegate's employee.* A new stage in the struggle had now been reached.

§ 7.

For nine months—that is, while Parliament sat in the period

* A friendly action by Mr Swaagman, for all the remaining penalties that might arise, served to forestall other speculative suits.

uly-March 1880-81*—Bradlaugh now sat in the House, doing his ork with intense and continuous application, though all the while ere hung over him the shadow of a ruinous litigation. He had ken the risk. On 8th July the Government were asked by Mr orwood, a hostile Liberal, whether they would instruct the law ficers of the Crown to undertake his defence in any suit brought ainst him; but the answer was, of course, in the negative; and radlaugh rose to explain that he had had no communication with ther Mr Norwood or the Government on the subject. A fort-ght later a Bill was zealously forced through both the Houses to demnify Lord Byron, who had sat and voted without being orn, against any action for penalties. Bradlaugh had the ex-rience of helping to safeguard the peer from the prosecution laid ainst himself.

His Parliamentary activity was many-sided, including as it did e charge of the interests of endless correspondents in all parts of e world who had grievances to redress and claims to put. But ove all he devoted himself to the interests of Ireland and of dia, the one still suffering from an imperfect realisation of her eds by English Liberals; the other from the general neglect of berals and Tories alike. The gratitude of the people of India s been freely given for his service; that of the majority of the sh members was naturally not prompt. They had wronged him, d so could hardly forgive.

Such a frenzy of malevolence, further, as had been aroused ong bigots of all Churches by Bradlaugh's entrance into the use, was slow to decline. Whether outside the House or inside, was furiously aspersed. A Bill to exclude Atheists was early roduced by Sir J. Eardley Wilmot,† and petitions in support this were largely signed, though wholesale subscription by the ldren of Sunday Schools was in many cases found to be cessary to fill the sheets. But petitions for his exclusion were a all part of the storm of malice that assailed him. It would fill olume to recite or even cite the hundreds of denunciations—en vile and grossly libellous, and nearly all implying a religious tive—which were poured forth against him week by week.

Mr Lang, in the page of random jottings in which he "sketches" the dlaugh story, makes the misleading statement that he only sat "for a few ks under statutory liability" ("Life of Northcote," ii. 137).

The same member tried to raise the question on a vote in supply.

Clergymen naturally formed the bulk of the assailants; and
these the State Church furnished the largest contingent, all grad
of the hierarchy being represented; but the President of th
Wesleyan Conference, on behalf of the Conference Committe
presented a hostile petition to Parliament; and the secretary to th
same Conference issued a circular calling upon the various Wesleya
bodies to join in the general movement against the Atheis
Protestants vied with Catholics in the foulness of their abuse, th
ferocity of their enmity.

On the other hand, it must be put on record that in ever
church, in varying numbers, there seem to have been lovers o
freedom as well as persecutors. Some of the most forcible an
earnest letters sent to the newspapers on Bradlaugh's behalf wer
written by clergymen of the Church of England; and many Non
conformist clergymen spoke out on his side ably and warmly. A
a Church Conference, more than one priest of the Establishmen
defended him bravely and well. Even from within the pale of th
Church of Rome there came voices of protest against the intole
ance of the majority. On 27th June 1880 the "Home Gover
ment Association" of Glasgow sent to Bradlaugh a resolution
the majority of its members to the effect "that this meeting
Irish Roman Catholics . . . . most emphatically condemns th
spirit of domination and intolerance arrayed against you, and viev
with astonishment and indignation the cowardly acquiescence, an
in a few instances active support, on the part of a large majority
the Irish Home Rule members to the policy of oppression exercise
against you." Bradlaugh was peculiarly quick to appreciate suc
messages of sympathy and fairness from religious opponents. Th
words of Bright on his behalf in the House brought tears to h
eyes; and he never forgot to be grateful for them. In his ow
journal, immediately after his entrance to the House on tentati
affirmation, he printed the following appeal:—

"Now that the fierce struggle is over, and that I am really in fu
enjoyment of the right and privilege which the people of Northampt
gave me on the day of the poll, I beg my friends not to mar this triumj
by any undue words of exultation or ungenerous boast. If bitter bigot
and Tory malice have been active against me personally, there has be
also honest, earnest piety, in despite of the foulest and most persiste
misrepresentations, enlisted in the grand array on behalf of right.
some clergymen have been cruel and unjust in language and condu

ere have also been preachers who have been most generous and ndly. Do not let our Freethinking friends remember so much what we a party have done towards the result, as what has been done for us religious men, notwithstanding the cry of heresy. If the heart of e great Nonconformist party had not been brave and just, the fight, tead of being so far over, would yet have to be fought. The speeches religious men like William Ewart Gladstone, John Bright, Henry chard, and Charles Stewart Parnell — each representing a varying ade of Christian belief, and each a most earnestly religious man— ast more than outweigh, and cause our friends to pass by, the rabid, ving, fanatical outpourings and deliberate misrepresentations which ve disfigured the Parliamentary discussions on this subject. When e reader remembers that the very vilest mis-statements and coarsest icatures of my language and conduct have been circulated to every mber of Parliament, ... it makes worthy of the strongest aise the high-minded conduct of those Nonconformists in the House Commons who have declared for justice despite all."

But no good-feeling on his part or on that of the tolerant ligious minority could stay the torrent of libel and vituperation; d a paragraph penned a month later shows how the majority re themselves:—

"Many of my good friends have—during the progress of the bye-ections which have taken place at Oxford, Scarborough, Berwick, igton, and other boroughs—written indignantly as to the exceedingly nton and coarse personal slanders which, chiefly for electioneering rposes, have been circulated against me by the Conservatives in order induce votes against supporters of the Government. It is a little fficult to know how properly to deal with these most indefensible d cowardly attacks. By the law as it stands no action can be main-ined for any spoken words unless an indictable offence is charged in e slander, or unless actual special pecuniary damage can be shown to ve resulted, which latter is of course not in question. . . . Thus, r John D. Hay — who in the Wigton election has descended to a wer depth of coarseness and falsehood than any other Parliamentary ndidate*—could not be sued for damages. . . . The journals ay of course be sued; but even if this is a wise course, the case is not sy. I am now proceeding against the *Yorkshire Post* for one very gross bel, and in the proceedings, which will be very costly, am actually quired to answer voluminous interrogatories, not only as to all the ctrines I have taught and works I have published or written during

* "Language fit for a Yahoo," was the description given of Hay's scurrility the *Scotsman*.

the whole of my life, but also to works I happen to have referred t
. . . In the indictment against the editor of the *British Empir*
I shall probably have to bring a large number of witnesses from vario
parts of England to speak as to what has happened at lectures as f
back as 1860. The fearful cost in this case (in which, being a crimin
procedure, counsel must be employed) can only be fairly estimated b
professional men. . . . I refrain from commenting on the infamou
most cowardly, and utterly uncalled-for attacks made on Mrs Besant b
Sir John Hay and the *Glasgow News*, as these will in all probability b
submitted to another tribunal."

Some of these proceedings had to be abandoned, so enormous wa
the burden.

A leading part had been early taken in the outcry against th
Atheist by the leading representative in England of the Church
Rome, Cardinal Manning. In a highly declamatory and malev
lent article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*, that ecclesiast
took the line of appealing to the spirit of traditional nation
religiosity, grounding his case not on any tolerable form of Christia
doctrine, but on the ignorant instinct that he knew to underlie th
orthodoxy of the Protestant Churches, as of his own. He laude
the English people, regardless of its attitude to his own Church :-

"It knows nothing," he declared, "of a race of sophists who, pr
fessing to know nothing about God, and law, and right and wron
and conscience, and judgment to come, are incapable of giving
Christian or to reasonable men the pledges which bind their mor
nature with the obligations necessary for the command of fleets a
armies, and legislatures and commonwealths."

Of the historic fact that the English people had once brutal
persecuted the Quakers, but had latterly allowed them to dispen
with oath-taking, he disposed by saying that they were allowed
affirm because they were known to be deeply religious, a
therefore trustworthy :—

"But let no man tell me that this respectful confidence is to be claim
by our Agnostics ; much less by those, if such there be, who, sinki
by the inevitable law of the human mind below the shallowness a
timidity of Agnosticism, plunge into the great deep of human pri
where the light of reason goes out, and the outer darkness hides G
His perfection, and His laws. . . . .

* For publishing the "watch" libel.

There still stands on our Statute book a law which says that to under-
e the principles of moral obligation is punishable by forfeiture of
places of trust (9 and 10 Will. c. 32, Kerr's *Blackstone*, iv. 34, 35,
e), but there is no law which says that a man who publicly denies
existence of God is a fit and proper person to sit in Parliament, or
an who denies the first laws of morals is eligible to make laws for
homes and domestic life of England, Scotland, and Ireland."

The whole article was in this strain, as far removed from
itical science as from the charity which is conventionally
ociated with the Christian name. And though all the while
was notorious that the ignorant and superstitious of the
dinal's own Church are the least to be believed, whether on
n or without oath, of all *quasi*-civilised men, the rancorous
toric of the Romish priest counted for something with the class
Protestant bigots who, hating Rome, hate reason so much more
to be ready to work with even Rome against it. And yet
nning, in his work on "The Present Crisis of the Holy See," had
lared that "England has the melancholy and bad pre-eminence
eing the most anti-Catholic, *and therefore the most anti-Christian*,
er of the world." Thus can fanatics manœuvre.

Among other libels, the ancient fable of the watch, the story of
ch has been told in an earlier chapter, was at this time made
do special duty, the flight of Edgcumbe being insufficient to
up hesitation on the subject among the mass of the orthodox.
ne assailants, however, showed much discretion when challenged.
is one J. F. Duncan, a Wesleyan minister of Nottingham, who
his pulpit described "that man from Northampton" as a "blot
the British escutcheon," and as a "wretch" who gave his Maker
minutes to strike him dead, was told that unless he apologised
once, criminal proceedings would be taken against him. He
antly replied: "I am this morning honoured with your com-
nication, and have to say in reply that I know nothing of
spaper reports of my sermons, but if any remarks of mine
e been offensive to you, you have my retractation and apology
once." A line in the *Reformer* tells how "J. H. Martin
tings, a professedly religious person, having grossly libelled
Bradlaugh, now, under threat of criminal proceedings, sends
is retractation and sincere apology."

ome persons, offered an opportunity for a much-needed apology,
not avail themselves of it, the risk of criminal proceedings

being absent. The following correspondence sets forth one su
case :—

"To the Lord Norton, June 25th, 1880.

"My Lord,—In the lobby of the House of Commons this afterno
your lordship said in my hearing, 'Mr Bradlaugh ought to be flogg
in Trafalgar Square,' to which I at once replied to you that it w
ungentlemanly and impertinent to offer me an insult at a mome
when I could not return it.

"I now beg to ask your lordship for some explanation, at the sa
time informing you that several members of the House of Commo
whom I have consulted on the subject advise me that your lordshi
carefulness in being ill-mannered and insulting three feet outside t
House of Commons precludes me from submitting the matter to t
Speaker, and I can therefore only place this letter before the pub
with such answer as your lordship may be pleased to send me.—I ha
the honour to be your lordship's obedient servant,

"Charles Bradlaugh."

"35 Eaton Place, June 26th, 1880.

"Sir,—In reference to your letter just received, the facts are these
"I was yesterday in a crowd at the door of the House of Commo
waiting to get into the gallery for the Irish Compensation deba
You came out and passed into the lobby. Some one pointed you o
to me. The observation was made, how much trouble one ma
desire for notoriety could give. I added that a desire for notorie
might be gratified by a public flogging in Trafalgar Square. Y
seem to have imperfectly overheard the last words on returning to t
House, and connected your name with them. I certainly had no id
of suggesting a mode and place of treatment for any particular ca
You came up to me and said, 'You should not insult a man in
presence.' I replied that I had said nothing to you.—Obediently,

"Norton."

Bradlaugh's fingers must have itched to apply to Lord Norto
person the chastisement which his lordship had prescribed for hi
Less well-bred people than his lordship expressed their sentime
to Bradlaugh by letter, being denied the opportunity of insulti
him in his hearing. In the *Reformer* of 12th September
writes :—

"I was sorry that Mr Dillon thought it necessary to call the att
tion of the House to the threatening letters which had been sent
him. When I was fighting for my seat in the House, I received

ast threescore letters threatening my life. I put them all in the aste-paper basket, although one or two of the communications were orks of art, and decorated with skulls, cross-bones, bleeding hearts, nd daggers. There is always a fair proportion of lunatics who in mes of excitement write strange letters to public men."

His laugh over these things was entirely genial. At no period f his struggle, and on no provocation, did he ever show a touch f that general embitterment which so many men feel towards ociety on the strength of an ill-usage either imaginary or trifling comparison with what he underwent. But the wrongers, as ways, could not forgive. There was no slackening in the output Conservative defamation, the device of saddling Bradlaugh's theism on the Gladstone Government being too congenial to be andoned. As Lord Henry Lennox had put it in an inspired t unguarded moment, it was felt to be good Tory policy to "put at damned Bradlaugh on them." Sir Hardinge Giffard (now ord Halsbury) publicly and falsely asserted in November that efore the election the Liberal whip, Mr Adam, had written to e Northampton electors, asking them to return Bradlaugh; ing on to add that this step "had never been disavowed or sapproved by the Liberal leaders"—an extremity of false witness emorable as coming from a man who was soon to be made Lord hancellor. Such a lead was of course zealously followed. And e average upper-class Liberal, while reluctantly voting with the overnment in the matter, indemnified himself by insolence to e man over whom the trouble had arisen. There are always in e Liberal party men loyal to it as a faction, while caring little r its principles in themselves, and bearing small goodwill to ose more advanced adherents who give pause to the weaker ethren. This state of mind may account for the gratuitous fensiveness, though hardly for the inaccuracy, of one utterance Mr Marjoribanks (now Lord Tweedmouth) in an address to his nstituents at Duns in November 1880:—

"It was in his opinion a great pity that the electors of Northampton ould have elected a man to be their representative whose views, oral, religious, and social, were such as were Mr Bradlaugh's specialty, d not only his specialty, but his means of subsisting. (Applause.) was a pity, too, that when Mr Bradlaugh had been elected he had t followed the example of far greater men, such as Mill and Hume, o were to some extent sharers in his beliefs, or rather his disbeliefs,

but who who had quietly gone to the table and taken the oath, and said no more about it. Then, again, it was a pity that when Mr Bradlaugh claimed to affirm, he was not at once allowed to do so at his own risk. Of one thing, however, he was perfectly sure, and that was that the House of Commons was perfectly right in the distinct and peremptory refusal which Mr Bradlaugh's demand to take the oath met when it was ultimately made."

It is not necessary here to go into Mr Marjoribanks' estimate of the relative greatness of Bradlaugh and Joseph Hume, or of the merits of Bradlaugh's views. It is not such judgments as his that determine a man's standing with his generation, or with posterity. The remark as to "means of subsisting," also, may be left to supply its own commentary. More recently the same speaker has emphasized his objection to some action of some journalists by remarking that it was done for a livelihood; a judgment which strikes at the whole mass of the Christian clergy, and which would seem to imply that a rich man is to be pardoned for saying a false or a base thing where a hireling is to be doubly denounced. A man who has never had occasion to do anything for a livelihood presumably sees such things in a different light from those who lack his pecuniary advantages; and though a professing Christian is supposed to hold that the labourer is worthy of his hire, Lord Tweedmouth doubtless remains satisfied with the ethics of his youth. Mr Chamberlain has indicated similar views. Suffice it here to point to Bradlaugh's whole career for the proof of the utter sincerity of his propaganda. But to praise Mill and Joseph Hume for taking an oath "on the true faith of a Christian," and to blame Bradlaugh for choosing rather to affirm when he believed an affirmation was open to him, is to set up an ethic which one would hardly expect any professed Liberal to avow. As for the "distinct and peremptory refusal," no such thing had taken place. What the House had distinctly refused was to allow the affirmation; and in the division on that point Mr Marjoribanks *had not voted for Mr Labouchere's motion;* whereas he had voted for Mr Gladstone's motion referring the oath question to a select committee. When a politician can thus deal with simple historical facts, his opinion on weightier issues is apt to lose even the significance it would normally have. Other Liberals added their quota. Lord Sherbrooke, writing in the *Nineteenth*

Century, spoke of the oath which Mr Bradlaugh "at first refused nd afterwards was ready to take." His Lordship had once poken of Disraeli as possessing a "slatternly and inaccurate iind." No milder epithets could well be applied to himself n the present case. But for all these endless insults and wanton landers Bradlaugh had seldom anything save a restrained and ignified rebuke. When Mr Grantham, Q.C., M.P. (now Mr ustice Grantham), spoke of him as gaining his livelihood "by he circulation of obscene literature," he remarked in his journal hat there was one homely Saxon word that would meet the ase. He might reasonably have said that there were several, f varying length.

It was noticeable that all of these insults were uttered in Bradlaugh's absence, or in periodicals where he was allowed no eply. From the first he had been refused the right of reply in ne *Nineteenth Century*. Men did not now venture to attack im in the House; but they were bold when among their constituents, especially in the rural districts. On his own part he as scrupulous to give no just cause for offence. One journalist ecklessly represented him as having once obtruded himself on ne ceremony of prayers in the House, when in point of fact e had been accidentally shut in, and had remained motionless here he stood. We have seen how he besought all of his reethinking followers to beware of seeming to presume on the ote in his favour. During the autumn of 1880 there was much iscussion of the question of the Burials Bill, a test which erved to show the amount of good-will subsisting between odies of citizens professing belief in the same God and the same acred books. Dissenters were fit to swear and sit in the House f Commons, but from the Church point of view were not fit o be buried "on their own recognisances," so to speak, in the ublic churchyard. The Tories in their traditional fashion pposed all concession, arguing that if dissenters were allowed o hold their own services, Atheists and heathens would follow. ne Conservative member, named St Aubyn, pictured Atheists olding "indecent orgies over the bodies of the dead." Conidering that drunkenness at funerals had been a reproach to hristendom for centuries; that it was common in Presbyterian cotland within the century; and that Irish wakes are still stomary, the suggestion may serve to measure the "honour

and conscience" of the speaker, who further signalised himself by admitting, as a lawyer, that Bradlaugh had a legal right to sit in the House, while he confessedly opposed his taking his seat. In view of the general state of the Christian mind Bradlaugh abstained from speaking on the subject in the House and the National Secular Society decided to present no petitions in support of the Bill, lest they should thereby injure its chances. They had their thanks in a speech from Mr Osborne Morgan who asked in Wales whether it was "reasonable to keep four millions of Nonconformists knocking at the churchyard gate for years because a handful of Secularists wanted to enter with them?" Any suggestion, however indirect and unobtrusive, that Secularists were entitled to the rights of other citizens, was sure in those days to elicit some display of animosity from the majority of those who call their creed a religion of love. Upright and scrupulous Nonconformists there were in the House, such men as Richards and Illingworth, who were faithful to the principle of equal liberty, and sought to carry it out; but the feeling that Secularists were as much of a nuisance dead as alive was the prevailing one.

Among the Irish members, finally, the full power of the Catholic priesthood was exerted to the utmost. Bradlaugh did the Home Rulers careful and continuous service in the House, besides publishing in his journal many articles and paragraphs in support of the Parnell movement. When the Chief-Justice of Ireland made a scandalous exhibition of judicial prejudice in regard to the Parnell trial before the case was heard, Bradlaugh denounced it as an "impudent manifesto." At the same time, nothing would induce him to cater for Irish or any other support at the expense of truth and fair play, and he protested against Irish wrongdoing no less promptly, though more gently, than against the wrongs of Ireland. Any such display of impartiality served the majority of the Catholic Home Rulers as a political pretext for an antagonism motived either by religion or fear of priestly influence, and when Bradlaugh protested against the Irish tactics of obstruction and scurrility—tactics which he always refused to employ—they deliberately represented him as supporting coercion, though he not only spoke repeatedly against the Coercion Bill and published in his journal a number of articles emphatically condemning

t,* but actually moved the rejection of the Bill on the second read ng, when Parnell had taken flight to avoid arrest. By this time Parnell had given way to the pressure put upon him by his ollowers, by the priests, and by the Irish press, and had joined hem in aspersing Bradlaugh as the enemy of Ireland. None the ess did he continue his Parliamentary labours in the Irish as n other causes. A reference to Hansard shows that in the months uly-March 1880-1 (in only five of which, however, did Parlia- ient sit) he was one of the most usefully industrious members in he House; and so much was abundantly admitted by his fellow- nembers, including even some opponents. Running over the anty reports of his work, we find him pleading for Maories and Iindus, urging reform of the Criminal Code, asking the House to eject the Lords' amendments on the Ground Game Bill, moving or a select committee on perpetual pensions, challenging Indian nance, resisting the prohibition of Sunday funerals, calling for eturns of national revenue and expenditure, working hard on the mployers' Liability Bill of 1880, protesting against the plank bed or prisoners, protesting against the flogging of soldiers,† besides utting questions on behalf of aggrieved correspondents every- here.

It was within this period that he came before the public in a ew light, through having been challenged to fight a duel by a ild French *député*, M. Laisant, who declared in the Chamber, 7th December 1880, that he had precise information proving radlaugh to be a Prussian spy. Declining to go through the eremony of the duel, Bradlaugh invited M. Laisant to lay the atter before a jury of honour of six—three to be English M.P.'s whom M. Laisant should name one, and three French Deputies whom Bradlaugh should name one. The matter, like the gulation French duel, came to nothing. But Bradlaugh had a ry real fight before him at home.

§ 8.

Meanwhile the litigation forced upon Bradlaugh by the policy the Government was proceeding, heaping up debt and preparing

* The *National Reformer* of 16th January 1881 contains, besides Brad- ugh's own protest, articles by two leading contributors strongly condemning e measure and criticising its defenders, including Bright.

† See above, p. 201.

disaster. After some distant skirmishing on points of form, th
action of Clarke came on in the Court of Queen's Bench on 7t
March 1881, before Mr Justice Mathew (a Roman Catholic) wh
being newly appointed, was only that morning "sworn in
When the case was called, the junior counsel for the prosecutio
applied for an adjournment on the score that his leader, Si
Hardinge Giffard, was absent, and he, the junior, did not feel abl
to argue the case. Bradlaugh curtly explained that "Sir Harding
Giffard has on more than one occasion refused to consult my con
venience," and declined to agree to the adjournment. Giffar
then appeared. Stripped of minutiæ as to demurrers and cross
demurrers, the arguments were:—

For the plaintiff: That the defendant was not in law entitled t
make affirmation of allegiance as he had done, the laws permittin
such affirmation having been "intended" to cover only person
holding religious beliefs—*i.e.* beliefs as to a Deity and a future state

For the defendant: That the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 186
expressly provided that every person "for the time being by la
permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead o
taking an oath," should be entitled to make affirmation i
Parliamentary matters; that the Evidence Amendment Act o
1869 enabled any unbeliever to give evidence in any court o
justice on the presiding judge being satisfied that an oath woul
not be binding on his conscience; that the further amending Ac
of 1870 defined the term "judge" as covering any persons legall
authorised to administer oaths for the taking of evidence; an
that the Speaker was so authorised. Therefore defendant wa
entitled to affirm allegiance. "I contend," said Bradlaugh, "tha
all enabling clauses in statutes must be interpreted liberally, no
restrictively, in favour of the person claiming the benefit, an
not harshly against him."

The one technical weakness of the case was that nowhere ha
the legislature explicitly said that persons with no religious beli
should be free to make affirmation of allegiance; though
found on this omission would be to assume that the legislatur
while thinking the oath could advantageously (for that was avowe
in the preambles) be dispensed with in the taking of evidenc
thought it could not be dispensed with in the formality precedi
entrance into Parliament.

On that point, however, Mr Justice Mathew founded his jud

ient, which was delivered on 11th March. The Evidence Acts, he ecided, were clearly "intended to remove restrictions upon the dmissibility of witnesses with a view of promoting the discovery f the truth," and "had no other object." The Acts of 1866 and 869-70 must not be read together, because the legislature could ot be supposed to have "intended" them to be so read. To this rgument—one of the two mutually exclusive methods of inter- retation of law which judges employ at their choice—Mr Justice Iathew added a pointed comment on one of the defendant's argu- ients. Bradlaugh, he said, had "attempted to show that the rivilege of sitting in either House of Parliament was analogous to he 'privilege' of giving evidence in a court of justice." On which is lordship absurdly remarked that "no one who was free to hoose his words and had a preference for accuracy of expression ould speak of the discharge of the all-important and anxious duty f a witness as a privilege." It plainly follows on this, either that he work of a member of Parliament is *not* an "all-important and nxious duty," or that it is not a privilege. The first alternative is bsurd; the other quashes the judge's argument. Further, it is he historical fact that Bradlaugh and other Freethinkers *had* egarded the power of giving evidence in court as a privilege, and ad so described it. It may suffice to give these grounds, for the iew of many of us is that the decision was unjust. But neither at his nor at any other time was Bradlaugh known even in private to uestion a judge's fairness. His loyalty to the established system f "justice" was absolute.

Judgment being given for Clarke, Bradlaugh applied for a stay of xecution (as to the costs), with a view to an appeal; and the judge ssented. On 14th March, when Bradlaugh was rising in the House o present a petition, Mr Gorst interposed with the objection that his eat was now vacant, and took occasion to assert that to his know- edge no notice of appeal had been given in the case. A discussion nsued, in which Mr Labouchere read a letter from Mr Bradlaugh o him, telling that he had instructed his solicitor to give the ormal notice of appeal, and would prosecute it without delay, and ffering to vacate his seat, if thought fit, to save time. Lord Randolph Churchill suggested that they had "no security" that he appeal would be made till nearly the end of the statutory twelve nonths. The point being dropped, Bradlaugh on 23rd March noved the Court of Appeal to expedite the hearing. As the

appeal was "from an interlocutory order, and not from a final decision,"* it could be taken promptly, and on 30th March it was heard before Lords Justices Bramwell, Baggallay, and Lush. Bradlaugh began by arguing that Clarke was not legally entitled to sue, the Act founded on by him having been repealed by another which did not re-enact permission to anybody to sue. Going over the other ground afresh, he argued that the Act of 1866 made no exclusion of any class of persons whatever; and that the legislature ought therefore to be held as having desired to enable every class of citizens—an argument much more cogent, to the lay sense, than the contrary inference drawn by Justice Mathew. The arguments were long and intricate on both sides; and one of Bradlaugh's remarks in his closing address shows to what length of speculativeness they sometimes went: "The learned counsel said the word 'solemnly' could not mean 'sincerely,' because there was already the word 'sincerely' in the declaration. By the same process of reasoning the word 'sincerely' cannot be construed to mean 'truly' because there is also the word 'truly' in the affirmation. I think it is better to confine ourselves to law, and not go into philology." Towards the close, on a question as to whether their lordships' judgment was to be judicial or extra-judicial on both points raised, Bradlaugh remarked, "The House of Commons has been very generous in its treatment of me, and I am anxious to reciprocate that generosity," adding a hope that their lordships would not think he was pressing his point unduly. "If you will allow me to say so," replied Lord Justice Lush, "you have argued the case with great propriety as well as great force." But the judgment (delivered on 31st March) was again hostile, being to the effect that Clarke was entitled to sue, and that Bradlaugh was not entitled to make the Parliamentary affirmation. The reason given by Lord Bramwell, the presiding judge, was that the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866 would only permit affirmation to persons *already entitled*, like the Quakers, to make affirmation "not on particular occasions but on *all* occasions when they would other

* Bradlaugh put the technicalities thus to the Lord Chancellor in the Court of Appeal on 27th March:—"There are issues of fact untouched by the demurrer, and there is the first paragraph of the statement of defence, on which I may possibly defeat the plaintiff even should the allowance of the demurrer be maintained."

vise have to take an oath." Unbelievers not being thus already ntitled (having only the right to affirm as witnesses), Bradlaugh vas not entitled to affirm by the Act of 1866, read in connection vith others which did not give a complete qualification. That is o say, as I understand him, Lord Bramwell argued that the Act f 1866 was meant to give the right of affirmation in a particular ase to persons who already had it in all possible cases. It sounds ufficiently absurd, and I may have failed to follow the reasoning; ut I can arrive at no other interpretation of his words as pub- ished. Lords Justices Baggallay and Lush concurred. The latter ut it that the "every other person" in the Act of 1866 "must nean every other person in a like position with Quakers," that is, ersons having "a perfect immunity from taking the oath in all laces and on all occasions." "Therefore I feel no doubt whatever hat the true construction of this sentence is that Parliament never ntended to allow every person whomsoever when elected to appear efore the House of Commons, and on stating that he had a con- cientious objection to the oath, being permitted to make affirma- ion." Nobody, as it happened, had ever said so. But Lord Justice Lush's confident conclusion as to the intentions of Parlia- nent involves this: That Parliament, knowing there were Atheist nembers, *deliberately chose to have them take the oath, rather than et them make affirmation.* To this outrageous conclusion all these udges are shut up; for there is not a word in any of the Acts bout excluding Atheists; and if the "intentions" of the legislature re to be looked for—thus argued Sir Hardinge Giffard in this very case—"the language must be clear and unequivocal." So say ve all. But the judges expressly inferred exclusive intentions rom the mere absence of special detail in the inclusive language. They would not infer friendly intention from friendly language; ut they would infer hostile intention from no language at all.

Bradlaugh's seat was now vacant in law; and he at once stood or re-election. All along the great majority of his constituents ad stood by him cordially and courageously. A series of crowded ublic meetings, some addressed by himself and Mr Labouchere, ome by leading local politicians, protested against the injustice done to member and constituency at each new stage of the process of exclusion, and now that the constituency was called upon to express its feeling at the polls it effectively responded. A certain number, of course, were detached from Bradlaugh by the storm of

obloquy which beat upon him, and this the more readily becau they had accepted the joint candidature with reluctance; but th great majority stood staunch, despite desperate efforts to turn them As Bradlaugh told at the time, the constituency was flooded wit pamphlets containing

"not only what I have said and what I have written, taken out of it context and distorted, but containing things I have never said and hav never written, and never dreamt of saying or writing. Books that have neither written nor published, but which were supposed to b obnoxious, have had extracts taken out from their medical parts an circulated, and the physiological part of the Knowlton pamphlet, fo which I was indicted, was taken separately and sent by post to each o the electors. The vilest things have been said. Some of my foes hav been more foul than even I had thought possible."

The dirty work was largely done by a person named Varley, know as "a tradesman of Notting Hill." Further, a notice was serve on the electors assuring them that Bradlaugh had vacated his sea "as if he were dead"; and on the comedy side of the contest th Conservative candidate, whose name figured on his bills in th alliteration "Corbett and Christianity," fortified his position in hi electoral address by the appeal: "I am intimately connecte with a family in your own county (that of Sir Charles Isham which is well known to you, and members of which have former periods had the honour of representing their native count in Parliament."

On the other side, a considerable amount of goodwill Bradlaugh was shown in the Liberal press. The *Christian Glob* declaring "unhesitatingly that the member for Northampto should be allowed to affirm if he desires it," remarked that "M Bradlaugh has his faults, but he is a man of cleanly, decen orderly life—a man of brains and ability, and of sterling coura as well." The *Daily Chronicle* testified that he had "made decided and creditable mark in the House of Commons by h ability, his moderation, and his general deportment." Even th *Times* bore witness:—"Mr Bradlaugh has his compensations. is something to have displayed forensic ability so conspicuous. is only fair to him to allow that many, whom the choice Northampton naturally did not content, have been conciliated Mr Bradlaugh's manly and moderate attitude." The more Radic

Weekly Dispatch declared that "no other new member of this new House of Commons has so much distinguished himself for political integrity and shrewdness, or given such evidence of statesmanlike qualities." Even in the House itself, Sir John Holker had observed that Bradlaugh had shown himself "a skilful debater, an eloquent man," whose "voice and tongue had an influence on the debates." More solid than these testimonies were the thousands of subscriptions, mostly small, but ranging from twopence to £5, sent to meet the election expenses. This help from the workers was the kind of sympathy that always touched Bradlaugh to the quick. The upshot of the fight (9th April 1881) was that Bradlaugh received 3437 votes, being 390 less than at the general election, while the Conservative candidate got 3305, being 153 more than the former Tory vote. Some 150 electors had turned round, while some 240 nominal Liberals had abstained—not a very bad result under the circumstances. The narrow majority of 132, however, gave sufficient encouragement to the Tories in the House to stick to their policy of exclusion; and anger at defeat did the rest. One journal, whose name it will be charitable to suppress, deplored that the reluctance to fight a seat against "a Yahoo like Bradlaugh," with whom even that "association" would be "pollution," had prevented the advent of a better Tory candidate than Mr Corbett.

§ 9.

Parliament being in recess, it was only on 26th April that Bradlaugh was able to present himself once more on the field of battle. Sir Stafford Northcote, courteously enough, as Bradlaugh acknowledged, wrote him beforehand, intimating that he felt himself bound to object as before to the oath-taking. This he did as Bradlaugh was about to be sworn. The Speaker confessed that "undoubtedly a proceeding so regular and formal" as the oath-taking "ought under ordinary circumstances to be continued without interruption," but in view of the former resolution of the House he felt bound to allow the intervention. Bradlaugh interposed a request that he should be heard before the House came to decision; but it needed the special interposition of the Speaker to get him a hearing for the bare request from the shouting Tories. Northcote spoke on the customary lines. Bradlaugh had been legally declared unentitled to affirm; but on the other hand, it

would be "profanation" for him to take the oath—albeit ever body knew it had been taken by dozens of Atheists. And the c dishonourable equivoque once more did duty: "it had been clear shown that Mr Bradlaugh did not regard the oath as having an binding effect on his conscience." The mover of the amendme in Bradlaugh's favour, Mr Davey, was much interrupted, as w Bright when he proceeded to support it. Interrupting Bright w never profitable. His first allusion to religious disability evok the customary imbecile correction, "irreligious disability." T answer was prompt:—

"Hon. members say 'irreligious disability.' Well, you have object before to the admission of the Roman Catholics. ('Hear, hear.') Y objected to them because of their religion, which you deemed to false—(loud cries of 'No' and 'Yes')—and the religion you deemed be false you would now seem to consider much better than no religi at all. On the same ground you refused for many years the claims the Jews to be admitted to this House, and you have now raised exact the same question—('No' and 'Hear')—but in a more offensive form ('Oh' and cheers)—because you aim your shafts at a particular individu who cannot be said to represent a class."

Once more Bright defended Bradlaugh from the impude charge that he had "obtruded his opinions on the House." H declaration that Bradlaugh's ground for proposing to affirm "w a ground honourable to himself—it was in point of fact a tend ness of conscience, as I should call it," drew "loud laughter" fr the conscientious gentlemen of the Opposition. Bright pressed h point all the harder:

"I think it a gross unfairness—it was then and is now—to bri forward the fact that he himself preferred to affirm rather than take t oath, and then upon that to assume that the oath would not be bindi upon his conscience. . . . He states in the most distinct manner th the words of the oath are binding upon his conscience—binding up his honour and conscience. If that be so, you have no right to assu that the oath is not binding upon his conscience. You might as w tell me that the oath is not binding upon my conscience."

Later in the speech came a shrewd thrust:—

"If it be permitted to make these assumptions with regard to hon. member for Northampton, why is it not equally right to ma them with regard to other persons—I will mention no names—in t

ouse or outside this House, who either publicly or privately have pressed the same opinions as are assumed to be held by Mr Bradugh? But nobody proposes to put any questions to them. (Cries of ame.') It is admitted now that if Mr Bradlaugh had come to the ble and said nothing about the affirmation—I do not hesitate to say at it is to his credit that he did not take that course—and had offered take the oath, no question would have been asked, but he would ve been allowed to take the oath just as other members of the House."

Another reference to Bradlaugh's conscience brought out the y, "What is its value?" from a Conservative member, and right commented mildly enough :—

"I must express my regret at what I must call the almost violent nper with which some hon. gentlemen come to the consideration of this estion. I can feel the greatest charity for a member of this House o in my opinion holds views on religious matters which appear to so extraordinary and so unfortunate. . . . There has been no mber of this House who has conducted himself with greater proiety and decorum—(cheers)—and he has brought to our discussions least an average—perhaps more than an average—ability ; and there not a single word he has uttered, not a single act he has committed, hich in the slightest degree ought to bar him from taking his place in s assembly of gentlemen. (Cheers.) I would ask hon. members to nk for a moment whether it is in accordance with that Christianity hich they presume so much to defend that they should now at this ne, after many years, almost centuries, of discussion of questions of s nature, determine to raise up another barrier against the civil edom which our constituencies believe they enjoy."

The use of the quotation :

"Bigotry may swell
The sail he sets for Heaven with blasts from Hell"

s perhaps the most resented item in the speech ; and Mr Gorst, o followed, thought it judicious to assert that on his side of e House "there was no disposition to treat this question in the rit of intolerance and bigotry which the right hon. gentleman d done his very best to stir up. . . . It ought to be treated rely as a question of legality." But in a few minutes Mr Gorst ived at the further conclusion that "to say that this was a estion for the courts of law was absurd."

Bradlaugh then made his "Second Speech at the Bar." He t reminded Mr Gorst, who had argued from his old answer to the

Committee on the point of the oath, that that answer was giv unwillingly and after objection to its being put. In anothe preliminary paragraph he remarked: "My return is untainte There is no charge of bribery, no charge of corruption, nor inducing men to come drunken to the polling-booth." ("Hon members who had done these things had had no scruple abo taking the oath, nor had the House ever shown much resentmen at contact with them.) Mr (now Sir) Edward Clarke had duri the debate spoken of Bradlaugh's "making an avowal of opinio to the House" on a former occasion, and had contended that th dignity of the House was now involved.

"I have never," said Bradlaugh, "directly or indirectly, said or word about my opinions, and this House has no right to inquire wh opinions I may hold outside its walls. The only right is that whic the statute gives you; my opinions there is no right to inquire into. shelter myself under the laws of my country. This is a politic assembly, met to decide on the policy of the nation, and not on th religious opinions of the citizens."

He was accordingly meeting the Conservatives, as represente by Mr Gorst, on their own ground. On the question of dignit raised by Mr Clarke, he asked:

"Do you mean that I can injure the dignity of this House? th House which has stood unrivalled for centuries? this House, supre among the assemblies of the world? this House, which represents t traditions of liberty? I should not have so libelled you."

The most direct thrust in the speech is perhaps the following:

"What will you inquire into? The right hon. baronet would inqui into my opinions. Will you inquire into my conduct, or is it only opinions you will try here? The hon. member for Plymouth [Mr Clarke] frankly puts it—opinions. If opinions, why not conduct? W not examine into members' conduct when they come to the table, a see if there be no members in whose way you can put a barrier? ('He hear.') Are members, whose conduct may be obnoxious, to vote exclusion because to them my opinions are obnoxious?"

Here again the tone is not deprecatory:—

"The right hon. baronet has said there has been no word of recan tion. You have no right to ask me for any recantation. Since the April you have no right to ask me for anything. If you have a le

qualification, petition, lay it before the judges. When you ask me make a statement, you are guilty of impertinence to me, of treason to traditions of this House, and of impeachment of the liberties of the ople."

And the close—it cannot be called a peroration—makes no atement of emphasis :—

"I ask you now, do not plunge me into a struggle I would shun. The w gives me no remedy if the House decides against me. Do not mock the constituencies. If you place yourselves above the law, you leave e no course save lawless agitation, instead of reasonable pleading. It easy to begin such a strife, but none knows how it would end. . . . . ou think I am an obnoxious man, and that I have no one on my side. that be so, then the more reason that this House, grand in the rength of its centuries of liberty, should have now that generosity in aling with one who to-morrow may be forced into a struggle for blic opinion against it."

Mr Gladstone followed with a carefully subdued speech, in nich, however, he remarked: "Mr Bradlaugh is upon his ial before the House; but the House also, permit me to say it ith great respect, is upon its trial," and he proceeded to cite ainst the opposition the authority of

Sir George Grey, who was an ornament of the House for fully forty ars, and who has not ceased to take a lively interest in its proceedings. hold in my hand his written opinion, expressed in the most decisive rms, and he has the fullest conviction that the opposition to the taking the oath by Mr Bradlaugh ought not to be permitted by the Chair."

He further bore laudatory witness to Bradlaugh's behaviour in e House :—

"Every man must in common fairness admit that Mr Bradlaugh is to credited with the best and highest motives. He is under a *prima cie* and presumptive obligation and duty, having been elected by a nstituency to present himself at the table as the only means of ful- ling his duty to them. On the other hand, I need not animadvert on his conduct. It is generally admitted that his conduct while he t on those benches was the conduct of a man of great ability, integrity, d honour."

Incidentally, the Premier mentioned that the authority of Sir hn Holker was with those who held that the House had no right

to interfere; and he put to the Opposition, at some length, t plain logical outcome of their action, namely, that they we bound, in every case in which a member's opinions were know from any source to be irreligious, to refuse that member the oat The argument was unanswerable; but it was not argument th was to be met. After a long debate the House divided, wh 208 members voted for Northcote's motion, and only 175 against

Then came another "scene." Bradlaugh came to the table a made his old protest: "The resolution of the House is against t law, and I respectfully refuse to withdraw." The Speaker, before, asked for "instructions." Northcote asked Gladstone propose something. Gladstone "left it to the majority to ca out their own vote." Northcote, after lecturing the Premier dereliction of duty, moved "that Mr Bradlaugh be ordered to wit draw." Gladstone warmly demanded to know on what groun he was lectured. Mr Labouchere interposed with a warning, a proposed to divide, but at the request of Mr Bright withdrew t motion. The Speaker again asked Bradlaugh to withdraw, a Bradlaugh again refused. The Serjeant-at-Arms was then called to remove him, and did so in the former fashion, Bradlau returning from the bar to the table as before, protesting agai physical force, and asking the House "not to put me to t indignity of a physical struggle." Again the Speaker "threw hi self upon the House for instructions," and the House called "Northcote" and "Gladstone"; but neither leader responded. member asked whether Mr Bradlaugh had not already been orde out. The Speaker helplessly explained that the order "o extended to the bar of the House and no further," on wh Bradlaugh moved back to the bar and stood there. Northcote r and feebly protested that he "was only prevented from mov that Mr Bradlaugh should be committed by the feeling that Bradlaugh was encouraged by the Government in his resistanc Gladstone "entirely repudiated and repelled the statement," c sidered the accusation groundless and wanton, and called upon right hon. antagonist to "point to the facts on which he has m so grave a charge to the House." Northcote suitably replied, Gladstone again repudiated, intimating that he "should not t any steps in this matter until the time came when it appeared him he could do it with advantage to the House." Thereu Mr Cowen moved the adjournment of the House, which was eag

reed to. Only in that fashion was the House able for the time get out of the ignoble dilemma in which it had been landed by owardly cabal of bigots and faction-fighters. Northcote did not re again to move Bradlaugh's committal, but did not dare to nfess it; and there was nothing to do but run away.

Next day, however, the trouble began afresh. Bradlaugh again esented himself, and was once more removed to the bar, where stood as before. Mr Labouchere now asked whether the vernment would give facilities for the Affirmation Bill he had roduced last session; and Gladstone in his lengthiest manner olved the answer that it would depend on whether the Bill s to be opposed. Mr Labouchere and others passed on the peal to Northcote as directly as the forms of the House per- tted; and Northcote, as lengthily as Gladstone, made answer the effect that "a measure of the kind" would have his areful consideration," but he could agree to nothing "in the ure of a bargain." The truth was, of course, that Northcote ld not answer for his more unscrupulous followers, but dared admit as much; so the debate went on in the diffusest House- Commons manner. After a long speech from Bright, Mr bbard, losing patience, and having no judgment to lose, asked What use were the police, or officers of the House, if they could protect the House from the intrusion of people who had no siness there?" No answer being vouchsafed from the deaf vens, Mr Walter pompously explained that in his opinion Bradlaugh ought to be allowed to affirm, but that no unbeliever ght ever to be allowed to take the oath. "It was idle to say the use had not official cognisance of the fact that the hon. gentle- n belonged to a sect which did not believe in the existence God." Another long speech from Gladstone left the situation hanged. Mr Newdegate intimated that if neither leader ved the arrest of Mr Bradlaugh, he would, if necessary, do it self. Still the debate rolled on. Mr Chaplin admitted that dlaugh while in the House "had acted with great ability great moderation," but then he had "openly avowed," etc., they could not stand by, etc. They commenced their pro- lings with prayer, and invoked the aid of the Supreme Being guide them in their labours. On the obvious efficacy of the eal, Mr Chaplin did not dwell. A dozen more speakers owed, some of them—as Alderman Fowler and Mr Warton—

declaring that they would oppose any bill; while one Macive intimated that he "intended on Thursday to ask the Prim Minister whether he would introduce a short measure for t partial disfranchisement of Northampton." At length, on assurance from Northcote, but simply on a favourable expressi of feeling from Sir Walter Barttelot, Mr Labouchere's motion f the adjournment of the House, under cover of which the whc long-drawn discussion had taken place, was by leave withdrawn and Bradlaugh withdrew to await the action of the Government.

On the 29th April Gladstone did announce the intention the Ministry to introduce an Affirmation Bill, whereupon Lo Randolph Churchill announced his intention to oppose it; a the early stages of the measure were systematically hampere Bradlaugh published in his journal an "Appeal to the People in which he asked them to "speak out clearly, distinctly, thoroughl and at once on this issue;" and he again held a great town meeting at Northampton. After a long and brilliant speec ending with the words, "In this struggle some one must recec some one must bend, some one must break. This I do pled myself, that if health do keep, and life do hold, I will never gi way," there was a loud tempest of applause, at the close of whi he rose again and asked the audience, "Have you still confiden in me?" and "Will you stand by me in this fight?" Every ha went up to both questions with fresh storms of cheering, a Bradlaugh answered "Then on my honour, if I live, we w win."

The House, however, did not mend its ways. On 2nd M Gladstone moved that the other Orders of the Day be postpon for the Oaths Bill, and Churchill opened the debate with a vulg and violent harangue, which ended with a hope that the Tor would "give no facilities for placing in that House brazen Athei and rampant disloyalty." Several followed suit; and Northcc seeing his followers leading him as usual, made one of his flab speeches in deprecation of anything like speedy action in the matt The measure must be discussed "upon its own merits, and not w reference to the circumstances and position of any given individua and there must be no "semblance of hurry for the purpose avoiding a scandalous scene." In fine, there should be no alacri Gladstone extensively assented, agreeing to allow an interval af the introduction of the Bill; but a number of Tories threw o

their leader, and one Lewis moved the adjournment of the debate. This failing, the Home Rulers raised a dispute on procedure, whereafter the Attorney-General, Sir Henry James, introduced the Bill. In the course of his speech Sir Henry cited the admission of Northcote to the effect that he did not object to Bradlaugh sitting in the House, but to his taking the oath. The unhappy Northcote, pressed on all sides, made the pitiful explanation that when he said so he only wanted to raise the point of the oath; but he did not now wish to be understood as having no objection to Bradlaugh's presence in the House.

Adjourned till Friday the 6th May, the debate was then proposed to be postponed till the 10th, whereupon Mr A. J. Balfour—who now for the first time interposed in the controversy within the House—objected to the Government's course as being taken "not to give relief to any large class of Her Majesty's subjects, but to deal with an individual." Sir Richard Cross, who was reminded that he had admitted there was no way out of the difficulty save by legislation, granted that he was of that opinion, but avowed that he would all the same oppose any attempt to give facilities for Bradlaugh's admission. On a division on the amendment the Government had only a majority of 6 votes—128 to 122. On their motion being put substantively, a new discussion arose, the Tories moving the adjournment of the debate. Bright made an impressive speech, in which he "ventured to say that if the Bill were passed there were scores of members who would prefer to make an affirmation," but obstructive speaking went on, Mr T. P. O'Connor, among others, ridiculing Bright's speech, and charging him with having "insulted the religious feeling of the Irish people" earlier in the evening. After hours of time had been spent, the Government, at three o'clock in the morning, agreed to the adjournment; but on Tuesday morning, when the question was raised after one A.M., the obstruction was continued in precisely the same lines, and the ministry gave up their plan of a "morning" (*i.e.* afternoon) sitting. Lord Henry Lennox's principle of "putting that damned Bradlaugh on them" was now left by his party to be an inspiration worthy of the common cause. Bradlaugh's admission stood indefinitely adjourned, so far as the Government were concerned. But they had still to reckon with Bradlaugh himself.

Giving due notice, he presented himself at the House next day,

and the now customary scene was enacted. The Speaker made hi usual appeal, and Sir Stafford Northcote moved "that the Sergeant-at-Arms do remove Mr Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not to further disturb the proceedings of the House." On challenge, he explained that by this he meant that Bradlaugh should "not come within the door kept by the door keepers." To this motion Gladstone agreed, asking his followers to do likewise. It "relieved the Government," as the journals noted at the time, "of the necessity for pushing on the Parliamentary Oaths Bill."

Bradlaugh for his part decided not to renew his attempt until the Irish Land Bill had got through the House. So much consideration he thought the Government were entitled to, and no amount of injustice from Irishmen could induce him to put in jeopardy a measure of justice to Ireland. On this decision he promised the Sergeant-at-Arms not to attempt any forcible entry of the House without giving him full notice.

§ 10.

Meanwhile the battle of opinion went on outside the House It was noticed at the time, as a significant fact, that in the newspaper war on the subject nearly every attack on Bradlaugh was anonymous, or signed with initials, while nearly every defence of him was signed. His friends fought for him with his own spirit. A "League for the Defence of Constitutional Rights" was founded in his support; and an "anti-Atheistic Committee" was formed on the other side, with an office in the Strand, and with the name of Sir Bartle Frere figuring in its propaganda. On this Bradlaugh struck out as he seldom did. "At least very shame," he said, "should have made Sir Bartle Frere hesitate before he paraded his blood-and-shame-stained name in a crusade against me." The "anti" Committee held a ticket meeting in Exeter Hall, at which a Secularist who had a platform ticket learned from a member of the Committee, a magistrate, that the Committee had engaged for the evening six prize-fighters, with instructions to "stop the mouths of Mr Bradlaugh's friends with their fists." The meeting was presided over by Earl Percy, and among the speakers was the Varley before mentioned. "Bradlaugh's friends" filled the street outside and carried counter resolutions. Indoors the promoters had the services of the police in tearing up the

ickets of any comers who were pointed out to them as Free-
hinkers, and in ejecting the presenters; while disorder was
reated by the further ejection from the platform of a number of
reethinkers who had gone thither with proper tickets.* No less
han two hundred policemen had been supplied by the Home
)ffice. After this naturally there was some disturbance. Accord-
ng to Canon Taylor, one of the speakers, "for an hour and a half
was scarcely possible for the different speakers to get a hearing,
xcept a few sentences at a time; and when 'God save the Queen'
as sung the Atheists in every possible way showed their dis-
oyalty." The resolution of the promoters was declared carried;
ut the Rev. Canon "was alarmed to see such a large minority,
xtending from beneath the platform to the other end of that large
all, composed of men and, he was grieved to say, women." (The
oys present, it may be inferred, belonged to the Young Men's
hristian Association.) And this alarmingly large minority, when
ie "contrary" vote was taken, "rose with the greatest possible
anifestations of dissent, and with the waving of handkerchiefs."
uite a number of similar meetings in the provinces failed more or
ss badly. On the other hand, Bradlaugh in person held crowded
eetings, free to all, in many towns, getting an ovation every-
here, in addition to which scores of resolutions and petitions in
s favour were sent to the House by Liberal and Radical clubs.
mass meeting held at St James's Hall under the auspices of the
onstitutional Rights League, finally, was packed to the door
nong the speakers were three clergymen, one belonging to the
urch of England, Admiral Maxse, and Mr Labouchere; and no
ssentient vote was given on the resolutions in Bradlaugh's
vour. One of the Nonconformist ministers who spoke, the Rev.
Sharman, told how Plymouth Liberals had sent to North-
e the telegram: "We protest against your effort to deprive
rthampton of one-half of its representation as being revolution
the name of Conservatism and robbery in the name of religion."
e Rev. Stewart Headlam said of Bradlaugh:—

"I know the great work he has done in the east of London for the
ral condition of the people. I know how he has got hold of

* In the House of Commons on 7th February 1882 Earl Percy asserted
Bradlaugh's friends had fabricated tickets for the meeting. The state-
t was absolutely false.

hundreds of people whom we clergy have been utterly unable t reach; and . . . I am certain that the work he has done in the eas of London has been of the greatest moral use for the elevation o the people."

Bradlaugh, on his own part, paid one of his many tributes t Gladstone.

Of this meeting no report appeared in the leading Libera paper, the *Daily News*, then understood to be mainly owned b Mr Samuel Morley, before mentioned. This was unhappily no the only instance of a Liberal journal perverted by private motive to the side of bigotry in Bradlaugh's case. Mr Joseph Cowen M.P., owner of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, who had lon been on friendly terms with him, and who had volunteered th expression of approval of Bradlaugh's action when he wa imprisoned in the Clock Tower, now took the line of chargin him with inconsistency in proposing to take the oath, thoug it was for trying to take the oath in the previous session tha he had been imprisoned. And Mr John Morley, then editin the *Pall Mall Gazette*, not only gave prominence in that journa to utterances hostile to Bradlaugh, such as that of Mr Holyoak but suppressed letters in his favour, even when sent by a literar man of good standing like Mr Moncure Conway. Mr Morle while of course condemning the Tory tactics, now blamed Bra laugh for proposing to take the oath at all, though he had befo spoken of him as "parading his views," and though, when h previously accused him of first "declining" the oath and the asking to take it, he had *not* condemned oath-taking by a unbeliever. Bradlaugh pointed out that voluntary abstentio from taking the oath would have made his seat void in la to which the *Gazette* editorially answered by expressing i confidence that if Bradlaugh had simply refused to take th oath, the House would not have dreamt of unseating him o that score. On the strength of that conviction the *Gaze* editor wrote:*—

"We have not concealed our opinion that Mr Bradlaugh would ha consulted his own dignity by refusing to take the oath, and fighti out an issue which could only have one end." And again:† "T

* April 27, 1881.
† May 6, 1881.

national belief in the existence of a Deity will not be lessened by the fact that Mr Bradlaugh and men like him are no longer called upon to use a form which in their lips is an indecent piece of mockery."

When later elected himself, Mr Morley made no attempt to act on the rule he had thus laid down or caused to be laid down for another man.

It is a curious and a melancholy illustration of the instability of human character that while Mr Morley was partly playing into the hands of the spirit of injustice, Mr Goldwin Smith, who now wears its livery, was emphatic on the other side. He thus wrote in his Toronto journal, the *Bystander*, in April 1881 :—

"To the shame of British civilisation and religion, the attack upon Mr Bradlaugh and upon the civil rights of his constituents goes on, and has been technically successful in a court of law. *The ringleaders are scamps*, putting forward religion as a pretext for political persecution. It is Sandwich over again denouncing Wilkes for impiety. Set a coronet on Mr Bradlaugh's head, give him a large fortune, make him a Tory in politics, and though he were the most offensive of Atheists, and the most profligate of debauchees to boot, he would have these crusaders at his feet. . . . If Parliament allows a fine to be levied on Mr Bradlaugh for taking the seat to which he had been duly elected it will undergo a far greater disgrace than any that can be inflicted upon it by obstruction."

Doubtless Mr Goldwin Smith, writing in Canada, did not feel the burden which weighed on Liberal respectability at home, the more so as he had never professed himself a rationalist.

§ 11.

The lawsuit raised by Clarke on behalf of Mr Newdegate still went on its difficult way, Bradlaugh fighting it inch by inch and point by point. On 2nd May 1881 he argued before the Lords Justices of Appeal a point on which he had previously been stopped, and on which no judgment had been given. This was as to the validity of the "replication," in which Bradlaugh argued that, as he had actually made affirmation, he could not properly be sued (as he had been) for sitting and voting without taking the oath. The judges ruled that as he was not in their opinion entitled to affirm, the fact of his affirming was not a valid answer. Defeated here, Bradlaugh decided next to endeavour to overthrow the action on what he described as a pure technicality, the

argument that, as the writ was dated 2nd July 1880, and the vote sued on had been given on that day, the action had been brought too early, "for that the writ must be held to have been tested at the earliest possible moment of the 2nd of July, and therefore prior to the sitting and voting for which the penalty is claimed." This point was raised on 16th and 17th May before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Mr Bowen, on Clarke's counsel moving for judgment, and Bradlaugh advanced a long and learned argument on the point. Judgment was delayed, and the legal point was tried on 20th and 21st June, before Justice Denman and Watkin Williams, on the plaintiff's amended statement, Bradlaugh demurring. His demurrer was overruled, Justice Denman admitting that the point raised was "true as a general rule of law," but not applicable to this case; and his lordship gave this singular reason: "For a legal fiction is for the purpose of doing justice, not for defeating it." It was not suggested that justice was being done in the case in hand; but if Bradlaugh's argument were to hold good, it might be defeated in somebody else's case. "No rule of law," said Justice Watkin Williams concurring, "compels us so to violate common sense and plain understanding," another decision worth remembering in the present connection. Bradlaugh drily wrote in his journal "I think the decision of Justices Denman and Watkin Williams is in accordance with common sense, but I do not think it is consonant with common law." He added: "I shall, of course, appeal against the decision. The next step will probably be the trial at *Nisi Prius*"—that was, the trial of the matter of fact as to the exact hour of issuing the writ, which had still to be proved by oral evidence before a jury.

That trial took place before Mr Justice Grove and a special jury, in the Queen's Bench Division, on 19th, 20th, and 22nd July, and the cross-examination of witnesses by Bradlaugh elicited, for one thing, that Newdegate was the financial backer of Clarke's action, and, for the rest, that the evidence of Newdegate and his principal witnesses on the question of the time of issue of the writ was rather worse than worthless. Newdegate had a very bad time of it in the witness-box, and the verbatim report of his cross-examination * may be recommended to legal students as illustrating

* Given in a special number of the *National Reformer*.

he value of the testimony of an English gentleman and magistrate who believes devoutly in God, and holds that no unbeliever can e believed. A worse appearance has seldom been made in the vitness-box by a man of standing; and in the case in question it as only surpassed in importance by the exhibition made by Tewdegate's principal legal witness—a gentleman who was roved to have expressed his surprise that another legal gentleman nould consent to give evidence for "a man like Bradlaugh." he whole report is a singularly dramatic comment on the proposi- on that oaths secure truthful evidence. Probably no competent nd unbiassed person who now reads it will have any difficulty in oncluding that the writ had actually been taken out at least an our before Bradlaugh had given the vote on which it proceeded, nd that at least three witnesses swore to falsehoods. Bradlaugh ategorically asserted in Court that Newdegate had lied; and Tewdegate's evidence was hardly the worst.

The facts of the case may now be historically stated with lerable confidence Newdegate had been afraid that a friendly tion would be brought against Bradlaugh, in which case radlaugh would not have to meet the £500 penalty. Newdegate sired that Bradlaugh should be mulcted; and he had actually een indecent enough to block the Bill of Indemnity introduced n Bradlaugh's behalf by Mr Labouchere. Nay more, in opposing e motion that Bradlaugh be permitted to sit on affirmation, he nd argued that it was beneath the dignity of the House to lay a ap for a man and leave him to be caught in it by any one who red to prosecute. Yet after saying this, he gave a bond of demnity to Clarke, the common informer, for suing Bradlaugh; nd he had apparently selected Clarke—a nondescript person, metimes called a surveyor, sometimes an accountant, but pro- ssionally neither—because, having little or no means, he could t be made to pay costs in case of Bradlaugh winning the action.* ich a litigant would not stick at trifles. In concert with his gal advisers, Newdegate, to forestall the friendly action, had the it ready for serving before Bradlaugh had voted. This, at

* Formally, Newdegate was bound to pay Bradlaugh's costs if Bradlaugh n, but had the fact of the maintenance never come out, it would have en an easy matter for Clarke to become bankrupt, and leave Bradlaugh no ress, while he himself could be privately reimbursed by Newdegate.

least, seems to be pretty clearly revealed by the extraordinary prevarications of Newdegate and his witnesses.

The case ended oddly. The jury, after being locked up for nearly an hour, intimated that they were not likely to agree; and the judge asked whether a majority verdict would be accepted. Bradlaugh offered to do so, but Newdegate's counsel declined. After nearly an hour more, however, the jury agreed on the verdict; and it was for the plaintiff, Clarke. It was understood that they had agreed to give their verdict by majority. Bradlaugh tersely remarked in his journal: "The ultimate verdict a little disappointed me: I had thought that I had won." Certainly the judge's summing-up had seemed to be in his favour.

As usual, he appealed. Like Ben Bolt in the novel, he was "bad to beat." He appealed for a new trial, on the ground that the verdict was "against the weight of the evidence." But that was not all. Newdegate, having confessed giving a bond of indemnity to Clarke, had laid himself open to a return action under a form of law, for the offence of "maintenance;" so on 27th July Bradlaugh accompanied Mr (now Sir) George Lewis, the famous solicitor, to Bow Street Police Court, where Mr Lewis moved for a summons against Newdegate, and another against his solicitor as accessory. The magistrate, Mr Flowers, was somewhat taken aback. "Is it not rather——" he began. "Yes," said Mr Lewis promptly; "and so is the action against Mr Bradlaugh. Mr Newdegate asks for strict law against Mr Bradlaugh, who now asks in return that strict law may also be enforced against Mr Newdegate." The summonses were granted.

Next day, 28th July, and on 1st August, Bradlaugh argued before Justices Grove and Lindley his motion for a new trial on the question of time in the Clarke case. Finally (8th August), after a request from the Court for affidavits had been followed by an extremely improper step on the part of Newdegate's solicitor, who actually sent some affidavits privately to Mr Justice Grove's house, the Judges gave a rule *nisi* for a new trial on the ground urged. This rule could not be argued till November, and if it were then made absolute the new trial could not take place till after Christmas, so that Newdegate was once more intercepted. The criminal summonses, on the other hand, did not come on till 20th September, for reasons which will appear in the next section, and when heard were dismissed by the magistrate, Mr Vaughan.

"He was of opinion that complainant had not shown that the maintenance of which he complained came within the meaning of the statute. Though the statutes of Richard II. and Henry VIII. did undoubtedly refer to crimes and imprisonment for maintenance, still it was most singular that no indictment could be found for violation of these statutes. It seemed to him that the proceeding was an obsolete one, and that the criminal law ought not to have been invoked for a purpose of this description, when it was open to Mr Bradlaugh . . . . to apply to the common law courts. . . . Old statutes had been searched out in order that proceedings—which he could not help thinking had been taken to gratify a very unfriendly feeling on Mr Bradlaugh's part—might be instituted in the hope that Mr Newdegate would be committed for trial."

The licence of general criticism taken by our magistrates has seldom been more strikingly exemplified; and no one but a prejudiced magistrate, probably, would have had the assurance to condemn a litigant for "unfriendly feeling" towards a declared enemy who had wantonly and zealously sought to ruin him.* The deliberate setting aside of the statutes as obsolete, too, while a civil action was admitted to lie, was an act of lenity to Mr Newdegate, contrasting favourably with the attitude of other judges towards Bradlaugh. But the fact that a civil action remained open was sufficient for Bradlaugh's purposes; and already Newdegate had begun to repent somewhat of his zeal. His costs were accumulating, and still the hoped-for prey was out of his reach. A circular was accordingly issued on his behalf by Captain Bedford Pim, who felt "strongly that Mr Newdegate, M.P., should not be allowed to suffer for his spirited and patriotic action against Atheism, and that some steps should be taken to bear him harmless in the struggle upon which he has so nobly entered."

§ 12.

In the interval between the issuing and the hearing of the summonses for maintenance, something more serious had occurred. When the Government had in May decided to postpone their Oaths Bill, Bradlaugh, while acquiescing perforce in the delay, had renewed his platform agitation with redoubled energy, pre-

* Mr Vaughan had twice previously given decisions against Bradlaugh, and both had been upset on appeal.

paratory to forcing a fresh contest on the House if need wer
The situation grew worse instead of better. Between 20th Jun
and 4th July he had had a formal correspondence with M
Gladstone on the subject. "You are aware," wrote Mr Gladston
declining the request for an interview, "to how considerable a
extent Liberal and public interests have been brought into pr
judice by untrue suppositions as to communication between yo
and the Government." Bradlaugh answered by a detailed state
ment of his action, which had been guided by a desire to avoi
embarrassing the Ministry; and Gladstone in reply acknowledge
this; but later (28th June) intimated that they proposed to tr
to close the Session early in August, and they could not hope t
carry any strongly controversial measure after the Land Bil
This intimation was made definite in a letter of 2nd July, an
Bradlaugh was once more left to his own devices. He chose h
course at once. First he addressed to the Speaker, under dat
4th July, a formal letter, setting forth his contention as to th
illegality of the House's action on 10th May. He was advise
among other things, that the excluding order of that date di
not authorise the Sergeant-at-Arms to use force, and that the us
of force to prevent his re-entry would be illegal.

"I beg therefore, sir," he went on, "most respectfully to give noti
that I claim to disregard the order of the House, ... and to treat t
same as not requiring obedience from me, on the ground that such ord
is absolutely illegal. . . . . In the name of the law, sir, and of m
constituents, I also most respectfully give notice that I shall, in t
manner and at the time provided by the standing orders of the Hous
again present myself at the table of the House, to complete the fulf
ment of the duty imposed on me by law."

On this declaration he set about acting. He had had no encourag
ment whatever to hope for justice save under pressure. Northco
who had no moral motive for his action, was open to no mo
appeal. To him Bradlaugh addressed a public letter (1st Ju
1881), which to-day needs neither adding to nor taking fro
After a recital of the facts, it ran :—

"At first, though I disagreed with you, I thought you honest, for y
had the repute of an honourable man, and you said that it was
from any desire to prevent my taking my seat, but from a desire
prevent the profanation of the oath, that you were prompted to act

did. You had been present in the House when John Stuart Mill
k the oath, and you raised no objection. You have been present in
House when other members, whose heresy is matter of common
ute, took the oath, and you have rested silent. Yet I counted
a fair English gentleman, and I believed your word in any case.
now, from your speeches outside the House, I find that you claim
ninder me from sitting in Parliament, whether by complying with
law as it now stands, or by means of any change which may be pro-
ed to meet your objection. At Manchester you justified your action
the ground that there was a general feeling in the country against
personally*—a dangerous argument, even if it were well vouched.
how is this feeling to be tested? Nearly all the meetings called
inst me have been lamentable failures, despite the most ridiculous
cautions. Almost every meeting called in my favour, and this
ether or not I have been personally present, has been an enthusiastic
cess.

And yet the very vilest means have been resorted to to damage me
he public mind. In your presence at Manchester, and without one
d of rebuke from you, one distinguished and noble member of your
ty repeated against me some of the utter falsehoods of the Varley
nphlet, although I had given you in writing my distinct assurance
he untruthfulness of much of that pamphlet. . . To make a show
inst me, petitions have been sent round the country to hundreds of
nday Schools, and little children by the score have been compelled
affix their signatures. Two petitions presented by yourself from
sgow and York contain hundreds of signatures of lads and girls
ler twelve years of age. Orange Lodges, Roman Catholic organisa-
ns, and the machinery of the English Church Associations have been
lised to procure signatures."

Northcote replied:—

"I cannot admit that there is any foundation for the charge of
gality which you make against the House of Commons. But I
st decline to enter into controversy with you upon the general
ject of your case. I can only say that I have acted from a sense of

---

* The essential unveracity of Northcote's political character is shown by
fact that after thus using the "numbers" argument against Bradlaugh,
himself solemnly denounced the principle. Speaking at Edinburgh in
4 (see Mr Lang's "Life," ii. 218) he said: "I am afraid that the
ernment will take far too much to the numerical principle, and if you
e to the principle of mere numbers, depend upon it you will be introduc-
the most dangerous change into the Constitution." Exactly what
dlaugh had said to him.

public duty, and from no personal motives; and that I see no rea for doubting the propriety of the course which I have pursued."

But even those Liberal members who had voted on his s were for the most part quietly acquiescent in the injustice do regarding a wrong to one "unpopular" man as a small matt The only member who persistently protested was Mr Labouche for whose courage and constancy throughout the whole struggle words of praise could be too high. In the circumstances there w nothing for it but to rouse the country, and this Bradlaugh did only he could. It is difficult now to realise the enormous amou of energy he had to spend. While his cases were pending in t higher courts, he was doing three men's work outside. Thus in t week 18th to 24th July we find him spending three days fighting case in the hot and crowded Court; holding three night meetings London; attending a Freethinker's funeral (where the sight the grief of the widow and children made him quite break dow speaking at a great demonstration of miners in the north; giv three lectures in South Shields; and holding a huge gathering the Free Trade Hall in Manchester. He knew he was draw terribly on a constitution which, though of a giant's strength, h for many years been doing giant's work; but he never flinched a battle while he had any strength left. His plan was to evok clear expression of feeling on behalf of his claim in all the la towns, to hold a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square, and then ag to present himself at the House; and if the House had b capable of looking at the issue half as reasonably as the c stituencies did, it would have been promptly settled. Where Bradlaugh went, he got unanimous votes in his favour. At stage he reckoned that out of a series of audiences amounting numbers to 75,000, only two hands had been held up against claim. It was wonderful to see how he swayed audiences aga their own prejudices. He must have been listened to by thousa of men who disliked him and his opinions equally; but t simply could not resist the appeal for a just judgment. I remember how, when he spoke in Edinburgh in 1881, he exto a vote from a general audience there. The body of the hall filled with middle-class citizens, few of whom had any symp with his propaganda, and many of whom must have stro resented his "notoriety;" in the gallery were a number of

udents, with the manners of their kind; and post-cards had been ely circulated with a view to an organised opposition. At the tset the students did their best, but Bradlaugh's voice rose easily ove their din; a quick repartee or two to their interruptions rned the laugh against them, and soon he was quietly listened .* At the close he made the usual call for a show of hands on s claim. As one of the promoters of the meeting, I was terested in watching the manner of the response; and I can still e the respectable church-going shopkeepers slowly and as it were mpulsorily raising their right hands at the call of the Atheist and epublican. Only some dozen, as far as I remember, voted "on e contrary." This was in an audience mainly unsympathetic. t Trafalgar Square, of course, he was in a dense army of thusiastic supporters, including many delegates from provincial wns. The Dublin *Freeman* then, owned by Mr E. D. Gray, and e organ of Mr Parnell's party, intimated beforehand that "no rge assembly can take place within a mile of Westminster Palace id the police will very summarily dispose of Mr Bradlaugh's gged followers." The police made no such attempt; and it was ell they did not, for the followers were neither ragged nor morous, and their blood was not just then very cool.

This was on 2nd August; it was on the next day that Brad-ugh again presented himself at the House; and then occurred the owning episode in the struggle—crowning alike in point of the astardliness of the tactic employed against him and the despera-on to which it momentarily moved him.

His unanswerable contention was that the House was bound to o something to settle the case. It ought either to declare his at vacant or take some course to permit of his sitting. To keep elected member out of his seat without disputing the validity his election was a course which only a majority of professed w-breakers could consistently take; and the resolution excluding m from the House was merely a puerile evasion by the majority the legislative problem they had raised. When, however, radlaugh presented himself afresh, that puerile policy was adhered , only in a fashion that developed puerility into brutality. The iberal Government acquiescing in the vote of the majority, the

* In this particular speech he used the phrase "that grand old man" of adstone. It was probably he who set the fashion.

matter was left to the police, who treated it as a police questi
some of them behaving with that exuberance of insolence a
ruffianism which they so often and so naturally bring to their ta
Their way of seizing him angered him in a way in which he h
never been angered before. A few extracts from the newspap
accounts of the time will suffice to tell what happened :—

"Mr Bradlaugh, after having waited till the Speaker had tak
the chair, claimed admission to the House. He was in the first pl
opposed by the regular officials. 'I am here,' he said, 'in accorda
with the orders of my constituents, the electors of Northampton ; a
any person who lays hands on me will do so at his peril !'" Attempti
to enter the House, he was seized by the messengers, but their resista
being insufficient to overcome the force they roused him to use,
police were called upon. "It was said by Inspector Denning that f
ordinary men certainly could not have expelled Mr Bradlaugh, a
that the ten constables, all remarkable for strength and activity, w
were engaged in forcing him down the lobby stairs, found their task
more arduous than they had expected." They had him by the thro
arms, and collar, and he had some of them in the same hold. "T
strong, broad, heavy, powerful frame was hard to move, with its ev
nerve and muscle strained to resist. . . . . The sight, little of it as
seen from the outside, soon became sickening. . . . . An almost dea
like pallor had spread over Mr Bradlaugh's sternly-set features ; he
gasping for breath, his body was bent, and he was in a state
exhaustion painful to see. His black frockcoat was much torn,
collar and shirt disarranged, and he himself in a condition of inte
mental excitement and bodily prostration. . . . . The Trafalgar Sq
phrase that this man might be broken but not bent occurred to mi
apprehensive at the present appearance of him. . . . . His face
deathly white, and there was about the mouth an expression of de
mination, which those who witnessed it cannot readily forget. O
borne by the desperate struggle, he fainted, but soon recovered w
water was brought to him."

When Bradlaugh appeared at the door in the grasp of the po
there was a cry of wrath from the assembled crowd, which tol
a source of "force" that might conceivably be tapped. At anot
door Mrs Besant stood, at the head of a mass of followers, w
hearing vaguely of what was happening, were urgent in t
demand to be let take the law in their own hands. A w
from her, a word from him, would have sent the multitude h
long into the House. They were not a chance London mob : t

cluded thousands of staunch working men from all parts of the untry, who had attended the demonstration the day before. ey were wroth with the callous iniquity that had been and was ing worked by the majority inside. And Bradlaugh, standing uised and shaken and insulted on the steps, hardly able to eathe, but with the fury of physical struggle still upon him, had a preme temptation. In his first anger, alluding to the brute force ed against him, he had said to Inspector Denning, "I shall come ain with force enough to overcome it;" but he did not carry out threat, though he might have done it on the instant. Had he t lifted his hand to beckon, the ten policemen would have been sed aside like chaff by the host of his infuriated friends; the use could have been stormed, and his enemies could have been ked wholesale into the river. With a supreme effort, he con-lled himself, and forbade all outbreak; proceeding further to go rough the form of trying again to enter the House, so that spector Denning should have to make a form of resistance, on ich he might found an action. It was well. But it is believed at there are still some who, perfectly recognising the superiority the course actually taken, can never wholly stifle, on retrospect, obscure and unreasoned but haunting wish that the multitude d taken its own way, sacked the House, and thrown, if not the eaker and his wig, at least Lord Randolph Churchill, and Sir fford Northcote, and Sir Henry Wolff, comrades three, into the ames, that ancient river and unclean.

The picture as it stands is memorable enough. I have been d that James Thomson the poet, the estranged friend of dlaugh's youth, was among those at the gates; that he turned e at the sight of the struggling group; and that his companions ld hardly withhold him by force from rushing to his old rade's help.

English gentlemen in general, of course, did not feel about the tter in that way. Bradlaugh told:—

On Wednesday last I saw more than 150 members of the House of mmons gathered to witness, for the first time in English history, cowardly and shameful use of overwhelming brute force in order prevent a duly-elected member of that House from complying h the law. Most of these members seemed to enjoy the scene; one, ntague Scott, climbed to the top of a pillar, so that he might have a d (and safe) view; another, Alderman Fowler, actually followed to

the very bottom of the stairs, encouraging with voice and gesture thos who were using force against law. A few, a very few members protested against this conduct towards one of their fellow-members."

Fowler had shouted "Kick him out." He afterwards denied doing so. Bradlaugh on this wrote:—

"I see that Alderman Fowler in his place in the House of Commons denies my statement. I can only say that it is quite impossible I can be mistaken, for I saw Alderman Fowler stand, occasionally making jeering gestures, for nearly ten minutes after this, within four or five feet from me while I was recovering from the exhausting effects of the struggle."

Others saw the same. Concerning Fowler it is not necessary to investigate: his denial may stand for what it is worth; but it is quite certain that scores of members had looked on gleefully. Such creatures can our "English gentlemen" become, under the inspiration of their religion and their politics.

Inside the House the matter was at once raised by Mr Labouchere, who moved as a matter of privilege that the resolution of 10th May only excluded Bradlaugh from the outer doors of the Chamber, and not from the lobbies, and that the officers of the House, in excluding him completely, had acted without authority. The Speaker stated that the officers had acted under his direction. Mr Gladstone lengthily argued that there were "three distinct grounds" on which it was to him "quite plain that the motion could not be sustained." Northcote naturally approved altogether of the Speaker's action. Sir Wilfred Lawson contrived, despite interruptions, to make a good fighting speech on the main question under cover of a proposed amendment, which turned out to be a motion for the rescinding of the resolutions of 26th April and 10th May. Mr Cowen invited the Government to say whether they would reintroduce their Oaths Bill next session, but no response was given; and the discussion drifted on in the usual wasteful way. Mr Biggar observed that on personal grounds he was indisposed to vote on Bradlaugh's side in the matter, because Bradlaugh had voted for the expulsion of Irish members earlier in the year, but he would vote against it as a bad precedent. The level of the debate was raised by a dignified speech from Bright, who irregularly appealed to the Opposition to think of what they were doing; whereupon Lord John Manners made the pragmatic reply that might have

been expected from that feudal personage. On the moving of an amendment approving what had been done, Gladstone diffusely intimated that it would be out of order for him to answer Mr Cowen's appeal. After much talk a vote was taken, when 7 voted for Mr Labouchere's motion and 191 for the amendment, a number of Radicals walking out to avoid voting. To the amendment, put as a substantive resolution, Mr Ashton Dilke moved a fresh amendment asserting the need for legislation, but this was disallowed as irrelevant. Sir Wilfred Lawson tried another, which fared no better. Mr Callan rose to explain that whereas Mr Bright had described Bradlaugh as being reduced to a fainting condition, he had put one of the officers in a far worse condition by his grip of that officer's throat—a statement which, despite its source, was not wholly untrue. Finally the resolution approving the course taken was allowed to pass, whereupon Mr Labouchere gave notice that he would again raise the main question on going into Committee of Supply.

§ 13.

Thus once more was the day of reckoning put off, the more decisively because an early result of the scuffle for Bradlaugh was a dangerous attack of erysipelas in the arm—the same arm which had suffered from the Tory bludgeons in 1878. He was able, indeed, though sorely shaken, to speak at the Hall of Science in the evening, when he appealed to his followers to avoid all violence. He was able to attend the law courts at Westminster on the 5th, when a House of Commons policeman, seeing him, fled indoors to give warning. On the same day Bradlaugh attended at the Westminster Police Court to apply to the magistrate, Mr D'Eyncourt, for a summons against Inspector Denning for the assault of the 3rd—not the ejection by the police, but the later formal resistance to Bradlaugh's entrance. This was a purely formal action, Bradlaugh having testified in his speech at the Hall of Science that Mr Denning personally had managed his unpleasant task with all possible consideration. The magistrate, laying significant stress on the action of the Speaker and of the House, declined even to grant the summons. One of his explanations was that "society has a right to protect itself against intrusion," and his tone throughout showed sufficient animus.

Having thus done what he could, Bradlaugh had to own himself disabled, and go to the seaside under medical treatment. On his arrival at Worthing, when he had wearily taken his place in the fly, a clergyman walked up, stared hard at him, and then said in a loud voice: "There's Bradlaugh; I hope they'll make it warm for him yet." The enemy in general behaved with their accustomed generosity. The *Irish Times* led the way with an intimation that he was malingering, stating further that the Irish members had opposed him because he "supported the Coercion Bill." The *North Star* repeated the charge of malingering with exuberant brutality. The *St James's Gazette* spoke of Bradlaugh as having behaved "like a drunken rough," further repeating the lie that he had "originally refused" to take the oath. Others rated him for his constant appearances in the law courts. The *Standard*, on being courteously asked to insert a letter correcting a misrepresentation, suppressed it. Liberals, professing to deprecate the course taken, yet palliated it; and Professor Thorold Rogers, among others, declared that nothing the House of Commons could do was illegal. The ministerial journals, of course, condemned him, telling him he had "lost friends" by his attempt. He was to sit still and wait till the Ministry should have the courage to make an Affirmation Bill a Cabinet question—a course which they refused from first to last to take, though it would at once have compelled their deserters to return to their allegiance. On this it may here suffice to say once for all, that the justification given for Gladstone's course in the matter simply serves to show how low are the standards of our "Christian" statesmanship down to the present day. The justification is that Gladstone was bound to refrain from "compromising his party by making the admission of the Atheist a Cabinet question. The good of the party must override the claims of justice. Mr Gladstone's memory is welcome to all the credit which such an argument will gain him from a posterity probably devoid of his sense of religious enlightenment. It will be a doubtful certificate of the foundations he claims for his morality, that while conscious of "bloodguiltiness" in the matter of the Transvaal, he declined to incur for conscience' sake the trivial and transient odium of having made justice to an Atheist a decisive demand as between him and certain of his followers. I am not here putting the opinion of Bradlaugh—whose chivalrous respect for Gladstone prevented him from passing any such criticism, whatever he may have thought in

his heart—but laying down what seems to me the only doctrine worthy of conscientious democrats.

It is satisfactory to be able to record that whilst the worst of the Tory and clerical party exulted in Bradlaugh's physical ejection, many religious men were moved by it to new sympathy with him. One esteemed Churchman wrote as follows:—

"After reading of the violence unjustly perpetrated on you yesterday by the order (or, at least, with the sanction) of a so-called Liberal majority, I desire, though an entire stranger to you, to offer you my sympathy. I never read anything which warmed me more than this account. If the present Cabinet does not secure your admission to the House in some way or other, I can only wish they may be turned out of office. The name of 'Christian' and the religion of 'Christ,' which *I* venerate, they make odious. As if Christianity could ever be *less* than common justice! I don't know what more I can do than say, 'Go on!' and 'Go in!' And if others feel as I do, you will be pushed into your place by a whole nation, with a much more irresistible force than has been used by a contemptible clique to keep you out.—I am, very respectfully and heartily, your well-wisher,

"E. D. GIRDLESTONE."

Needless to say, a number of Liberal journals, though less emphatically, protested likewise. All along, indeed, there were more voices for justice in the Liberal press than in the House, despite the common sense of a need to disclaim sympathy with the wronged man's "opinions." On the other hand, a number of pious persons, none giving their names, but all stating that they were Christians, wrote to assure the disabled man that he was going to hell. One promised to help him thither by shooting him if he again tried to take his seat. Two wrote that they prayed he might not recover, and many imbeciles sent tracts and religious books.

Of another order was the enmity of Sir Henry Tyler, who, feeling now safe in Bradlaugh's enforced absence, made an attack in the House of Commons on the Hall of Science science-classes and their teachers—an attack which he might have made while Bradlaugh sat, but did not. The argument was that science classes taught by atheists should be excluded from the South Kensington system. Of the teachers, three were women, viz. Mrs Besant and the Misses Bradlaugh; and as even the pious majority did not care to back up such an outrageous attack, it

came to nothing. Mr Mundella, the Minister concerned, even went out of his way to vindicate the classes; and the press mostly supported him. As a matter of course, the classes had been taught on strictly scientific lines.

In a few weeks from the date of his injury Bradlaugh was about again, lecturing, and speaking at demonstrations. His doctor advised him to go abroad, but he had his law cases before him, and felt he must buckle to work. At the beginning of September he published a fresh appeal "to the people," and on the 5th of that month he spoke at a potters' demonstation at Hanley despite continued suffering in the arms. In his own journal, too he once more took up the cause of Ireland—which indeed had all along been advocated in its columns—disregarding entirely the treatment he had had at the Irish members' hands. But stiffer work was before him, in the trial of his appeal against the decision of Justices Denman and Watkin Williams, on the legal or technical point, as to the validity of a writ dated on the day of the ground of action. This appeal was argued before Lord Coleridge and Lords Justices Baggallay and Brett, on 12th and 14th November partly on different lines from those gone upon in the first instance. Bradlaugh was complimented by the judges on his "able and ingenious argument;" and the discussion between him and them is indeed a very pretty piece of high-class legal fencing. Sir Hardinge Giffard, who throughout these cases makes no great show as a pleader, did not attempt to deal with the most difficult point at all, and his junior did still worse; but their lordships dealt with it fully and carefully; and Bradlaugh handsomely acknowledged their rectitude, though they decided against him. His first care was to make sure that the plaintiff should not be allowed to tax his costs until final judgment on the other appeal to the House of Lords; and this was granted. The wolves were thus still kept at bay.

Next came on the pleading on the rule *nisi* for a new trial on the point of fact as to whether Clarke's writ (which specified no act of voting) had not been issued before the act of voting on which it was afterwards formally founded. This was heard on 2nd and 3rd December by Justices Denman and Hawkins, who went into the details with minute circumspection. Bradlaugh explained that his argument involved a charge of wilful perjury against James Stuart, the clerk employed by Newdegate's solicitor

who had been a principal witness in the previous trial. He further pointed out that Newdegate's secretary, Hobley, had given a hopeless set of contradictions in cross-examination; and after the notes of that evidence had been read, Mr Justice Denman observed: "I am bound to say that after the searching cross-examination, which no counsel could have conducted more ably, it is hardly wonderful that Mr Hobley was very confused." It required no more than the reading of the rest of the evidence to satisfy the judges that the case for a new trial was fully made out; and they stopped Bradlaugh in his argument to say so. In regard to the special point of the time of the division in which he voted, the actual evidence of reporters was against Bradlaugh, making it earlier than he did; but when the judges checked his calculations they could find nothing wrong with them; and the evidence discrediting that of Stuart was too strong to be dismissed. After a good deal of vacillation, Clarke and Newdegate decided to appeal against the decision allowing a new trial, Newdegate in particular having reason to avoid one if possible.

§ 14.

Northcote's excluding resolution of 10th May being only valid for the session in which it was passed, Bradlaugh was free to enter the House as before, on the first day of the new session. He announced his intention to do so; and on the day of re-assembling he kept his word. In the interim an incessant discussion on the case had been going on in the press and on the platform. Tory speakers, as a rule, alluded to him with insult, sometimes of the basest description. One, Lord Ebrington, described him as a person who, but for a legal quibble, "would be in jail at this moment for publishing an obscene, indecent book." Another, Mr Orr-Ewing, spoke of Bradlaugh as circulating "filthy books, calculated to . . . . drag hundreds down as low as the brute beasts that perish." Most of the Tory speakers dwelt either on his having "first refused to take the oath" or "obtruded his views in the House," or "declared the oath would not bind his conscience;" and scarcely one omitted to add untruth to insult. The "profanation of the oath" was never alluded to without a shudder. On the Liberal side some members altruistically urged upon Bradlaugh to stand aside "for a few years" to let opinion ripen; and of the many who spoke in favour of his admission nearly all

thought it necessary to disclaim with "pity" or "abhorrence" all sympathy with his opinions. Of all these disclamatory gentlemen there was not one whose name had then, or has now, the slightest philosophic authority; but though one or two admitted that they did not know the nature of the opinions which they all the same disclaimed, none seems to have been moved to avow that the subject was beyond his capacity.

Throughout the country, as all along, Liberal opinion was in advance of the action of the majority in the House; but the *Times* carefully suppressed the reports of meetings held in Bradlaugh's favour, and even of friendly allusions in members' speeches; and the *Daily News* at times exhibited equivalent traces of the ownership of Mr Samuel Morley. On the other hand, the cause of justice had some unexpected adherents. Lord Derby, speaking at the Liverpool Reform Club, frankly avowed that he "utterly disbelieved in the value of political oaths," and expressed a hope that no further attempt would be made to prevent Bradlaugh from taking the oath if he wanted to. Some groups of dissenting clergy, too—in particular the Unitarians—petitioned for the abolition of the oath or the permission of affirmation. But as against the possible gain from such declarations there was to be set the systematic and energetic hostile action of the Church of England. One Diocesan Conference passed a resolution calling on Churchmen in both Houses of Parliament to resist any measure which would admit "professed infidels" into Parliament. There was no objection to the admission of infidels who were not "professed." Another interesting exhibition of Conservative ethics came from Mr Gorst, Q.C., who, at a banquet at Chichester, in presence of the Dean, avowed that "he was not a person who pretended to have any great horror of the offence of bribery." Bradlaugh, who took a different view, had earlier taken occasion to speak of another of his assailants as a political scoundrel, in respect of being a convicted briber.

On the 7th of February 1882, when Bradlaugh as before presented himself at the table of the House, he was as before interrupted by Sir Stafford Northcote, who made his customary motion. This time, however, it was rested on the ground that Bradlaugh had admitted himself to be a person of a class on whom the law declared an oath had "no binding effect." Thus the Opposition stood explicitly on the nefarious application of an

ambiguous legal formula, which, as has been above shown, was not at all framed to carry the meaning thus put upon it. On this occasion nothing seems to have been said by the Tory leader in his opening speech about "profanation."

Bradlaugh withdrew to the bar pending the discussion, and Sir William Harcourt, in Gladstone's absence, briefly moved the previous question. Newdegate followed with an imbecile speech, which supplied a useful measure of the minds of those who had supported him throughout the country. He pointed to the history of France, protested against the proposed Channel Tunnel, and argued that to admit Bradlaugh would be "to destroy the distinctions between the basis of government in the two countries." Further,

"let them compare the condition of the two countries. While the wealth and the population of France were stationary, and the prestige of her arms was gone, England's wealth had increased and her kingdom expanded into empire. The fundamental difference between the two countries was this—that in the coronation oath taken by the Sovereign, and in the oath taken by members of both Houses of Parliament, a Deity was recognised, and the people venerated the obligation. There was but one other country in the world besides England that had not been conquered or had not suffered from revolution, and that was Russia. . . . Both countries based the claim of their Government to the respect of their subjects upon the Word of God. The United States had not adopted that system, and they had seen a civil war and two Presidents murdered there."

Bradlaugh was then allowed to make his Third Speech at the Bar. He struck briefly but sufficiently at the speech of Newdegate; and once more nailed down the eternal misrepresentation as to his having "paraded his opinions." When he reminded the House that his letter of 20th May was outside the House, and that he had objected to the Committee taking cognisance of it, the Opposition laughed. He reminded them that judges give a silent hearing to a man pleading his case. "If you are unfit to be judges, then do not judge." Again he put the plain dilemma: "If what I did entitles the House not to receive me, why has not the House had the courage of its opinions and vacated the seat?" Then came a graver challenge:—

"I have read within the last few days words spoken, not by members of no consequence, but by members occupying high positions in this

House, which made me wonder if this is the House of Commons to which I aspired so much. I have read that one right hon. member, the member for Whitehaven*—(laughter from the Ministerial side)—was prompted to say to his constituents that I was kicked downstairs last session, and that he hoped I should be again. If it were true that I was kicked downstairs, I would ask the members of the House of Commons on whom the shame, on whom the disgrace, on whom the stigma? I dare not apply this, but history will when I have mouldered, and you too, and our passions are quite gone. But it is not quite true that I was kicked downstairs, and it is a dangerous thing to say that I was, for it means that hon. members who should rely on law rely on force. It is a dangerous provocation to conflict to throw to the people. If I had been as wicked in my thought as some members are reported to have been in their speech, this quarrel, not of my provoking, would assume a future to make us all ashamed."

As the speech went on, he came into more and more sharp conflict with his antagonists.

"Does the House," he asked, "mean that it is a party to each oath taken? ('Hear.') There was a time when most clearly it was not so a party. There was a time when the oath was not even taken in the presence of members at all. But does the House mean it is a party now? Was it a party the session before last? Was it a party when Mr Hall† walked up to that table, cheered by members on the other side who knew his seat was won by deliberate bribery?—(loud Opposition cries of 'Order')—bribery sought to be concealed by the most corrupt perjury. Did the House join in it? (Renewed cries of 'Order.') If the House did not join in it, why did you cheer so that the words of the oath were drowned? Was the House a party when John Stuart Mill sat in this House?"

After repeating his former explicit declaration that the words of adjuration would in no way weaken the binding effect of the promise on his honour and conscience, he was met by jeers, and he began: "Members of the House who are ignorant of what is honour and conscience," meaning to add "in the case of a non-religionist" or words to that effect. He was again interrupted by loud cries of "Order" and "Withdraw" from the men who had just been insulting him *en masse*. He asked to be allowed to finish his sentence but was still interrupted by the mob of hon. gentlemen on the

---

* Mr Cavendish Bentinck.
† Elected for Oxford.

Opposition benches. "These," he cried, pointing at the rowdies, "these are my judges." There was a silence, and he went on. His blood was up, and he spoke at greater length than before, dwelling among other things on the scene of August, and indignantly rebuking those who had exulted in it. In conclusion, he offered to stand aside for four or five weeks if the House would in that time discuss an Affirmation Bill. Nay, if they feared to make it a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, he would resign his seat and stand for re-election. The Liberals cheered at this, and he ended: "I have no fear. If I am not fit for my constituents, they shall dismiss me, but you never shall. The grave alone shall make me yield."

Mr Labouchere, speaking next, stated that he had had sent him over 750 fresh petitions, signed by about 170,000, in favour of Bradlaugh being allowed to take his seat, and that other Liberal members had received petitions signed by about 100,000 more. He proceeded to challenge Northcote to abide by his own declaration of the previous year, that the question should be legislated on by the Government; and Northcote rose to make a second speech. He too, he averred, had received many petitions, and among others one from Northampton, "signed by 10,300 persons, giving their occupations and addresses"—a manifest prevarication, inasmuch as many of the 10,000 must have been the wives and children of the Tory electors.* On the Government amendment he objected to "profanation of the oath;" and as to the obstruction of the Oaths Bill last session, he reminded the Government that though they had certainly been somewhat obstructed, they might at any later time have put the Bill first on a Government night. As before, however, the Tory leader declined to make any "bargain." Gladstone replied, pointing out that it had been quite impossible for the Ministry to push the Oaths Bill as suggested, and declining to promise that the Government would give precedence to an Oaths Bill. They should let Bradlaugh swear, and take his chances in the law courts as before. On this theme he rang the changes, without much energy. After a number of

* Bradlaugh noted later in his journal that the petition was "alleged to be signed by 10,300 freemen of Northampton." This, he remarked, "cannot possibly be true, as the freemen do not amount to that number." They really numbered about 300! It turned out that thousands of the signatures were those of school-children.

minor speeches the House divided, when there voted for Northcote's resolution 286, and for the previous question only 228. Such a vote served to dispose of the view which had been advanced by some Liberals, that the minority of 26th April 1881 was due to the absence of many of their party who were prolonging their holidays while all the Tories were in town for Beaconsfield's funeral. Some seventy "Liberals" had now deliberately stayed away (among them being Mr Goschen, Sir John Lubbock, Sir E. Reed, and Sir A. Gordon), while the whole Parnellite members present voted with the Tories. Five Scotch, eight Irish, and fifteen English Liberals did the same, among the latter being Mr Samuel Morley and Sir Edward Watkin.

Immediately on the vote being announced, and the question being put, Bradlaugh presented himself afresh, refusing as formerly to obey the resolution. The usual appeal from the Speaker elicited the usual motion from Northcote, which being carried, Bradlaugh said: "It would be undignified in me to indulge in any other kind of contest on the floor. I respectfully obey the House, and withdraw below the bar." The struggle was now apparently reduced to something like a recognised set of moves, all of which had been made and might be in due course made again; and Bradlaugh for the present was left to attend every meeting of the House, sitting beyond the bar, but without the power of voting or speaking.

Bradlaugh at once appealed to his constituents to choose whether or not he should resign; and they promptly decided that he should not; while some thirty indignation meetings were held throughout the country within a week, all condemning the action of the House of Commons. The law advisers of the Crown further formally declared on challenge that the seat was not vacant; and Bradlaugh wrote Gladstone, formally asking whether he was prepared to do anything. Gladstone on 18th February formally replied that he was not. Bradlaugh then took a new step, forcing the question on the House more determinedly than ever.

On Monday, 20th February, Mr Labouchere formally moved in the House that a new writ be issued for Northampton, seeing that Bradlaugh had been prevented from taking the oath and his seat. Churchill moved to amend the motion by substituting a description of Bradlaugh as "disqualified." The Attorney-General formally

opposed, and the perplexed Northcote did likewise, being guided by the sole fact that the motion was proposed by Bradlaugh's friendly colleague. After a debate, in which Northcote was dishonest enough to assert once more that Bradlaugh had "claimed" to be "a person on whose conscience the oath was not binding," the amendment was negatived, as was the proposition that the words proposed to be left out should be left in. The resolution was thus left at a stand at the word "who;" and on the unfinished sentence the House proceeded to divide. When it seemed as if the "Noes" would "have it" without a division, Bradlaugh moved from his seat and stood at the bar; but on Mr Labouchere's challenging a division he returned. On the vote being taken there were 307 "Noes" to 18 "Ayes." The House thus explicitly refused to decide that the seat should be vacated, though they were all the while preventing it from being taken.

Bradlaugh was once more at the bar when the tellers announced the figures. Immediately he walked up the floor to the table, members looking on without excitement, counting on a repetition of the old scene. But this time "the scene was changed." While members waited for the usual action of the Speaker, it suddenly dawned on them that Bradlaugh had a book in his hand —it was the regulation "New Testament"—and was taking the oath of his own accord! He had gone through the whole mummery before the excited House could collect its faculties, and he duly finished by subscribing a written oath on a sheet of paper with a pocket pen. The Speaker was on his feet; the Clerk had come half-way to meet Bradlaugh; and Northcote had risen to speak, and sat down again, speechless. The Speaker mechanically called on Bradlaugh, as usual, to withdraw below the bar. He did so, but in doing it announced that he should return and take his seat, which he did, seating himself on a back bench. The Speaker solemnly charged him with disobedience, to which Bradlaugh blandly responded that he had obeyed them, and had taken his seat in addition, having first taken the oath. On the Speaker insisting, however, he once more withdrew beyond the bar, sitting under the gallery as before. Churchill, collecting himself more promptly than his leader, argued that Bradlaugh, having taken his seat "without taking the oath," "was as dead," and moved that the seat be declared vacant. The Attorney-General professionally pointed out that to vacate the seat under

the statute the offending member must vote or sit during a debate. He suggested that the House had better adjourn the discussion, which it did after much further speech-making, in the course of which Churchill declared that Bradlaugh had "deliberately insulted the House," not for the first time; other members of similar dignity speaking to similar effect.

Next day the debate was resumed. Gladstone made a long and scrupulously bland speech, in the course of which he endured much contradiction of those who thought him insufficiently zealous for the honour of Omnipotence, concluding by saying that he left it to the majority to act for themselves. Northcote was laboriously indignant, and lengthily led up to a motion "that the Sergeant-at-Arms be instructed to prevent Bradlaugh from entering the precincts of the House," which motion, on the correction of the Speaker, he converted into an amendment to that of Churchill. A dispute arose on behalf of Dr Lyons, who had on the previous night given notice of a more drastic motion, but had not "caught the Speaker's eye" when he rose before Northcote. Then the debate drifted on; some members drivelling, some ranting, some platitudinising. At length Churchill's motion was negatived, whereupon Dr Lyons proposed his declaring Bradlaugh incapable of sitting, as an amendment to Northcote's. The pious Lyons was of opinion that "behind the particular issue there lay a great moral question," which, however, he did not specify. Again the debate rolled on. At length it was noticed that Bradlaugh had once more taken his seat within the House. The Speaker challenged him, and Bradlaugh began to explain that he proposed to "ask the indulgence of the House," when his voice was drowned in yells of "Order." The Speaker then solemnly charged him afresh with disobedience, and called "the attention of the House to that circumstance." Gladstone rose in response to calls; but the Speaker hastily interposed to call upon Bradlaugh to withdraw beyond the bar, which he did, formally protesting. Gladstone blandly observed that there was now no disobedience to deal with, and that it was not incumbent on him to do anything. Northcote arose in a state of ostensible but flabby indignation, and declared that "he must say there was a limit" to his "very moderate line." He now proposed to withdraw his amendment and substitute a motion of expulsion. Gladstone suavely intimated that he should not object to the withdrawal of the amendment, and Dr Lyons was

induced to withdraw his likewise. The motion for expulsion, on the ground that Bradlaugh had, "in contempt of the authority of the House, irregularly and contumaciously pretended to take the oath," was then put, and Gladstone intimated in a period that he would not oppose. Mr Labouchere dropped the very apt remark that "he had always found that when the House was exercising judicial functions it got into an unjudicial frame of mind," and pointed out that Bradlaugh's action had been taken to obtain a case for legal judgment, and could not reasonably be termed "insulting." On a division, 291 voted for the amendment proposing expulsion and 83 against; some Liberals salving their consciences with the formula that "the House must maintain the authority of the chair."

A new point was raised by the intimation of one of the tellers that Bradlaugh had voted in the division. He had thereby completed the legal circumstances for a test case. The Speaker again asked for instructions, but Northcote, rather than begin a fresh debate, let the matter pass. Then arose the question, energetically put by Mr Storey, whether Bradlaugh should not be heard afresh in his defence; but this too had to be dropped. On the substantive motion being put, 297 voted with Northcote, and 80 against; and a motion for a new writ was at once agreed to by Mr Labouchere.

§ 15.

Not only his constituents, but the people generally, gave Bradlaugh their instant and warm support. At a great Sunday meeting at Manchester, to which hundreds of men had trudged many miles through the rain in the early morning, over hills and moors, from the country round, some of them only to find the hall full to the door, he had a reception which brought tears to his eyes. At Northampton, of course, the struggle was desperate. Mr Samuel Morley, bent on making reparation to his Deity for his one act of rational tolerance, followed up his many Tory votes by a letter to the Northampton Nonconformists, asking them to vote for the Tory candidate as an "act of allegiance to God;" but, on the other hand, the Radical Association of Bristol (the town for which he sat), who had by this time, after twice hearing Bradlaugh, determined to unseat their

member, sent 3000 copies of an address begging the Northampton electors to return Bradlaugh by an overwhelming majority of votes. A meeting of delegates from some scores of workmen's clubs in London sent down 10,000 copies of a similar appeal. When Bradlaugh went down, thousands of people lined the streets to see him pass to say a few words in the Market Square. Radicals came from other towns to help in the canvassing, and Mr Labouchere gave his powerful aid. The Tories, on their part, did their utmost, using, if possible, viler weapons than before; and meantime they had been adding every possible vote to the register. The insolence of the Tory candidate to the workers was such that several of his meetings were broken up. The outcome of desperate efforts was that Corbett, the Tory, received rather more of the new votes than Bradlaugh, the figures being 3796 to 3688, a majority for Bradlaugh of 108 (2nd March 1882). In the fury of despair, the Tories had demanded a re-count of the votes, but this had only altered the majority by three. The betting fraternity, who had mostly laid their money on the side of "religion," were naturally enraged; and Corbett was reported to say on leaving, "I shan't come back to your dirty town any more." When the news spread, the fury did. One academic ruffian wrote in the *Saturday Review* :—

"The average Northampton elector and the rascal who shot at the Queen, while the average Northampton elector was voting for Mr Bradlaugh, probably acted from motives not dissimilar in kind, though the acts to which those motives led differed in degree of heinousness."

Journals which had predicted that Bradlaugh would be defeated, now propagated the lie that he had been carried by terrorism—their own terrorism having failed. By the workers in general the news was received with delight; in most towns it was waited for on the evening of the election with intense excitement, and acclaimed with unbounded enthusiasm. The House of Commons, however, was not to be turned from its evil courses.

On 4th March Northcote notified Bradlaugh of his intention to take the same course as formerly if he presented himself, and to make a motion on the writ if he did not. Bradlaugh replied, saying he presumed the motion would be one to promote the legislation which Northcote had often said ought to take place. "I congratulate you," he concluded, "on the return of at least

yourself to some respect for the law, and beg to assure you that I shall in such case do my best to help you to avoid further embittering a conflict of which I am sure you must feel heartily ashamed." On Monday, 6th March, Northcote asked the Speaker whether the resolution of 7th February was still in force, and was answered in the negative. He was proceeding to say he would make a motion, when successive protests against the interruption were made by Mr Labouchere and Mr Dillwyn. The Speaker overruled both, and Northcote moved that Bradlaugh, should he present himself, be not allowed to take the oath. On the Liberal side, Mr E. Marjoribanks (now Lord Tweedmouth) moved as an amendment a resolution that it was desirable so to alter the law as to permit any elected member to take the oath or make affirmation, at his choice. With the worst of bad taste, Mr Marjoribanks, who had before declared his preference for decorous hypocrisy, went on to explain that he was "one of the very large section of that House who regarded Mr Bradlaugh's conduct both within and without that House with something very like disgust and indignation," and to describe the recent oath-taking as an "unworthy manœuvre"—a display of class hatred which may serve to suggest the nature of the feeling on the Tory side. Mr Labouchere, after defending his colleague, undertook for him that if the amendment were carried he would not present himself until a decision was come to. Gladstone formally approved of the amendment; but after a long debate of the usual kind, it received only 244 votes against 259, to the wild delight of the Opposition. Twelve Liberals, including Mr S. Morley, Mr Torrens, and Mr Walter; and twenty-six Home Rulers, including Mr M'Carthy and Mr Sexton, had voted with Northcote.

The Liberal press was now nearly unanimous for legislation and even the *Pall Mall Gazette* went so far as to say: "All that is wanted is that the Government should pluck up a little more moral courage, and recognise that even in practice honesty is the best policy." In the foreign press, the general judgment was that the House of Commons was systematically disgracing itself. The Government, however, proposed nothing, leaving the Oaths Bill in the hands of the "disgusted" Mr Marjoribanks; while in the Upper House Lord Redesdale had on 7th March introduced a Bill providing that a declaration of Theism should be compulsory

on all members of Parliament and peers. This measure, he explained, he introduced "from a deep sense of what was due to Almighty God." A little later, on its discussion, his lordship withdrew it "in deference to Lord Salisbury."

Bradlaugh, on his part, after consultation with his committee in Northampton, and after publishing a telling "Address to the Majority" for general circulation, decided that his future course must be one of systematic agitation in the constituencies. The Constitutional Rights League was reconstituted; an election fund was begun for the purpose of contesting certain seats held by renegade Liberals; and in these constituencies the Radicals quietly went about the work of making them untenable. Already a Liberal candidate had been defeated on the score of the insolence of his language towards Bradlaugh's supporters, Mr Samuel Morley had been called upon by the Bristol Radical Association to resign; other members had been sharply censured in their constituencies; and it was plain that it only needed time to ensure the unseating of most of the renegades. For the present nothing was to be hoped for from the Government; and a fresh notice by Mr Labouchere of a motion for leave to introduce an Affirmation Bill was blocked by Earl Percy. Thus the men who shrieked against "profanation" resisted all the while every attempt to make oath-taking by unbelievers unnecessary. Finally, a petition by the Northampton electors to be heard at the bar of the House was dismissed by the Speaker as unentitled to a hearing; and a notice of motion on the subject by Mr Firth never got to a hearing. There was clearly nothing for it but to carry war into the renegades' country. On the subject of the Speaker's action generally, Bradlaugh contented himself with penning a very temperate but very weighty paragraph:*—

"I am just a little troubled how to decide one or two points. The Speaker of the House of Commons is the first commoner in England and his judgment on the various points from time to time submitted to him is practically without appeal. It is impossible to suspect him of intentional unfairness; he is a clear-sighted and courteous gentleman. Yet some of his decisions seem so conflicting that I fail in understanding how he reconciles them to himself. On the 21st February he held that Mr Labouchere was entitled, under the then circumstances

* *National Reformer*, April 2, 1882.

: of privilege, to move for a new writ for Northampton. On the 24th
Iarch, under precisely similar circumstances, Mr Speaker ruled that
ich a motion could not be made as one of privilege. On the 6th
Iarch, without any reason given whatever, except that I might come
me time or other, the Speaker allowed Sir S. Northcote to raise
e question of my right to my seat as one of privilege; but the
peaker now refuses to allow Mr Labouchere to raise as one of privilege
e fact that one of the seats for Northampton is now in fact unfilled.
n the 15th February the Speaker held that the resolution of the 7th
ebruary, which is directly in the teeth of the Standing Order of 30th
pril 1866, does not conflict with that order. On the 9th day of
Iarch he held that the resolution of the 6th March, which does not
y one word about my coming to the table to take my seat, does so
revent my coming to the table, and that the same resolution, which
oes not mention my introducers or in any way forbid them introducing
e, does in point of fact so act as a prohibition that he will hold any
tempt to introduce me as disorderly and irregular. When my con-
ituents wrote him, the Speaker answered that they must approach
e House by petition. When they do approach by petition, he rules
at their application has no privilege."

he dilemma, as between imputing to Sir Henry Brand unfairness,
id pronouncing him to have failed in his duty, must be left here
Bradlaugh left it.

§ 16.

All the while the manifold litigation set up by the action of
e House was moving on its slow way. The appeal of Clarke
ainst the judgment of Justices Denman and Hawkins allowing
new trial had been heard on 21st February by Lords Justices
rett, Cotton, and Holker (the latter newly appointed), and these
dges ruled that no new trial could take place, thus reversing the
cision appealed against.

An independent comment on this judgment, which appeared in
e *Pall Mall Gazette* at the time, may be here cited :—

"The Court of Appeal holds that they [the Judges of the Queen's
nch Division] ought to have closed their eyes to everything but the
rtial evidence given at the trial, some of which at all events both the
urt of Appeal and the Court below pronounced to be unsatisfactory.
r does it seem perfectly fair to make so much as Lord Justice Brett
es of the imputation of perjury to one of Mr Newdegate's witnesses.
e Lord Justice himself admits that there were blemishes in his

testimony, and that he 'somewhat prevaricated and coloured his evidenc etc. We fail to see 'the enormous difference' between evidence of th character and perjury, at least for the purpose of such an action. a man is to be condemned in a penal action he has a right to insi that it shall be on perfectly honest and straightforward eviden only."

The curious reader who cares to form his own opinion on th subject of the evidence referred to will do well to turn to th verbatim report preserved in the *National Reformer*.

The Clarke-Newdegate combination seemed now to see their wa partly clear to their great end of making Bradlaugh bankrup On 29th March they moved before Justice Grove and Barc Huddleston for judgment—that is, for power to compel Bradlaug to pay the penalty sued for and the costs. Bradlaugh admitte that at that stage he could not resist a judgment for the penalt but resisted the motion so far as it claimed costs. To this th judges agreed; and on 30th March they gave judgment for th penalty, but reserved the costs pending the appeal to the House Lords. Bradlaugh had thus to pay £500 into Court within fou teen days. Already, too, he had had to give securities f £500 on the appeal to the House of Lords, in addition to th £200 he had paid down according to rule. For these heavy pa ments he had to go into debt, his normal means of earni his livelihood being in part suspended by the very lawsui themselves.

In course of the arguments on the plaintiff's appeal it w noticeable that Justice Grove pointed to the possibility of action against Newdegate for maintenance, and, on Bradlaug mentioning that the magistrate had dismissed the summons against Newdegate and his solicitor on the ground that the la was obsolete, observed, "But it is by no means obsolete. I s aside an agreement for maintenance only a little while ago."

Another item was added to the imbroglio of litigation by th friendly action of Alderman Gurney of Northampton, on beha of the Liberal and Radical Union there, against Bradlaugh f not taking his seat—a step taken by way of getting a legal deliv ance. Bradlaugh formally demurred that he had been illegal hindered by the House of Commons. When the case came on b fore Justices Manisty and Watkin Williams on 15th May 188 the judges warily declined to give any judgment, on the score th

e action was friendly, that the pleadings had been drawn so as to mpel a decision in Bradlaugh's favour, and did not disclose all e facts of the case. Yet they excluded no material fact; and a endly action for a precisely similar penalty had been heard and cided before in the historic case of Miller *v.* Salomons, while, a solicitor wrote to Bradlaugh, "it is a matter of everyday currence in the Chancery Division for friendly actions to be ought to get a judicial decision on questions arising out of settle- nts, etc." In the present case it seemed pretty clear that the lges were simply very much concerned not to come in conflict h the legislature. The pleadings were however readjusted, l the case stood for re-hearing before a jury.

Still another complication was perforce set up by an action ought by Bradlaugh in April against Mr Erskine, the Deputy rgeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons, for the assault of 3rd gust—a step made necessary by the police magistrate's refusal a summons against Inspector Denning for his formal assault; l by the risk, which was soon realised, that the Gurney action uld be denied a hearing. The matter being brought before the use on 8th and 9th May, the Attorney-General was directed to end Mr Erskine, Sir Hardinge Giffard suggesting that those who sted in bringing such an action should be prosecuted according ld precedents for breach of privilege. Such a prosecution, if , would have struck at Messrs Lewis & Lewis, Bradlaugh's citors in the matter, and at the committee of the Constitu- al Rights League, who had also instructed them.

And yet one more step in this bewildering litigation was taken 9th May, when Bradlaugh moved before Lords Justices Brett Cotton for leave to appeal against so much of the three orders he Court of Appeal, dated 31st March 1881, 14th November 1, and 23rd February 1882, as awarded costs. The application of a highly technical character, and was dismissed, everything g now left to the House of Lords when it should hear the al.

§ 17.

he agitation in the constituencies was carried on throughout spring and summer with an energy worthy of the cause. In tion to the crowded meetings which he held in dozens of the r provincial towns, the Constitutional Rights League arranged

for three more great demonstrations in London—two on 10th M and one on Sunday, 14th May. On the 10th was held, first, an mense mass meeting in Trafalgar Square, attended by delega from over a hundred towns, and addressed by, among ot speakers, the Rev. Mr Freeston of Stalybridge, Mr Ashton Dil Mr Labouchere, and Mr Broadhurst; and in the evening a secc audience packed St James's Hall to the doors. On the Sun an enormous mass meeting took place in Hyde Park, the attenda being estimated at 70,000 or 80,000. At all of these meeti Bradlaugh's claim was affirmed with the greatest enthusiasm. attitude of the Tory press may be gathered from a reference in *Evening Standard* to

"that section of the people which holds Mr Bradlaugh's coat-tails veneration. They would get to Westminster, see the fun, shout encouragement, and possibly pick up something to pay the expenses the expedition."

An earlier demonstration, held in the Shoreditch Town Hall 8th May, presided over by Mr Broadhurst and addressed by Br laugh and Labouchere, received no notice in the leading morn papers, though the crowd which sought admittance would h sufficed to fill the hall thrice over. It was necessary for s journals to ignore such matters as much as possible, since the m plea on the Tory side had now come to be that the public feel was "universally" against Bradlaugh. To suppress the facts, a then to deny that the facts existed, was a natural tactic.

Naturally the Tories on their own part were not idle, either the House or out of it. In the House they were safe from ans by Bradlaugh; and accordingly Sir Henry Tyler, who had alre distinguished himself by a dastardly attack on the ladies of " Bradlaugh family" and Mrs Besant as being unfit teachers Science,* was foolish enough to call upon the Home Secreta during May, to prosecute the *National Reformer* for blasphe on the score, not of any editorial utterances, but of certain arti by an outside contributor, controverting, as too favourable,

* A question put to Mr Mundella on 18th June in the House elicited fact that the Hall of Science classes had been established, and received gra under the late Tory administration. On this Lord George Hamilton petty enough to put the blame on his subordinates. Mr Mundella answe that for his part he was responsible for anything done by his subordinate

imate of the Gospel Jesus by a member of the staff. Sir Henry s no less zealous for Jesus than he had been for "God;" and was backed by Mr Healy, who asked whether the paper ıld not be seized. The Home Secretary deprecated the attempt the name of the interests of orthodoxy, as he had previously ıe an attempt to secure a prosecution of the *Freethinker*. But ler and those of his kidney, baffled here, only looked about for ther means of gaining their point.

Among the most prominent of the attacks made on Bradlaugh ut this time were the (second and third) articles contributed by rdinal Manning to the *Nineteenth Century*, one under the title "An glishman's Protest." The second was in time for the election in rch, and much was hoped from it. Later, after illegally visiting rthampton in prelatic state, to turn the Irish voters against the ıeist, he contributed yet a third article to the *Nineteenth Century* September 1882; and still the editor denied Bradlaugh all right reply. It is probable that at no time in the long strife were ethinkers more roused to wrath, more moved to smite arrogant olence upon its blatant mouth, than by this manifesto from a nce of the Church of Rome, the murderous organism which had en out the mind of Spain and barely missed destroying Italy. tain it is that from these malevolent outbreaks of the unsleep- Romish spirit of persecution may be dated a new birth of nity towards Rome on the part of English rationalists, who had ore been disposed to class the bloody-mindedness of Catholicism h the kindred rancours of Protestantism. It was left to nning to put his Church in the worst light of all; to show e for all that the fundamental mission of priestly Rome is not *rcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, but to fight the ignoble tle of the million against one. And it is to his action that his eligionists owe most of the measure of acceptation found among ethinkers by the fierce verse in which Mr Swinburne has ned the Church of Rome "Grey spouse of Satan, church of ne abhorred," and taunted the "withered harlot" with the me of her defeat on the Field of Flowers.

But Bradlaugh met the priest's attack with a prose that suffered weakening from hysteria. In his journal it met a detailed and icial criticism: he himself, roused as he had never been roused ore, published his tract, "A Cardinal's Broken Oath," one of hardest blows ever struck in written controversy.

"Three times," it begins, "your Eminence has—through the pa
of the *Nineteenth Century*—personally and publicly interfered and u
the weight of your ecclesiastical position against me in the Parl
mentary struggle in which I am engaged, although you are neit
voter in the borough for which I am returned to sit, nor even co-citi
in the State to which I belong. Your personal position is that of a la
breaker, one who has deserted his sworn allegiance and thus forfei
his citizenship, one who is tolerated by English forbearance, but
liable to indictment for misdemeanour as 'member of a society of
Church of Rome.' More than once when the question of my admiss
to the House of Commons has been under discussion in that Hou
have I seen you busy in the lobby, closely attended by the devout a
sober Philip Callan, or some other equally appropriate Parliament
henchman."

After telling the Cardinal how he had "blundered alike in
law and his history," making absurd mis-statements concerning t
French Revolution and the case of Horne Tooke, the pamph
takes up the point of persecution, in regard to Manning's adv
that Bradlaugh should be indicted for blasphemy:—

"When I was in Paris some time since, and was challenged to expr
an opinion as to the enforcement of the law against the religious ord
of France, I, not to the pleasure of many of my friends, spoke out v
freely that in matters of religion I would use the law against no
but your persecuting spirit may provoke intemperate men even fart
than you dream. In this country, by the 10th George IV., cap. 7, s
28 and 29, 31, 32, and 34, you are criminally indictable, Cardi
Archbishop of Westminster. You only reside here without pol
challenge by the merciful forbearance of the community. And yet
parade in political contest your illegal position as 'a member o
religious order of the Church of Rome,' and have the audacity
invoke outlawry and legal penalty against me."

And then came a hail of blows at the Cardinal Archbishop's o
personality, so rashly put in the way of retaliation:—

"In the current number of the *Nineteenth Century* you fire your
shot, and are coarse in Latin as well as in the vulgar tongue. Perh
the frequenting Philip Callan has spoiled your manners. It also se
impossible that one who was once a cultured scholar and a refi
gentleman could confuse with legitimate argument the abuse of
opponents as 'cattle.' But who are you, Henry Edward Manni
that you should throw stones at me, and should so parade your de

o protect the House of Commons from contamination? At least, first ake out of it the drunkard and the dissolute of your own Church. Tou know them well enough. Is it the oath alone which stirs you? Tour tenderness on swearing comes very late in life. When you took rders as a deacon of the English Church, in presence of your bishop, ou swore 'so help me God,' that you did from your 'heart abhor, letest, and abjure,' and with your hand on the 'Holy Gospels' you eclared 'that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate ath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-minence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.' Tou may now well write of men 'whom no oath can bind.' The oath ou took you have broken; and yet it was because you had, in the very hurch itself, taken this oath, that you for many years held more than ne profitable preferment in the Established Church of England. You ndulge in innuendoes against my character in order to do me mischief, nd viciously insinuate as though my life had in it justification for good ien's abhorrence. In this you are very cowardly as well as very false. 'hen, to move the timid, you suggest 'the fear of eternal punish-ient' as associated with a broken oath. Have you any such fear? or ave you been personally conveniently absolved from the 'eternal' onsequences of your perjury? Have you since sworn another oath efore another bishop of another church, or made some solemn vow to ome, in lieu of, and in contradiction to, the one you so took in presence f your bishop, when, 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy host,' that bishop of the Church by law established in this country ccepted your oath, and gave you authority as a deacon in the Church ou have since forsaken. I do not blame you so much that you are orsworn; there are, as you truly say, 'some men whom no oath can ind;' and it has often been the habit of the cardinals of your Church o take an oath and break it when profit came with the breach; but our remembrance of your own perjury might at least keep you reticent n very shame. Instead of this, you thrust yourself impudently into a urely political contest, and shout as if the oath were to you the most acred institution possible. You say 'there are happily some men who elieve in God and fear Him.' Do you do either? You, who declared, so help me God,' that no foreign 'prelate . . . . ought to have any urisdiction or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm'? nd you who, in spite of your declaration on oath, have courted and won, ntrigued for and obtained, the archbishop's authority and the cardinal's at from the Pope of Rome—you rebuke Lord Sherbrooke for using the ords 'sin and shame' in connection with oath-taking: do you hold ow that there was no sin and no shame in your broken oath? None n the rash taking or the wilful breaking? Have you no personal ame that you have broken your oath? Or do the pride and pomp of our ecclesiastical position outbribe your conscience? You talk of the

people understanding the words 'so help me God.' How do you unde stand them of your broken oath? Do they mean to you: 'May G desert and forsake me as I deserted and forsook the Queen's supremac to which I so solemnly swore allegiance'? You speak of men bein kept to their allegiance by the oath 'which binds them to the sovereign.' You say such men may be tempted by ambition covetousness unless they are bound by 'the higher and more sacr responsibility' involved in the 'recognition of the law-giver in the oath Was the Rector of Lavington and Graffham covetous of an archbishopr that he broke his oath? Was the Archdeacon of Chichester ambitio of the Cardinal's hat that he became so readily forsworn?"

The eight small but pregnant pages of this concentrated diatri were carefully translated into Italian by or for a certain Monsigno once resident in England, who was understood to owe no goo will to Manning; the translation was no less carefully circulate among the higher Roman clergy; and if anything had been need to thwart Manning's ambition of becoming Pope, this little tractat it was believed, would have served not a little to that end. A all events, Manning never again ventured to attack Bradlaug publicly. He had had enough. And not only had he failed destroy Bradlaugh, he had evoked furious Protestant protes against his action at Northampton, and this even from journa like the *Rock*, which hated Bradlaugh as much as he did. H alliance was rejected with insult. And even in his own Chur the far more highly esteemed Newman, answering a corresponde on the subject of the Affirmation Bill of 1883, expressly declar that he thought "nothing would be lost to religion by its passi and nothing gained by its being rejected." *

It would be superfluous to load this already over-burden narrative with any detailed account of the stream of insul imbecilities, brutalities, and falsehoods which was cast fo continuously at this period against Bradlaugh in the press and the platform. From the fatuity of Viscount Folkestone—w argued that an Atheist, being guilty of treason to God, who ga the Queen her power, should be treated like one guilty of treas to the Queen—to the brutish licence of the Tory journals w likened Bradlaugh's sympathisers to thieves and assassins, th was, as Mr Moncure Conway wrote at the time, "no circumsta

* Letter of 8th May 1883.

f heartlessnesss, injustice, hypocrisy, and falsehood * wanting to
his last carnival of theological † hatred and ferocity." It was
ot, of course, theological hate alone. Bradlaugh had just been
ading a popular movement for land law reform; and he had set
n motion a second movement for the abolition of perpetual
ensions, which went on wheels, and the petitions in support of
hich were signed by the hundred thousand.‡ There are few
sentments more bitter than that of a menaced interest. But
alice once aroused in men of a low type stops at nothing; and
s we have seen, everybody associated with Bradlaugh was
cluded in the hatred bestowed on him. One Tory journal, the

---

* If further samples are needed of the general untruthfulness, they can be
ven by the dozen. Even men of good standing spoke with a disregard of
ruple which put them outside courteous correction. Bradlaugh was driven
characterise Sir Edward Watkin as "an exceedingly and wantonly un-
uthful person." In November 1882 he represented to his Folkestone
nstituents that he would not have stood in the way of Bradlaugh either
vearing or affirming, but that he resisted when Bradlaugh "distinctly out-
ged all that they held sacred." This presumably referred to the self-
lministered oath of 1882. But Sir E. Watkin had voted against Bradlaugh
ing allowed to swear on 27th April 1881. The Hon. Mr Stansfeld,
eaking at Halifax in October 1882, actually represented that the oath was
on the true faith of a Christian;" and repeated the untruth that Bradlaugh
d "said that the oath had no binding effect on his conscience." The Rev.
anon Gascoigne Weldon, of Rothesay, asserted in writing that Bradlaugh
boasted publicly that he sought entrance into the House of Commons to
sult its members and all its past glorious history, and level it, if possible,
ith its sister House, to the ground."

† Mr Samuel Morley, speaking at Bristol in November 1882, admitted to
s constituents that "while Mr Bradlaugh was in the House of Commons,
othing could exceed the propriety of his conduct;" but declared he would
ppose his re-entrance because Bradlaugh continued "his system of violent,
fensive, and disgusting attacks on the faith which he (Mr Morley) in
mmon with the great bulk of the English people, held." To men like Mr
orley, all rationalist propaganda was "violent, offensive, and disgusting;"
t they had no scruples about violent, offensive, and disgusting attacks on
tionalists. Soon afterwards Mr Morley grossly misrepresented Bradlaugh's
tion, and on being challenged admitted the fact and made a correction.
on again, however, Mr Morley spoke of Bradlaugh as writing in the *Free-
nker*, and on being challenged, made neither admission nor correction.
he champions of the oath, generally speaking, exhibited a constitutional
apacity for accuracy.

‡ In the summer of 1882 the total of petitions had mounted to over 100,
d the signatures numbered over 250,000.

Manchester Courier, went the length of saying that Bradlaugh
success in Northampton was due to an exceptionally bad state
education there; the pretext being that one Northamptonshi
village was in such a state. The Government inspector testifi
that as regarded the town he had often paid tribute to th
heartiness of the people of Northampton, and especially of th
working-classes, in carrying out the Education Act, and that
would be hard to find anywhere a more active School Board,
higher average of regular attendance, or a higher general standa
of proficiency.

Of course such a testimony did little to check the scurrility
Tory tongues. At a meeting of the Bible Society at Exeter Ha
in May 1882, with Mr Samuel Morley in the chair, a Herefor
shire vicar, the Rev. H. W. Webb Peploe, alleged that to h
knowledge "the first condition imposed upon one whom he kne
when he had joined an association under the leadership of
notorious infidel was that he should burn his Bible;" and that
had further "been told that two nights ago, at a meeting of
notorious infidel, the things said were so grossly immodest that
member of the press had said that they did not dare to repo
what had been spoken, however, in the presence of young women
On being challenged, the rev. gentleman declined to attempt a
substantiation of his statements, only pleading that he had n
meant to specify Bradlaugh. Of these cretinous calumnies, the
were hundreds afloat for years on end. It is a comfort to be ab
to say that some score or more of single clergymen in differe
places, of different sects, spoke out bravely and generously fro
time to time in repudiation of the whole policy of persecution a
slander. But a few voices, of course, could not avail to hind
that for thoughtful men the effect of the persecution was
identify religion with injustice. Freethinkers reasoned that t
Christians who stood for justice and tolerance did but do wh
Freethinkers themselves did, without accepting the Christi
creed; while the army of bigots did their evil deeds in virtue o
religious motive. And the effect of it all was to multiply Fr
thought as it had never been multiplied before. A barrister, w
had no personal sympathy with Bradlaugh, wrote that "C
consequence has been that the cause of Freethought has ma
surprising progress. . . . I do not think that at any time Fr
thought literature has been so widely read, and the Freethou

propaganda so actively and intelligently carried on." Active members of the Secular Society were enrolled by hundreds; and the sale of Bradlaugh's journal rose to its highest figure. Men who had before been unquestioningly orthodox became newly critical. One wrote to an editor:—

"That 'Mr Bradlaugh had brought his troubles on himself' I fully admit. So did Jesus Christ. In the latter case the ultimate result was a judicial execution as a blasphemer. But I am not aware that he is any the worse thought of by his followers on that account."

Even among Conservatives there were searchings of heart. One wrote a pamphlet in his favour. Another sent an open letter of merciless criticism to Sir Stafford Northcote, saying, "I am a Conservative, and my father before me. But there is something I put before party. That is self-respect." The letter concluded:—

"If you wish an outlet for your zeal against 'profanation,' why do you ignore in the Church the presence of numerous Broad Churchmen, including the father-in-law of your own son, Canon Farrar, who swear loyalty to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and follow the late Dean Stanley in rejecting many of them? Why should you have reserved your fervent indignation against apparent insincerity in sacred things to be expended upon a man whose admission to the House as silently as possible, so as not to promote his notoriety, justice and expediency would alike have suggested: the whole stupidity, duplicity, and inhumanity of Conservative tactics in this matter are patent to all straightforward minds. You are responsible for giving Mr Bradlaugh a name and a place in the history of this country which will survive long after those of the present Conservative leaders are consigned to oblivion."

The harvest was not immediate; but the seed was abundantly sown, and inevitably bore its due fruit. That this was not unrecognised in high places was sufficiently proved by the introduction of an Affirmation Bill in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, then already sundered from official Liberalism. The Duke, on moving the second reading of his Bill, took occasion to scold Bradlaugh after his manner for "violence and scurrility," denying by implication that the violence and scurrility were on the other side. But this prudent tactic did not avail. The Earl of Carnarvon told the usual untruth about the "binding effect" of the oath on Bradlaugh, by way of showing that he deserved no relief; and the Archbishop of Canterbury opposed the Bill in the

name not only of the English Church, but of the Romish, the Wesleyan, and the Scotch Presbyterian. It was accordingly rejected (July) by 138 votes to 62.

§ 18.

On 11th July 1882 a new Tory battery was opened. The *Freethinker*, a penny weekly journal of a more popular character than the *National Reformer*, edited by Mr G. W. Foote and then owned by Mr W. J. Ramsey, was sold at the shop of the Freethought Publishing Company, 28 Stonecutter Street, of which Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant, the partners of the Company, were the lessees. For a short time after its first issue it had been published by them, but soon they decided not to take that responsibility; and thenceforward it had been sold independently by Mr Ramsey, their manager, who, in the terms of his engagement with them, was free to do other trading on his own account. Sir Henry Tyler, supposing Bradlaugh to be the publisher all along, had bethought himself of prosecuting the *Freethinker* for blasphemy, and so striking a possibly decisive political blow at Bradlaugh—a course which he was enabled to take by a readily granted "fiat" from the Director of Public Prosecutions. It had been made clear by his references to the *National Reformer* in the House of Commons that he had hoped to convict Bradlaugh of blasphemy on something he had either written or published; but that hope he had had to abandon. There remained the hope of connecting Bradlaugh with the *Freethinker;* and Tyler's solicitors coolly wrote Bradlaugh on 8th July, asking whether he would personally sell the paper, so as to prevent the prosecution either of a subordinate of his, or of the editor and printer. He replied by sending the printed catalogue of all the things he published, and offering personally to sell any of these. As it did not include the *Freethinker* the prosecution was begun against Messrs Foote and Ramsey and their printer, Mr Whittle, on 11th July, before the Lord Mayor (Sir John Whittaker Ellis), at the Mansion House; and after evidence had been led, the prosecutor's counsel applied to have Bradlaugh's name added as a defendant. The case was then adjourned, the Lord Mayor stating that he would hear the application against Bradlaugh in private—a proceeding for which the reasons will afterwards appear. It having appeared that the selling of the *Free*

Thinker in the Freethought Publishing Company's shop tended to implicate the partners of that company, Mr Ramsey at once decided to suspend its sale for some weeks till he could arrange for its publication in a distinct office, thus partly safeguarding Bradlaugh from the attempt to identify him with it. The danger was serious; for if Bradlaugh were convicted of blasphemy under the statute, he would become legally incapable of further defending himself in Clarke's or any other suit for Parliamentary penalties. This was fully recognised on the Tory side, and the *Whitehall Review*, in an indecent article, pressed the point. Tyler's move was, in fact, a new attempt to cause the ruin aimed at by Newdegate, and hitherto warded off; and Newdegate's junior counsel (and private friend) duly attended the prosecution at the Mansion House. At the same time, Bradlaugh was defending a Freethinker prosecuted for blasphemy at the Maidstone Assizes, and after attending the adjourned hearing before the Lord Mayor on Monday, 17th July, he had to travel to Maidstone on the following day.

Before the Lord Mayor Bradlaugh led the prosecutor's counsel a grievous dance. He appealed to have the cases taken separately, and counsel was confused enough to say that this was "a most unusual and unheard-of application," which drew from Bradlaugh the comment, "There are several decided cases upon it, although it may be unheard of and unusual in your experience, Mr Moloney." Then ensued hours of fencing as to whether the case was or should be under common law or statute, and what the Lord Mayor ought to do. His lordship was at times somewhat rashly dogmatic on points of law and procedure, and had to be corrected. He finally decided to refuse to ask the prosecutor to choose whether he would proceed under common law or statute; and Bradlaugh then demanded that the case should begin *de novo*, putting every possible technical obstacle in the way of his cowardly enemies. Their evil way, he determined, should be made hard for them; and it was. As the proceedings went on, and the prosecution, who had previously succeeded in obtaining from the Lord Mayor a warrant to inspect Bradlaugh's banking account, took the dishonourable course of producing on subpœna the manager of the bank used by Bradlaugh, and his very passbook, his indignation mounted. What was intended was evidently a fishing investigation into his financial affairs, for the production of cheques at that stage was wholly irrelevant to the points proposed to be made out

in evidence, and needing to be so proved. Fighting the case with all his force and acuteness, point by point, and with no mincing of matters, Bradlaugh commented on Tyler's tactics in language of which the libel law prevented the republication. Tyler's counsel protested that he "did not quite see what these observations were intended for." "They are intended," replied Bradlaugh, "to do the same mischief to your client that he is trying to do to me;" and counsel said no more on that head, though he tried unsuccessfully to retaliate on others.

The case was adjourned to the 21st; and though the passbook was left in the Lord Mayor's hands for inspection, the prosecuting counsel so mismanaged matters that he closed his case without having applied to see it. Bradlaugh's account, however, had been personally ransacked on Tyler's behalf, in gross abuse of the order of the Court. The Lord Mayor finally committed Bradlaugh for trial on the singularly scanty evidence offered as to his connection with the prosecuted paper, the incriminated numbers of which were all dated after the time when Bradlaugh ceased to be concerned in publishing it; and in committing Messrs Foote and Ramsey (the charge against the printer had been withdrawn), his lordship refused to allow Mr Foote to make a statement in his defence, though the law clearly gave the defendant that right. His lordship repeatedly gave the extraordinary ruling that "the charge" against Mr Foote was "that he was the editor of the *Freethinker*"—as if that could possibly be a "charge"—and on this pretext declined to hear anything on the actual charge, which was one of "blasphemous libel." He similarly tried to prevent Bradlaugh from reading a formal statement, but after disallowing it he gave way on consultation with the Clerk of Court. The statement was a terse and telling account of Tyler's tactics from the time of Bradlaugh's election.

In the press the prosecution was sharply condemned, even the *Times* censuring it; and one journal took occasion to point out that Tyler represented "one of the smallest and most corrupt constituencies in England." * Bradlaugh, being "committed" for blasphemy, at once put himself in the hands of his constituents who unanimously voted their unabated confidence in him. He immediately (27th July) applied to a judge (Justice Stephen) in

* He sat for Harwich.

ambers for leave to issue a summons calling on Tyler to show use why a writ of *certiorari* should not issue to remove the roceedings to the Queen's Bench division; and on the 29th the *rtiorari* itself was directed to issue by the judge. Tyler's counsel this stage insisted on Bradlaugh's giving two sureties for £300 addition to his own recognisances of £300 ordered by the Lord ayor. They also asked for an order to expedite the trial, but e judge curtly refused. Another typical detail was the charging the grand jury on the point of "returning a true bill" on the dictment. The Recorder for the City, Sir Thomas Chambers, as one of Bradlaugh's bitterest enemies in Parliament, and he ve his direction to the grand jury to return a true bill, not only ithout putting it to them to decide whether they were satisfied ith the evidence against Bradlaugh, but with expressions of gross ejudice, appealing to their feelings as "Christian men."

Not content with his prosecution of Bradlaugh, Tyler in the ouse of Commons (10th August) at length brought forward an press motion which he had had on the paper for twelve months, the effect that the Hall of Science was not a proper place, d the teachers not proper persons, to teach science in connection th the Science and Art Department. The argument was that rsons who had expressed themselves in print to the effect that ience undermined religion should be held to have taught the me thing in their science classes. Mr Mundella in reply pointed t that no fewer than thirty-five clergymen of all denominations re science teachers under the department; and that the reports the teaching given in the Hall of Science classes, even by a igious visitor who made surprise visits, were highly satis- tory. He concluded by sharply censuring Tyler, as Mr bouchere had already done, for his malice; and, the Tory mbers having all left the House, the matter was ignominiously pped. Even the editor of the *St James's Gazette* snubbed ler, while himself proceeding to repeat Tyler's contention in gratuitously insulting statement as to the teaching of the sses Bradlaugh. In the outside public one immediate effect Tyler's malicious action was to set on foot a movement and an ociation for the repeal of the blasphemy laws, the lead being y taken by the Rev. Mr Sharman (Unitarian) of Plymouth, who l already done admirable service in the constitutional struggle.

The blasphemy prosecution not being "expedited," went on

slowly enough. Intermediate technical proceedings arose, part out of irregularities on the part of the prosecution; and one of Bradlaugh's visits to the Courts with his sureties, t driver of a four-wheeler who conveyed the party declined accept any fare, declaring that it should be his contributi towards fighting Tyler. At length, on 6th November, Bradlaug made an *ex parte* motion before Justices Field and Stephen, to ha the indictment against him quashed, mainly on the score that ought to have been definitely sued under the statute 9 and William III., and that the provisions of that statute had not bee observed in the indictment. The pleadings were extreme interesting as a matter of pure law, the judges debating the poin courteously but closely all along, and both commenting finally the "candour" and "propriety" with which he had argued h case. Their decision was for the most part hostile; and this w one of his very few cases in which there can be little difficulty taking the judge's view against him. The main point decided w that the statute had not abrogated the common law in the case hand. They gave him a rule *nisi* on only two counts in the indic ment, on the ground of irregular procedure on the part of t prosecution; but Justice Stephen's judgment supplied a ve useful conspectus of the history of the blasphemy laws, and i cidentally declared that the statutory penalties could not inflicted under a verdict on the indictment laid.

Very different must be the comments passed on the treatme of the friendly action, Gurney *v.* Bradlaugh, which came on afre before Mr Justice Mathew and a common jury on 10th Novembe Everything had been done that could be done to meet the cri cisms formerly passed by Justices Manisty and Watkin William and indeed the whole pleadings had from the first been draw from the journals of the House of Commons, which were put evidence. But Justice Mathew summarily decided not to he the case, and discharged the jury, on the old ground that t action was collusive. Now Bradlaugh, in swearing himself i had in law done exactly what Alderman Salomons did in 185 and the action of Miller *v.* Salomons was notoriously collusiv yet it was fully heard and carefully decided. We can only do no what Bradlaugh did then—leave the judge's action to the jud ment of the instructed public. The *Law Times* of that tim (November 1882) took the unusual step of declaring:—

"It is plain that it should be possible to try a friendly action to tablish a constitutional right; and we regard the action of the judge very questionable on constitutional grounds, and as being an arbitrary terference with a suitor's right to the verdict of a jury."

That a law journal thus describes, plain men may well call by a ainer name.

One of Bradlaugh's five contemporary lawsuits was thus quashed, it the remaining four kept his hands sufficiently full. The civil it against Newdegate for maintenance came on before Justice eld on 2nd December, on a preliminary "demurrer," when, on e advice of the judge, both sides agreed to let the demurrer and over till after the trial. A day or two afterwards Newde-te, speaking at the London Sheriffs' banquet, at which six dges were guests, had the indecency to comment before them on e maintenance case, and to denounce Bradlaugh. On the 5th e action against Mr Erskine, the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, me on before Justice Field. It was a long pleading on both les; the case was adjourned till the 18th; and after the torney-General had spoken two hours and a half, and Bradlaugh d replied for an hour and a quarter, the judge reserved his cision. He finally gave it (15th January) against Bradlaugh, on e general ground that the House of Commons was the judge to how it might exercise its privileges, of which the power to pel a member was one. On the point of legality he ruled that t is not to be presumed that any Court, whether it be the High urt of Judicature or this Court, will do that which in itself flagrantly wrong." The decision was one which might very sonably have been appealed against. As the *Legal Advertiser pplement* remarked at the time, Justice Field's ruling would er a case in which the House of Commons might, say, confiscate goods and chattels of a member expelled or suspended for truction. Bradlaugh, however, decided not to appeal. He had y commenced the action reluctantly because of the likelihood t the Gurney suit would be denied a hearing; and the judge l in this case at least listened to his arguments. He contented nself with a letter to the *Times*, pointing out the constitutional ct of the decision.

Thus far he had endured defeat after defeat in the law courts as in liament; and it may be that discouragement and debt counted for ething in his surrender of the suit against the Deputy Sergeant-

at-Arms. But he was now within a short distance of three sig successes which more than counterbalanced all his previous lo defeats. On 9th and 17th March his action against Newdeg for maintenance was argued for him before Lord Coleridge * Mr Crump and Mr W. A. Hunter, he himself giving evidence his own behalf. The broad ground of action was that Newdeg had maliciously "maintained" Clarke, having himself no inter in the ground of action, which was the penalty sued for, and be desirous only to make Bradlaugh bankrupt. There was no qu tion of principle, as Bradlaugh was already unseated, and was h disentitled to sit either on oath or on affirmation. Bradlau incidentally gave testimony that already he had had to spend the action two legacies, and in addition £1100 he had borrowe while Clarke testified that the total costs on his side were estima at about £2000.

Lord Coleridge reserved his decision; and before he gave it, appeal by Bradlaugh against Clarke's action had been heard a decided in the House of Lords. It was argued on 5th and March, before the Lord Chancellor (Selborne), and Lords Bla burn, Watson, and Fitzgerald—Bradlaugh, as usual, pleading own cause. His main argument was, as before, that only Crown could recover penalties against him when the statute not specify that some or any one else could; and the discuss turned on this point, on which Lord Justice Bramwell, the sen judge in the Court of Appeal, had expressed some doubt. Br laugh, however, cited on the disputed point as to the Crow prerogative two fresh cases—the King *v.* Hymen † and the K *v.* Clarke; and a good deal of argument turned on the point as whether a common informer could ever have costs allowed h As for the case of the respondent, Bradlaugh pointed out that Hardinge Giffard's argument was now directed against the v reasons on which the intermediate court had based its judgmen his favour, thus asking their lordships to support the judgment the Court of Appeal for new and contrary reasons.

On 9th April their lordships delivered judgment. The Lord Ch

* A jury had been sworn in, but it was agreed all round that there wa question of fact for them, and they were discharged on the 9th, Lord C ridge trying the case as one of law.

† This had been cited in the Court of Appeal for another purpose.

llor in an elaborate and lucid judgment showed that the penalty ally was suable for by action of the Crown in any of the superior urts, and that, as no permission had been given by the statute the common informer to sue, he was not entitled to do so. Lord ackburn dissented, but not strongly, arguing very judicially that ere were good and mutually neutralising arguments on both sides, d pronouncing himself only "on the whole" in favour of e view that the common informer could sue under the statute. rds Watson and Fitzgerald, however, agreed with the Lord ancellor. The eccentric Lord Denman, who was not a law lord, ose to take part in the proceedings (the first time a lay peer had ne so, it is said, since the decision of the writ of error in Daniel Connell's case), and declared himself in agreement with Lord ackburn. Even if he were counted, however, the majority was the appellant, who accordingly won the appeal with costs.

This judgment, of course, would have affected the suit for main-ance, had that been brought later. Giving judgment on 23rd ril, Lord Coleridge remarked that as the House of Lords had ided that Clarke had no right to sue, it "seemed to follow" t Newdegate had no right to do so either. But he went on to ide in the appellant's favour on the merits of the case, giving a g and interesting judgment. Unless maintenance were to be ck out of the law-books, said the Lord Chief Justice, Newde-'s procedure must be called maintenance; and if maintenance e to be struck out of the books, he added, "it must be done by e higher authority, and I have not the power to do it, nor, if I the power, have I the wish to abolish an action which may in e cases be the only remedy for a very cruel wrong." Delivering self later on the moral or political merits of the case, he :—

t may be my ill fortune to have to support such an action in a case hich the defendant is a man whose character is entitled to every ct, and the plaintiff is a man with whose views, openly avowed, I no sort of sympathy. But I will not call it my 'ill fortune,' for of the most precious judgments given by the Courts in Westmin-Hall were given in favour of men who, if English justice could ever rped by personal feeling, would certainly have failed. It is indeed fortune of the case that in the minds of many the cause of religion d seem to be connected with the success or failure of a particular n, whose defeat or success is really to the cause of religion a matter preme indifference, but as to whom (speaking only of what has

been proved before me), a course has been taken and proceedings h
been pressed which, in the case of any other, would be strongly
universally condemned, and by which certainly the cause of religion
not been advanced. But my duty is simply to decide the cause accord
to the best opinion I can form of the law—a duty which the rule
Christian teaching make quite clear."

As to costs, Lord Coleridge remarked that the decision of
House of Lords, though giving costs on the appeal, left Bradla
mulcted in a considerable sum of costs which were not recovera
from Clarke. For the recoverable costs he assumed Newdeg
would now hold himself responsible; but further,

"for the residue of the costs and the expenses which Mr Bradla
has been put to as between attorney and client, and the various exper
he has had to bear—for all these Mr Newdegate is responsible
damages. I think that Mr Bradlaugh is entitled to an indemnity
every loss which Mr Newdegate's maintenance has caused him, an
this cannot be agreed on between the parties it must go to the offi
referee to ascertain the amount, and when he has reported to me I
give judgment for the amount he finds to be due, applying the princi
I have thus laid down."

Newdegate's counsel gave notice of an appeal, but after six mon
delay abandoned it. Thus by two concurrent successes Bradla
inflicted a crushing and final defeat on one of the men who had sou
to ruin his political career out of hate for his opinions. He co
not have, in addition to the solace of triumph, the "stern joy wh
warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel;" but he had
satisfaction, such as it was, of knowing that his victory was a sou
of intense chagrin to thousands of bigots who had reckoned
betted on, and generally predicted his defeat and bankruptcy.

And his victory on the points of civil law was effectu
secured by his acquittal in the action for blasphemy. A
excitement had been added to that issue by the commen
ment, on 2nd February, of a new prosecution of Mr Foote (
owner as well as editor) and Mr Ramsey (now publisher on
with Ramsey's shopman, Henry Arthur Kemp, for the publica
of a special "Christmas number" of the *Freethinker*, wh
there occurred certain woodcuts, ridiculing the Hebrew D
and the Jesus of the Gospels. In this case there could be
pretence of implicating Bradlaugh, as the incriminated num
had not even been sold on the Freethought Publishing Compa

emises. Whether Tyler saw the necessity of putting a better
our of religious zeal on his ill-conditioned action against
adlaugh, or whether the recent strife had stirred up smoulder-
bigotry independently of personal animus against Bradlaugh,
s prosecution was undertaken by "the City of London." The
w trial, which took place at the Central Criminal Court on
March 1883, before Mr Justice North and a jury, is likely
be long remembered in respect of the extraordinary display
mediæval prejudice by the judge. He repeatedly and angrily
errupted Mr Foote in his defence, declining to allow him to
ote current printed matter which would show at once how
ch "permitted blasphemy" went on among Salvationists, and
w perfectly in keeping was his freethinking blasphemy with
popular religion which it attacked. The jury, after two
urs' discussion, could not agree, and the judge discharged them,
anging for a fresh trial on the 6th with a fresh jury, and
using in the harshest and most peremptory manner to let
prisoners out on bail, though in law they were perfectly
itled to it. Applications made next day to other judges
through on the score, not of being wrong in law, but of
ant of jurisdiction" on the part of the judges applied to.
e second trial was even more disgraceful to the judge than
first. At the outset, Mr Foote objected to one of the
ors as having expressed animus, and the judge, in suggesting
juryman's withdrawal, declared that "he should be sorry to
e a gentleman upon the jury who had expressed himself
prejudiced." His own summing-up to the jury, however,
again scandalously prejudiced; and when the jury promptly
rned a verdict of guilty, he addressed Mr Foote as follows:—

You have been found guilty by the jury of publishing these
phemous libels. This trial has been to me a very painful one, as I
rd it as extremely sad to find that a person to whom God has given
evident intelligence and ability should have chosen to prostitute
talents to the work of the devil in the way it has been done (*sic*)
er your auspices."

he sentence was a year's imprisonment. The announcement
ed forth a display of indignation among the audience such as
perhaps never been seen in modern times; and the judge had
t for some minutes in a storm of hisses and outcries, the epithets

"Jeffries" and "Scroggs" expressing the prevailing sentiment. Foote's words: "My lord, I thank you: it is worthy of yo creed," were followed by a renewal of the tumult, and it was wi difficulty that the Court was cleared. Then the judge sentenc Ramsey and Kemp to nine and three months' imprisonme respectively. The same judge, it is recorded, had let off wi three months' imprisonment a ruffian who had killed a coffe stall keeper with a kick on the face when he was refused a seco cup of coffee till the first had been paid for.

The impression made among thoughtful people by the judg action was one of general displeasure. Canon Shuttlewor pronounced the sentence "a calamity." Mr Foote's methods h been widely and strongly disapproved of among cultured Fre thinkers, including Bradlaugh; and Mr John Morley, in t *Pall Mall Gazette*, had gone to the indefensible length of justif ing the prosecution, on the very inadequate ground that t *Freethinker* had been "thrust on" the public, it having be exhibited in the publisher's window in a side street. But t infamous sentence at once turned feeling the other way, thou protests like Canon Shuttleworth's were needed to teach M Morley and other Liberal journalists that renunciation of Liber principles is not really necessary, even in cases of persecution, propitiate the public. Bradlaugh, on his part, took the—for hi —unprecedented course of addressing a public letter to the judg reprobating his conduct. "My lord," he wrote,

"I pen this public letter with considerable regret and much pain. have always in my public utterances tried to teach respect for t judicial bench. I have never, I hope, allowed hostile decisions again myself personally to tempt me to undue language when exercising m journalistic right to criticise judgments delivered. My own experien of the judges of our land has, with slight exception, been that th always listened with great patience, and when disagreeing, ha expressed their disagreement in a dignified manner. When I read t report of the first trial of Messrs Foote, Ramsey, and Kemp, I w inexpressibly shocked. The character of some of the evidence y admitted alarmed me, and your refusal to reserve the objection tak to the admissibility of such evidence for the consideration of the Cou of Crown Cases Reserved seemed to me so extraordinary that I ev now hardly dare trust myself to characterise it. . . . But the poi that most afflicts me is the fashion in which you over and over aga interrupted the defendant Foote in his defence. . . . There are plen

precedents showing that prisoners have been permitted in defence indulgence so peremptorily denied by your lordship to Mr Foote. . That you should have held the defendants in custody after the y had disagreed, and when you had determined to again try them r days later, was mischievously and wantonly cruel. They had y surrendered to their bail, which had been small in amount. ere was no suggestion or supposition that they would try to avoid tice, nor did the prosecution ask for their detention. I am afraid, lord, that you sent them to Newgate because they had been over- d in their defence. . . . If you had meant the three defendants to e no chance of escape, if you had been prosecutor instead of partial judge, you could hardly have done more to embarrass their ence than by sending them to this sudden and unexpected close finement."

The letter concluded:

When you sat as judge in these blasphemy trials your lordship was ctically omnipotent. There is yet no court of criminal appeal. . . . e very knowledge of your uncontrollable authority in the conduct the trial . . . should have prompted your lordship to hold the icial balance with a steady hand, its inclining, if at all, being to side of mercy. But your lordship, in the spirit of the old inquisi- threw into the scale your own prejudices against the heresy for ch the defendants were reputed, your own dislike of the manner which they had made their heresies known. . . . I ask your lordship at would be the outcry through the civilised world if, either in tzerland or in Hindostan, those Salvation Army propagandists who ast their blasphemies furiously in all men's faces were so hardly lt with as you have dealt with George William Foote, William nes Ramsey, and Henry Kemp?"

Presumably the scandal caused by Justice North tended to cure a fairer hearing for the original action, still unheard, in ch Bradlaugh was indicted. It came on before the Lord ef Justice and a jury on 10th April—Bradlaugh, as usual, ending himself, while Messrs Foote and Ramsey were repre- ted by counsel. Bradlaugh was permitted by Lord Coleridge, pite of the opposition of the prosecuting counsel (Giffard), to e the charge against him tried separately from that of his efendants, whose testimony might be important to him; and was thus enabled to put his defence solely on the question of responsibility, saying nothing as to the papers prosecuted g blasphemous or otherwise. His case was a clear and

detailed proof, made good at every point, that he had ceased to h in any way concerned even in the selling of the *Freethinker* befor the issue of any of the incriminated numbers, he and Mrs Besan having decided to drop the publication on account of a chang early made in the character of the paper;* and that this abandon ment of the publication—which was the only sort of connectio he had ever had with the paper at all—was made independentl of any outside pressure or threat. For the rest, the malevolen tactics of Sir Henry Tyler were once more made the subject o a stinging invective; and the procedure of the prosecution i regard to the bank account came in for very severe handling This was one of the most striking details in the trial. It cam out, to the amazement of the legal part of the audience, that no only had Bradlaugh's banking account been ransacked and hi cheques gone over to see if any had been dishonoured, but th junior counsel for Tyler, Mr Moloney, had actually attended th inquisition in person. Bradlaugh naturally did not spare him declaring that he had "done work generally left to some privat detective or inquiry agent, and never done by any one having th dignity of the bar to guard." And all the while, the search ha been made in a bank branch in St John's Wood, N.W., in th county of Middlesex, on a warrant from the Lord Mayor, whos jurisdiction was limited to the City. On this head the Lor Chief Justice indicated a very strong feeling that the Lor Mayor's warrant for such a purpose ought not to be valid an where. "Vile in its inception and dishonourable in its conduct, was Bradlaugh's account of the prosecution generally, and he eve had a suspicion, based on an awkward statement by one of th legal witnesses, that the examination of the bank account ha been made some days before the summons against him was issued

Sir Hardinge Giffard, now prosecuting for the Crown, fought th case as he might have done it for Tyler, declaring in his openin speech that he would call witnesses to prove certain things, an afterwards carefully omitting to call them, seeing that that cours would help Bradlaugh to clear himself. In replying, he did n attempt to rebut the criticisms passed on his client and on h conduct of the case, professing to take the attitude of dignifie

* The introduction as a regular feature of "Comic Bible Sketches," of kind which Mr Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant were not prepared to defend.

disregard. His main line of argument was that one or two isolated woodcuts had been published in the *Freethinker* during the few months in which the Freethought Company published it, that Bradlaugh was an original promoter, and that the change made in the registration was only a stratagem, Bradlaugh remaining the real publisher. As regarded the blasphemy charged, Sir Hardinge did not take the customary line of distinguishing between vulgar and refined blasphemy, describing the contents of the *Freethinker* as deadly "poison to men's soul"—an expression which could not be supposed to apply to the mere element of vulgarity. He spoke with horror of a cartoon which exhibited Ignorance, Money, and Fear as "the true Trinity," and would doubtless have spoken similarly of the account of the Trinity as "three Lord Shaftesburys," given by Lord Coleridge's esteemed personal friend, Mr Matthew Arnold. The blasphemous matter on which the learned counsel expressed himself most strongly in detail, however, was a vulgar travesty of the extremely silly and artistically worthless religious picture known as "The Calling of Samuel." "You have that picture," he told the jury, "represented as a startled child, roused from his slumber by two cats on the tiles. And this is the sort of thing which is to be scattered broadcast over the land—— !"

Lord Coleridge, on his part, summed up with great literary skill and dignity, carefully guarding against theological prejudice on the part of the jury by the avowal that he himself, despite his years and comparative detachment from the world, found it difficult to clear his mind of it. Incidentally he remarked that it was to Bradlaugh's credit that he did not disavow a general sympathy with the opinions of his co-defendants, while clearing himself of all complicity in the publications indicted. But on the point of the blasphemy charge he also incidentally expressed an opinion, which is worth citing as showing how little even an exceptionally considerate judge with strong religious feelings can get rid of the vulgar notion that irreverence to his—the popular—religious opinions is immeasurably more reprehensible than irreverence towards other less popular opinions, or vilification of unpopular men's characters. His objection to blasphemy prosecutions was mainly that they injured the cause of religion :—

"I say not how far the institution of a prosecution of this kind wounds the most sacred feelings and does injury to the holiest convictions. Some persons may think that this is not so ; some may think

that by such prosecutions the most sacred truths are pierced through the sides of those who are their enemies. With all that we have nothing to do. We may dislike, we may—I do not hesitate to say, we may loathe—the expressions made use of in these libels. We may think the persons who can speak in this way of things which they themselves may disapprove of and disbelieve, which they themselves may possibly think superstitious and mischievous, but which they must know have been the life and the soul of the virtue, the morality, the self-denial, the civilisation of hundreds, and thousands, and millions of people in all ages, are persons who forget—I will not say what is due to God, for they do not believe in Him, but to man, for they are men—what is due to themselves, and to the community of which they form a part, and for whom they ought to have some consideration. All that may be perfectly true, but it has nothing to do with the question."

Here the judge assumes that there is no dispute whatever as to the claim that the Christian religion is the essence of morality and modern civilisation, and proceeds to express disgust for a line of polemic which was zealously followed by the early Christians for centuries, which is invariably followed in the Old Testament when there is any question of alien religions, which is endorsed by Paul, which is commonly followed by Christian missionaries and by Protestant assailants of Catholicism, and which was even then being followed by the Christian multitude in the very case of Bradlaugh. The Christian position is that it is right to ridicule and asperse Freethinkers, materialists, and polytheists; and the Protestant position is that it is right to deride the Catholic worship of saints, images, and relics; but Christians in the mass hold it abominable for unbelievers and "heathen" in turn to deride *their* opinions, these being "holy" and "dear." And all the while, in the case under notice, the people who thus felt the most intense animal resentment towards a handful of men for speaking irreverently of a supposed Infinite, which by no possibility could human folly or contumely disturb or hurt, were as often as not zealous accomplices in casting the vilest personal insults against a representative Atheist who confessedly could not be shown to have attacked their opinions in such a way as to lay him open to a successful prosecution for blasphemy. The Christian plea is that unbelievers should not be free to cause Christians pain. Yet the whole of Bradlaugh's life was and is in evidence to show that the first instinct of the average Christian is to cause not merely endless mental pain but material ruin to every man who ventures, how-

ever decorously, to pronounce the Christian creed untrue. Perhaps the profoundest impeachment of the religious instinct in general is this very fact that the express conviction of the absolute supremacy of a personal power over all things human never by any chance enables the believer to regard with serenity and compassion the human denials which that power in the terms of the case is alleged to permit.

Some approach to the recognition of all this must have taken place in connection with the trial of Bradlaugh on the score of the *Freethinker*, although of course it was on the point of non-complicity that the jury gave their verdict of acquittal. They deliberated for an hour and ten minutes, calling for several of the documents in the case. The foreman's pronouncement of "Not Guilty" was received with loud cheers, which the judge indignantly rebuked, with the customary remark that "this is not a place of entertainment;" but a Conservative journal, endowed with the regulation horror of Atheism, commented that the cheer expressed a sentiment not at all confined to Atheists. In general, the press rejoiced with the acquitted man, who had now won in rapid succession three decisive successes in his long battle. It was noted, too, that he had won them against one leading counsel, Sir Hardinge Giffard. Asked later how it was that he had so often and so signally defeated this counsel, Bradlaugh remarked that he believed it was because Giffard despised him as an antagonist, and neglected precautions against him, while he, Bradlaugh, was careful at all times to do his utmost, and never to undervalue the enemy's strength. The moral is an old one.

In addition to the discredit put upon the prosecution in Court, it happened that Sir Henry Tyler about this time figured rather dubiously before the public in his capacity of company-promoter. His treatment of the financial affairs of the Anglo-American Brush Electric Light Corporation, in which he was deeply concerned, gave such dissatisfaction to most of the shareholders that they took the unusual course of presenting a memorial insisting on his resignation, after he had been hissed and hooted at a shareholders meeting.* It may have been a sense of the unfitness of such a personage to represent the cause of religion that led to the founda-

* 23rd January 1883.

tion of a "Society for the Suppression of Blasphemous Literature," the secretary of which wrote to the newspapers * as follows:—

"We propose to get up cases, as our funds will allow, against Professor Huxley, Dr Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Swinburne, the author of 'Supernatural Religion,' the publishers of Mill's works, the publishers of Strauss's works, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, the editor of the *Jewish World*, Dr Martineau, and others, who by their writings have sown widespread unbelief, and in some cases rank Atheism, in cultivated families."

That goodly project, however, came to nothing, though in the view of Justice Stephen most if not all of the writers and publishers named were certainly open to conviction for blasphemy under the existing law. It would appear that the spiritual interests of "cultivated families" arouse less solicitude than do those of the poor, in matters religious as well as Malthusian. Above all, none of the writers threatened, save Mr John Morley, was likely to give the Tory party any chance of turning his heresy to political advantage, and Mr Morley was already safe in his seat, having taken the oath without demur and without opposition, after editorially criticising Mr Bradlaugh for his willingness to take it. Mr Morley had perhaps put himself right with the religious party by applauding the prosecution of Foote and Ramsey—he who had expressly justified the polemic of Voltaire.† A clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Stewart Headlam, whose championship of the principle of religious equality has all along been above all praise, wrote to Mr Morley in his editorial capacity, protesting "as a Christian priest" against a policy which made it "almost impossible for Christians to meet Atheists on equal terms." "It seems," Mr Headlam began, "as though you were one of those who say, 'There is no God, but it's a family secret.'" The letter was suppressed. It is bare justice to cite it here ‡ as being perhaps the most telling protest made against the blasphemy prosecutions, albeit written by a sincerely orthodox clergyman.

The original case against Bradlaugh's co-defendants, Messrs

* March 1883.

† To do Mr Morley justice, it should be acknowledged that he unsaid his vindication in the same book.

‡ It was printed in the *National Reformer* of 1st April 1883.

Foote and Ramsey, who had been already sentenced to imprisonment on the second prosecution by Mr Justice North, came on before Lord Coleridge and a special jury on 24th April. The judge treated the prisoners with signal consideration and courtesy; and when the prosecuting counsel, Mr Moloney, persisted in putting a question to which Lord Coleridge had objected, his lordship indignantly asked, "Why cannot this case be conducted like any other case? It seems all of a piece with the learned counsel inspecting a man's bank-book." The accused defended themselves, Mr Foote making a particularly able speech, on which the judge, in his summing-up, repeatedly complimented him. That summing-up (delivered on the 25th) was in its way a masterly performance, marking the judge as the most admirably persuasive of pleaders. Deeply averse to all punishment of opinion, he showed the jury that the blasphemy law, as interpreted by past judges, was not nearly so outrageous as had been supposed; and the definition of "the late Mr Starkie," of which a scanty quotation had been given by the prosecution, he showed to be much less illiberal than it had been understood to be, though nothing could make it out to be a precise or practical formulation of law. As in the previous trial, he demolished the absurd plea that "Christianity is part of the law of the land," by the *reductio ad absurdum* that the marriage law and the monarchy are part of the law of the land, but are yet open to being argued against—at least in all modern opinion. As, however, no interpretation could do away with the hard facts of the blasphemy laws, and the accused had unfortunately put their heresy at times with extreme pictorial crudeness, his lordship could not definitely charge the jury that no blasphemy had been committed in law. He admitted that the objection against their practice on the score of violence would apply to some passages read by Mr Foote from prominent modern writers, which were new to him; but while the law stood as it was, that was no defence for Mr Foote, as the writers in question would be equally open to indictment. The jury, thus unavoidably left in doubt, disagreed. The prosecution, acting judiciously for the first time, took the course of entering a *nolle prosequi*, and the case dropped, but not without the Lord Chief Justice having to point out that the petition grossly misrepresented him as having pronounced the prosecution "unadvisable," which he had carefully abstained from doing. Unluckily, the dropping

of this case did not affect the sentence passed by Justice North; and the then Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, declined to mitigate the punishment, on the score of the offensiveness of one of the incriminated woodcuts, which he called "an obscene libel," though the charge was one of blasphemy. Some Liberal journals indignantly protested; but the Liberal leaders felt they must show no consideration to blasphemy, though even the *Spectator* censured them for their timidity.

§ 19.

While the decisive trials were yet in the future, Bradlaugh had never slackened his energetic action on the political side of the fight. The last move in the House had been taken on 18th July 1882, when Mr Labouchere moved that Bradlaugh be appointed a member of the Committee to consider the Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bills. The right of a member in Bradlaugh's position to serve on committees had been established by the precedents of Alderman Salomons and Baron Rothschild. The point was a curious one, and could not be got over argumentatively, but of course the House could outvote the motion, which it did by 120 to 35. Not till the next year was the campaign indoors reopened.

On 15th February 1883, the day of the reassembling of Parliament, a great demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square in support of Bradlaugh's and Northampton's claim, about a thousand delegates attending from some four hundred Radical associations of provincial towns. At first some of the railway companies were understood to be willing to run cheap excursion trains, but that concession was of course violently opposed, and at a meeting of representatives of the companies held in the Railway Clearing House on 29th January a resolution was carried by a majority of votes, binding all the companies to give no special facilities whatever. An attempt to get the use of the Floral Hall, Covent Garden, for the meeting was defeated by the veto of the Duke of Bedford's agent, though the Directors were willing to grant it; and no other sufficiently large hall was available for the date. The meeting, which would have been several times larger had the railway companies given the desired special trains, was nevertheless a great success, the square being densely packed, despite bad weather; and despite some attempts at rioting by hired roughs,

there was almost perfect order throughout. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had deprecated the meeting as held in an illegal place, though for a perfectly legal purpose. This was a misconstruction of the Act 57th Geo. III. cap. 19, sec. 23, which prohibited meetings within a mile of Parliament House for the purpose of petitioning the Crown or Parliament "for alteration of matters in Church or State." As there was no petition under consideration, the meeting was perfectly legal. Other papers went further, the *Daily Telegraph* applauding the railway companies for refusing to "start trains in order to bring up country roughs;" and generally it must be recorded that some of the leading Liberal journals discouraged the whole procedure. The *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle* even suppressed resolutions sent them in support of Bradlaugh's claim from provincial clubs before the demonstration—such resolutions being part of the manifold machinery of preparation for a great public demonstration; and the Tory papers as a rule suppressed all reports tending to show the support given to Bradlaugh in the country. Other forms of boycotting were freely employed. In the cathedral town of Peterborough a debating society set up by the local Young Men's Christian Association was deprived of the use of the Association's rooms because it carried a motion in favour of Bradlaugh's right to sit and vote. This episode typified hundreds. The most skilful device employed, perhaps, was the issue of a forged circular, purporting to come from Bradlaugh, calling on "all Atheists, as well as Socialists," to "assemble in their thousands round the House of Commons," and show that "the Atheists of this country have a right to be represented" in Parliament.* Newspapers which had no space for genuine news about Bradlaugh gave prominence to this.

As the meeting of Parliament drew near, expectation naturally rose high on both sides. The sentiment of many Tories may be presumed to have been expressed by Lord Newark, son of Earl Manvers, when at the annual dinner of the Nottinghamshire Agricultural Society he was ruffianly enough to say:

"He supposed that Mr Bradlaugh meant to make himself objectionable as usual. He heard from an honourable member who sat near him† that he thought of going with a big stick, and he (Lord Newark)

* Cited in *National Reformer*, 18th February, p. 101.

† The hon. members were: Lord Galway, Messrs Foljambe and Nicholson, and Colonel Seely.

hoped that if he came within reach of Mr Bradlaugh he would ma use of it."

The stick, however, was not on exhibition at the House Commons. Bradlaugh's course was to send to the Speaker a lett stating the then position of matters, in view of the action of t law courts; and stating that he proposed to present himself before. This letter was read to the House before any oth business was taken. On Mr Labouchere asking the Governme what course they meant to take, Lord Hartington at on answered that on the following night they would move for lea to bring in an Affirmation Bill. Sir Richard Cross, on t Conservative side, at once announced that he would oppose t Bill, and his statement was loudly cheered. At this sta Inspector Denning asked Bradlaugh to leave the House a reassure the multitude outside, who were beginning to fancy th might be "ill-using him inside."

On 20th February the motion for leave was made, when S Henry Drummond Wolff was understood to express himself wi ironical approbation, while Mr Chaplin opposed, and Northco explained that he should vote against the second reading. T motion was carried by 184 votes to 53, most of the Irish pa voting in the minority. Not till 23d April did the Bill reach second reading; and in the meantime a desperate effort was ma by the entire Tory party to arouse feeling against the Bill. In t previous session the petitions in Bradlaugh's favour had be signed by 275,000 persons, and those against him by only 65,0 many of these being children. The leeway was now made The machinery of the Anglican and Catholic Churches was work to the utmost to beat up petitions; schools were swept wholes for signatures, not only in England but abroad;* and la employers of labour were got to procure the signatures of employ *en masse*, reluctant workers being not obscurely threatened with consequences of refusal. By these means half a million signatu were got up by the 23rd of April, the great majority being th of school-children and coerced employees. *Tantum religio—*

* A barrister wrote to Bradlaugh enclosing a letter from his daughter, a fifteen, at school at Frankfort, telling how the English chaplain there ca and asked all the English girls at the school to sign a petition against Affirmation Bill (*National Reformer*, 15th April 1883).

The Tory press likewise put its best foot foremost. In the *St James's Gazette* of 22nd February, Mr Greenwood made an abominable attack on Bradlaugh, the foulest of many foul blows, describing him as "a preacher of certain theories of the sexual relation which, in the opinion of the great majority of Englishmen, are not only immoral but filthy," going on to speak of him as having long been known as the publisher of an obscene tract, and representing him as an advocate of "Free Love, and sundry other doctrines and practices which benefit greatly by the impossibility of referring to them distinctly among decent people." The pamphlet formerly put together by Varley, largely consisting of matter Bradlaugh never wrote, falsified even at that, and partly of passages from him, wrested from their context and falsified in application, was circulated more widely than ever. Many members of Parliament repeated the palpable falsehood that Bradlaugh had been "declared by the House of Commons and the Courts of law incapable of sitting in Parliament;" and Mr H. S. Northcote, son of Sir Stafford, in addition to making this statement to his constituents at Exeter, told them that "when Mr Bradlaugh led a mob of unwashed ruffians down to Parliament Yard" the Government introduced their Bill.

On the second reading, Sir Richard Cross opened the opposition, and began by making the statement that "it was a former Government whip, Mr Adam, who first invited Mr Bradlaugh to go to Northampton"—the grossest form ever given to that particular untruth. He was seconded by Mr M'Cullagh Torrens, a nominal Liberal, who in his work on "Empire in Asia" had affected a high esteem for the principle of religious toleration—in other countries. The Bill, he said, tended "to begin the abjuring of all responsibilities to heaven." Mr W. E. Baxter, following, declared that not only had Atheists been members of Parliament, but they had sat on the Treasury Bench"—and a member called out "And sit!" Giffard, seeking his revenge at once on Bradlaugh and Lord Coleridge, "repeated without the smallest fear of contradiction that Christianity was a part of the common law of the kingdom." Mr Illingworth happening to speak of "recreant members of the Jewish community," Baron de Worms rose to order, and the Speaker ruled the term "out of order." None of the epithets directed at the Atheist had struck him in that light.

The debate was thrice adjourned. On 26th April Sir H. D.

Wolff took it upon him to accuse Lord Chancellor Selborne of using his position to help his political party; and Lord Randolph Churchill, in a later speech, said the same thing of Lord Coleridge. On the Liberal side, Gladstone made the greatest speech delivered by him during the whole controversy. At first he was elaborate and deprecatory, but gradually he rose to warmth and cogency. "Do you suppose," he asked—

"Do you suppose that we are ignorant that in every contested election which has happened since the case of Mr Bradlaugh came up you have gained votes and we have lost them? (Opposition cheers and counter cheers.) *You* are perfectly aware of it. We are not less aware of it. But if you are perfectly aware of it, is not some credit to be given to us —we giving you the same under circumstances rather more difficult— for presumptive integrity and purity of motive?"

It was a naïve and a vain appeal, but the speech was none the less fine. The most powerful part of its argument was the demonstration that those who consented to drop the Christian element from the oath and held by the Theistic were treating Christianity, as such, as a thing that could be dispensed with.

"I am not willing, sir, that Christianity—if the appeal is to be made to us as a Christian legislature—shall stand in any rank lower than that which is indispensable." He would not accept bare Theism as the main thing. "The adoption of such a proposition as that—and it is at the very root of your contention—seems to me in the highest degree disparaging to the Christian faith."

And then, contending that a bare belief in a remote and abstract Deity could exist with a complete disbelief in that Deity's having any relation with men, he rolled out "the noble and majestic lines, for such they are, of the Latin poet:"—

> "Omnis enim per se divom natura necesse'st
> Immortali aevo summa cum pace fruatur
> Semota ab nostris rebus sejunctaque longe;
> Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,
> Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri
> Nec bene promeritis capitur neque tangitur ira."*

* Lucretius, ii. 646–651. It was thought notable that the orator did not allude to the kindred passage in his beloved Homer (*Odyssey*, vi. 41), splendidly rendered by Lucretius (iii. 18–22), and choicely paraphrased by Tenny

There was no one to follow him up with a citation of the lines which follow on these where they used to stand misplaced in the first book of Lucretius' poem :—

> "Humana ante oculos foede cum vita jaceret
> In terris oppressa gravi sub religione ;

but some listeners there must have been who bethought them how perfectly this long controversy had answered to the Roman's picture of "life crushed to the earth under the weight of religion ;" and they may fitly have murmured "primum Graius homo" of the man whose long battle was even then visibly tending to relieve them one day of the old hypocrisy of adjuring the unknown God.

Touching his mother earth of classic verse, Gladstone drew new strength of eloquence.

"The Deity exists, as those I must say magnificent words set forth, in the remote, inaccessible recesses of which we know nothing, but with us it has no dealing, with us it has no relation. I have purposely gone back to ancient times, but I do not hesitate to say that the specific evil or specific form of irreligion with which in the educated society of this country you have to contend, and with respect to which you ought to be on your guard, is not blank Atheism. That is a rare opinion that is seldom met with ; but what is frequently met with are those forms of opinion which say that whatever is beyond the visible scene, whatever there be beyond this short span of life, you know, and can know, nothing of it. It is a visionary and bootless undertaking to try to think it. That, sir, is the specific mischief of the age ; but that mischief of the age you do not attempt to touch. . . . Whom do you seek to admit ? You seek to admit Voltaire. You would admit Voltaire, and that is a specimen of your liberality. Voltaire was no taciturn unbeliever. He was the author of that phrase which goes to the heart of every Christian, and of many a professor of religion who is not a Christian—'*Ecrasez l'Infâme.*' Voltaire would not have had the slightest difficulty in taking your oath ; and yet that is the state of the law for which you are working up the country to madness." (Loud ministerial cheers.)

Speeches followed varying between imbecility and commonplace ; and on the debate being again adjourned, it was re-opened (1st May) by Churchill in a speech of characteristic scurrility.

---

in his poem "Lucretius." The best expression in English verse of the idea in the passage quoted by Gladstone is again Tennyson's—the great passage at the close of the "Lotos Eaters."

"The personal supporters of the representative of Atheism," said the noble Lord, "were the residuum, and the rabble, and the scum of the population. The bulk of them were men to whom all restraint religious, moral, or legal, was odious and intolerable."

An effective reply to other parts of the speech was made by Mr Labouchere, who incidentally made the startling revelation that to his knowledge there were several members who had never taken the oath at all, having signed the roll, but missed swearing in the scramble for the Testaments. At length, on a third adjournment, the question came to the vote. Northcote made an ignominious speech, in which he defended himself on the point of having formerly urged that special legislation was the right course for the Government to take. He admitted that he had said so, but contended that saying so did not commit him to voting for that course when taken. The positive part of the argument was worthy of the negative. But bad as the pleading on the Tory side was, it had with it a majority of votes. On the division there voted only 289 for the second reading, and 292 against. Irish and renegade Liberal votes had just turned the scale; and it was noted that in the majority there voted several members too drunk to walk straight without support.* The result was received with a positive frenzy of delight by the Tories and their Home Rule allies, all alike shouting that they had "beaten Bradlaugh." "The Irish have beaten Bradlaugh," was the cry of Mr Sexton. The Liberals who voted with the majority were the three "Hon." Fitzwilliams of Yorkshire, Sir Edward Watkin,† Dr Lyons, Messrs Guest Nicholson, and Torrens, and Mr Jerningham, a Roman Catholic who had owed his recent election for Berwick mainly to his having promised to support Bradlaugh's claim to sit, and who all along broke his word in the House.‡

Bradlaugh without hesitation took his usual course, with

---

* Bradlaugh later publicly specified Newdegate as having been tipsy, "not for the first time;" and Newdegate, though denying the charge, did not bring an action for libel.

† It should be said that Sir Edward Watkin is understood to regret his action.

‡ Mr Jerningham defended himself by asserting that Bradlaugh had written a "Comic History of Christ," which was one lie more. On being corrected he told another, saying that Bradlaugh admitted having written the Introduction.

difference. He sent a letter to the Speaker, asking to be called to the table in the usual way to take the oath, and, in the case of that course being declined, to be heard at the bar. On 4th May he duly re-presented himself at the bar, and the letter was read by the Speaker. Northcote moved as usual that Bradlaugh be not allowed to swear; and Mr Labouchere moved that he be heard at the bar, which being allowed, he made his Fourth Speech at the Bar. It was comparatively brief, tersely repeating the old pleas, and the old protest—

"I submit that any hindrance which is not prescribed by law is an act which in itself is flagrantly wrong, whoever may commit it, and that the mere fact that a majority of voices in one Chamber may prevent a citizen from appealing to the law in no sense lessens the iniquity of the illegal act, and that history will so judge it, whatever to-day you may think it your right and your duty to do."

After disposing of the old falsehood that the late Liberal whip had recommended him to the Northampton electors, he remarked :—

"I have always regarded the Liberal party as standing in the way of my election, rather than as in any way helping my return. This, however, I submit, was matter unworthy of this House. No such consideration has ever entered at any time into the discussion of any other candidature. I submit that a great House, which claims the powers of one of the highest courts of these realms, should try to be judicial."

Again he exposed the persistent lie that he had "paraded his views," pointing out that even when, at official request, he named the statutes under which he claimed to affirm, he did not in law profess Atheism, since a Theist was legally incompetent to swear if he did not believe in future rewards and punishments, and such Theists were only entitled to affirm under the Acts under which he claimed. Again he protested that he had never uttered his opinions in the House.

"Under great temptation I have refrained from saying a word which could wound the feelings of the most religious, although I have heard within these walls, within but a few hours, language used by one who had declared his religion which I should have felt ashamed to use in any decent assembly."

This referred to an exhibition by Callan, the Catholic hench-

man of Cardinal Manning, who had repeatedly appeared in the House drunk, and who, in the division of the 3rd, had used such "filthy and blasphemous" language towards another Irish member who proposed to vote for Bradlaugh, that he had to make a formal apology to prevent the matter being raised. On 30th April, in the adjourned debate, another Irish member, M'Coan, had read some of the false quotations compiled by Varley, and, on being challenged, impudently asserted that Bradlaugh had never repudiated them. A third Irish member, Mr O'Brien, had observed that he "did not believe that any greater number of persons favoured Mr Bradlaugh than would be content to go naked through the streets." Yet another religious member, an English Tory, Mr Ritchie, had declared that the Affirmation Bill would be "the triumph of Atheism and Socialism," and further quoted to the House, as words used by Bradlaugh, words which he had never used, and which were described in the very document quoted as taken from a report for which he was not responsible. The "filthy book," too, had been mentioned; and on this Bradlaugh read the words of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, hereinbefore printed, with the exculpatory words of the jury. "But all these things," he added "although they were as true as they are false, give you no right to stand between me and my seat." His peroration was perfect :—

"I heard a strange phrase from a noble lord, that both sides had gone too far to recede. The House honours me too much in putting me on one side and itself on the other. The House, being strong, should be generous. The strong can recede, the generous can give way; but the constituents have a right to more than generosity—they have a right to justice. (Cheers.) The law gives me my seat. In the name of the law I ask for it. I regret that my personality overshadows the principle involved in this great struggle; but I would ask those who have touched my life, not knowing it, who have found for me vices which I do not remember in the memory of my life, I would ask them whether all can afford to cast the first stone—(cheers)—or whether, condemning me for my unworthiness, they will as just judges vacate their own seats, having deprived my constituents of their right here to mine." (Loud cheers.)

It remained to discuss the closing step, as usual. Mr Labouchere moved the previous question in a speech which pointedly raised the issue of the actual presence of other Atheists in the House.

"Since Mr Bradlaugh has been re-elected—since you refused to allow him to take the oath—it is well known by every member of this House

that a gentleman has been elected who is of great position in the literary world ; and every man who knows anything of English literature knows perfectly well that that gentleman has avowed himself to be an unbeliever in a superintending Providence as clearly as Professor Huxley himself. ('Hear, hear.') I ask, is it not monstrous hypocrisy to allow that hon. member to take the oath, and prevent Mr Bradlaugh from taking it, because you assert that three years ago he had stated within the precincts of this House that he was an Atheist?"

The member referred to was Mr John Morley, who, destined to be Mr Gladstone's most trusted lieutenant, had listened to the Premier's account of "the mischief of the age," but had taken no part in the debate. His Atheism, or non-Theism, was as notorious as Bradlaugh's. It had been zealously used against him by the Tories in his recent election at Newcastle. The fact that he had "spelt 'God' with a small 'g'" through a whole book was known to the whole newspaper-reading public; and the Tories would certainly have been glad enough to exclude him if they could. But they knew all along that there were Atheists on their own side; and Mr Morley's case could not be raised without raising these. So the "profanation of the oath" was permitted without a murmur by the party which had declared itself incapable of tolerating such a thing; and the flagitious persecution of the avowed Atheist was recommenced all the same.

To Mr Labouchere's charge of "monstrous hypocrisy" no answer was attempted. Gladstone and Northcote with one consent ignored it. On a division, though Gladstone supported Mr Labouchere's motion (which if carried would have enabled Bradlaugh to take the oath), only 165 voted for it, and 271 against.

§ 20.

Three years had now passed since Bradlaugh first sought to take the seat to which he was alike morally and legally entitled—three years of manifold exhausting and sorely burdensome strife, of iniquitous and vile calumny, of lawless and shameful persecution, in part brutally fanatical, in part dishonest and hypocritical in the lowest degree. It had been made to embrace all who were closely connected with him. First Mrs Besant was insultingly refused leave to use the garden of the Royal Botanic Society for her studies, on the score that the daughters of the Curator used it. Later

(1883) the Misses Bradlaugh were denied membership of th "Somerville" (Women's) Club on the score that their names wer sufficient objection. Yet later (2nd May 1883) Mrs Besant an Miss Bradlaugh were refused admittance to the practical Botan Class at University College, London. On applying by letter, the were requested to present themselves, and then they were told i person by the secretary and the "lady superintendent" that the could not be admitted, because there was "some prejudice" against them. It seemed as if nothing short of the personal insul would suffice the officials concerned; but the Council* endorse their action at its meeting of 7th May, though the very purpose fo which the College had been founded was to dispense with religious qualifications. A memorial requesting the Council to summon a extraordinary general meeting to consider this action was signe by, among others, Professors Huxley, Bain, and Frankland, and D E. B. Tylor; but on the meeting being held, the medical graduate came in large numbers to support the action of the Council, greatl outvoting the others. Only nine voted against. The University College was thus committed to a course of ethical rivalry with th House of Commons, outdoing that body, however, in declining t assign any reason for its action. At the meeting Mr Justice Denman took an active part in justifying the action of the Council and it went from him to the country that the excluded ladies ha "refused to comply with the rules of the College." This was pur fiction. Mrs Besant described it at the time as a "cruel an malignant falsehood, for we complied with every condition lai down to us." Informed of his mis-statement, Mr Justice Denma made no correction. Later in the year an attempt was made t deprive of his chair a Professor of Mathematics in the South Wale University, Mr Lloyd Tanner, who was a member of the Nationa Secular Society, and had helped the movement in support o Bradlaugh's claim. It was, however, defeated by a majority o votes.

These endless acts of persecution, parodied as they were in thousand acts of less publicity, only roused the persecuted party t

* The President was Lord Kimberley; the Treasurer Sir Julian Goldsmid and the Council included Lord Belper, Sir B. N. Ellis, Sir A. Hobhouse Lord Reay, and Sir George Young. I cannot ascertain who were present save that Sir A. Hobhouse was one.

ore energetic action. The Freethought propaganda was carried rther than ever, and naturally did not grow more gentle. On e political side, Bradlaugh set himself afresh to rouse the con- ituencies, bating no jot of heart or hope. To his own constitu- nts he offered his resignation if they wished it, and once more ey emphatically refused. He accordingly issued one more Appeal to the People," organised a series of addresses and monstrations in the large towns, and in particular took fresh eps for overthrowing the Liberals who had helped to throw out e Affirmation Bill. Previous menaces had reduced the number these renegades in the last trial of strength; and Torrens in rticular now received hundreds of letters warning him that he ed not again stand for Finsbury. In the course of a few months, radlaugh had addressed audiences numbering in all over 300,000, d nearly all were unanimously in his favour, while at none did e malcontents number above two per cent. In some towns, as Halifax and Leeds, he had enormous open-air demonstrations, e numbers coming to some fifty thousand. A densely packed eeting took place in St James's Hall in July; and another rafalgar Square demonstration was held in August, attended by me thirty thousand men, of whom hundreds came as delegates om the provinces; and concurrently with these "constitutional" therings there was carried on the work of the Association for the epeal of the Blasphemy Laws, largely conducted by advanced nitarian clergymen, who worked with a disinterested zeal worthy the very highest praise, considering how little of personal mpathy they could have had with the imprisoned Freethinkers.

In the way of more direct action, Bradlaugh on 5th July otified Gladstone that he proposed again to present himself to ke the oath, and on the 9th Northcote interrogated the Premier n the subject. Left to do as he would, Northcote once more oved that Bradlaugh be excluded from the House until he ould engage not to disturb its proceedings; and on a division 32 voted for the motion and only 65 against, Gladstone deprecat- ng any division at all. On the next day, on receipt of the order f exclusion, Bradlaugh notified Captain Gossett, the Sergeant-at- rms, that if Captain Gossett would say he interpreted the order o involve the use of physical force to resist Bradlaugh's entry, he ould take legal proceedings to obtain a restraining injunction om the High Court of Justice against such resistance. In this

way the legal question might be raised and settled without a fr
scuffle. In the House the Speaker declined to let this letter
made ground of discussion as a matter of "privilege," though
allowed the letter to Gladstone to be so treated. The Serge
at-Arms, however, made the requisite answer, and the act
was duly begun (19th July). The Treasury defended, and
Bradlaugh's appeal the case was tried by a "full Court."
came on before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, Mr Justice Steph
and Mr Justice Mathew, on 7th December, the defence argu
by Demurrer to the Statement of Claim. Bradlaugh's pleadi
was one long argument with the judges, who followed him w
great care; and on 9th February 1884 they gave their judgme
not unexpectedly, against him. The view taken was, broad
that "if injustice has been done, it is an injustice for which
courts of law afford no remedy," which had been the content
of the Attorney-General. Mr Justice Stephen, while concurr
with Lord Coleridge to the above effect, delivered a separate
very careful judgment. They could not, he said in effect, assu
that the House intentionally defied the law. It must h
supposed it was within the law. Then the Court could
pronounce its action illegal without hearing its reasons. But
House could not without loss of dignity give the Court its reas
or allow the Court to overrule them. Therefore the plain
right or wrong, had no legal redress. If wronged, he must g
the constituencies. In fine, the breaking of any law by
House in its own procedure would not be illegal, or, if it w
the illegality could not be redressed by the law courts.
House of Commons might be restrained in the case of an ill
order against a stranger, but not in the case of an illegal o
against one of its own members. If it erred or did injustic
was in the position of an erring or unjust judge, from wh
decision there was no appeal. The rights of the constituenc
Northampton and their member were strictly legal rights; bu
lay with the House to override them if it would.

Expecting this decision, Bradlaugh had already laid the
situation before his constituents, in order to have their assen
his action on the re-opening of Parliament, and once more
declared their entire confidence in him. He had also arra
with the Tories, through his colleague, to take no action in
House before 11th February, if they would take none. His co

w was to go to the House on 11th February, go up to the table th Mr Labouchere and Mr Burt as his introducers, and once re administer the oath to himself.

The Speaker gave the customary order to withdraw, and rthcote, after stating that Bradlaugh had not taken the oath cording to the statute, absurdly moved that he "be not allowed go through the form of repeating the words of the oath pre-ibed by the statutes." Then ensued the customary miscellaneous bate. Gladstone at much length suggested that there should be division. Mr Labouchere offered to agree if Northcote would nit his motion to the time within which it would be possible to tain a legal decision on the legality of Bradlaugh's latest act of lf-swearing; but Northcote would not agree, and Mr Labouchere oceeded forcibly to argue the point, not only declaring the act be in his opinion legal, but adding:—

"I confess that, for my part, I do regard these words of the oath hich Bradlaugh had called an unmeaning form] as an utterly meaning form — (Opposition cries of 'Oh, oh') — utterly and solutely an unmeaning form. To me they are just the same perstitious incantation—('Hear, hear,' laughter, 'Oh, oh,' and 'Order') as the trash of any Mumbo-Jumbo among African savages. (Renewed ughter, cries of 'Oh, oh,' and 'Order.') Why do hon. gentlemen say)h, oh'? Are they aware that there are many in this House who gard these words as a blasphemous form? ('Hear, hear.') I say I gard them as an unmeaning form."

From this point at least, if not before, the proceedings against radlaugh in the House may without fear of contradiction be escribed as an indecent farce. His colleague had in the most ggressive fashion, and within the House, declared the oath to be his opinion a superstitious, barbarous, and senseless incantation. Ir John Morley, as Positivist, had taken the oath without con-adiction. And before either of these episodes Mr Ashton Dilke, hose vacated seat for Newcastle Mr Morley obtained, had declared the House, in course of debate, that he was without belief in ne reigning religion. Bradlaugh, who heard the avowal, remarked the stilled surprise with which it was received. But no one ver sought to challenge the right of Mr Dilke, Mr Morley, or Ir Labouchere to sit in virtue of having taken an unbelieving ath. The Tory talk in the House of "profanation" is thus tamped once for all as a tissue of the worst hypocrisy; and the

Tory leader and all his men stand convicted of a course
dissimulation as cowardly as it was shameless. They would att
the "unpopular" man; they would not obstruct Mr Morley, si
that would bring up the question of Tory Atheism; they wo
not proceed against Mr Labouchere, since he was likely to publ
in his journal the names of some of the Tory Atheists.

Gross as it had become, the farce went on. Forster, who n
spoke on the subject for the first time, gave a touch of dignity
the debate by protesting against Mr Labouchere's remarks on t
oath (though without proposing to have him proceeded agains
and saying, as Gladstone and others had said before, that
opposition to Bradlaugh was one of the greatest blows against t
cause of religion that had been struck for many years. Northco
making no comment whatever on Mr Labouchere's hardy avow
briefly explained the force of his motion; and after this irregular
the debate grew more and more confused. It was known t
Bradlaugh meant as before to vote in the division; and
Speaker was repeatedly appealed to to prevent it. He declared
had not the power; and Mr Healy—in one of a series of gros
insolent speeches, in which he spoke of "the Government, Br
laugh & Co."—moved immediately after the division, before
numbers were announced, that the vote be expunged. Af
much squabbling, the House divided on this point, when th
voted 258 Ayes and 161 Noes. Bradlaugh's vote with
Noes was thus "disallowed;" but after the voting on the origi
motion had been stated—280 Ayes and 167 Noes—Mr Lab
chere announced that Bradlaugh had voted with the Noes on
motion to expunge his previous vote. The farce was thus pre
complete.

Northcote then made his usual motion to exclude Bradla
"from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not furt
to disturb the proceedings of the House." Again the debate br
out. Mr Labouchere offered to undertake that if the motion
withdrawn Bradlaugh should not disturb the proceedings u
he had obtained a legal decision on this last oath-taking;
Gladstone and Bright pointed out the hardship and indignity
excluding Bradlaugh from the very library and lobbies of
House; but Northcote, swayed as usual by the worst of
followers, pressed his motion, disregarding Mr Burt's final rep
tion of the undertaking that Bradlaugh should not disturb

ceedings till his law case was settled. On a division, 228 ed for the final indignity, and only 120 against. The farce l become as ignoble as meanness could make it; and Northcote s admitted by most people to have fully realised the character in ich he was more than once presented by the caricaturists—of ıtaloon to Churchill's clown in the Tory pantomime. Churchill k the lead on the following evening when, Bradlaugh having pplied for the Chiltern Hundreds," Mr Labouchere moved that a v writ be issued for Northampton.* The hereditarily noble d saw that if Bradlaugh were re-elected they would be no ther forward; and his object was to exclude him permanently. had lately given notice of a motion that Bradlaugh be declared apable in perpetuity of sitting, but had dropped it as hopeless. now "moved the adjournment of the debate." A straggling d noisy debate ensued, in which Mr Healy was pronounced orderly by the Speaker for his interruptions of Northcote, ose ally he had been. On a division, only 145 voted for the journment, and 203 against. Then more discussion as to whether e Chancellor of the Exchequer had the right to grant the Chiltern ındreds, the motion for the new writ being finally agreed to.

Unseated for the third time since his perfectly valid return in 80, Bradlaugh appealed to his constituents to elect him for the ırth time, and was received by them with if possible greater thusiasm than ever. A new Tory candidate, Mr H. C. Richards, d been for some time in the field, and the seat was fought in the l fashion; but whether owing to the feebleness of the candidate, om Bradlaugh generally treated with humorous contempt, or a ıse of shame among some of the local Tories, the opposition te now fell away. The forces of bigotry had squeezed the last ssible vote out of the borough, and after a short and strenuous uggle the poll (19th February 1884) ran: Bradlaugh, 4032; chards, 3664. Bradlaugh had clearly "touched bottom," and gun to rise again. At the general election he had polled 3827, d been 695 above the highest Tory; in 1881 he had only polled 37, a majority of only 132; in 1882, polling 3796, he was only

* In this case the Government arranged to sue Bradlaugh in the Courts for e penalties that would be incurred if his last oath-taking and voting were nounced illegal by the Courts. It was accordingly left to Bradlaugh to ate his seat by his own act

108 above his opponent with 3688; now he had reached a high figure than ever, polling 368 more than the Tory, who was below the last Tory vote. The Tory game was now hopeless far as Northampton was concerned.

The badgered Northcote, goaded by his lawless following, nc proposed to take the step of preventing Bradlaugh from enteri the House on his new return. Learning this, Bradlaugh on t 20th wrote a letter of protest to the Speaker and the Premier, a the anticipatory course was prevented. But when on the 21st t Speaker read to the House a second letter in which Bradlau formally undertook (as his introducers had undertaken for hi before) not to present himself at the table until judgment shou be given in the test action to be laid against him by the Gover ment. All the same, Northcote moved, amid cries of "Shame," l old resolution of exclusion "from the precincts." The Tory arr had to be solaced somehow for Bradlaugh's decisive victory at t poll. Gladstone opposed, and yet again there was a miscellaneo debate, in the course of which Churchill made the worthy su gestion that the Government meant that Mr Bradlaugh was to allowed once more to appeal to the mob, in order that not only t House of Commons might be prejudiced, but that even the cou of law might be biassed by the demonstration in his favour. O division, 226 voted for Northcote's motion and only 173 again Bradlaugh was now denied the use of the House's library for t lawsuit pending against him on the House's behalf. He address to Northcote, and printed in his journal, an open letter touch with indignant contempt.

The critical part of the letter, and perhaps the special sting some of the phrases—as, "You wear knightly orders. Y should be above a knave's spitefulness"—moved Northcote to se a long defensive reply, repeating the "profanation" formula, a concluding: "The inconveniences of which you complain are conveniences which you might, if you chose, put an end to-morrow"—which meant that Bradlaugh might have the use of House if only he would undertake never again under any circu stances to try to take his seat. To this "knightly" suggestio

* The harping on the "chivalry" of Northcote by Mr Lang and other an interesting light on the nature of their ideals. Northcote was certai more of a gentleman than were his accomplices in the Bradlaugh strug

dlaugh replied with perhaps too scrupulous courtesy of form, with sufficient emphasis, and turned himself once more to the ggle outside.

§ 21.

From this point forward it is difficult to record the course of Parliamentary struggle with the serious patience hitherto spent the narrative. On the side of the House it had become a olting hypocrisy, since Bradlaugh was being ostracised for what er men were allowed to do freely; and the form of legality on in the resort to the law courts was only a new simulation. e law courts had declared that they could have no possible sdiction over the House in such matters however it might ak the law, and still the House was formally proceeding to ain from the law courts penalties against Bradlaugh for trying fulfil the law when the House hindered him. The House w quite well that if it had even declared him entitled to affirm ler the existing law, no court would have decided otherwise. e hostile decision was here a foregone conclusion; for *a fortiori* courts, after their last emphatic decision, would not prevent House from interpreting the law as to swearing in its own . Only the strenuous energy of Bradlaugh, joined with his valrous belief in the ideal rectitude and jurisdiction of the ges, could have set any man in his position on a fresh legal enture.

Begun in March 1884, the lawsuit at the instance of the vernment came on before Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, Mr tice Grove, Mr Baron Huddleston, "sitting at bar," and a

---

barring his comparative moderation, there was not a gleam of "chivalry" is whole conduct of the business. As for the mass of his followers, they as Sir George Trevelyan has said of the Tories who ostracised Wilkes, much chivalry in them as a pack of prairie wolves round a wounded lo." Mr Lang ("Life," ii. 136) writes that "an acute and well-informed c has singled out Sir Stafford Northcote's treatment of the questions d by Mr Bradlaugh as the best example of Sir Stafford Northcote's tact adroitness." The "adroitness" need not be disputed. But Mr Lang, on wn part, holds that "it would throw no light on Sir Stafford Northcote's rship to follow the details of this tedious and protracted struggle." For ht" and "leadership," read "credit" and "character," and the proposi- would be quite valid.

special jury, on 13th, 15th, 17th, and 18th June. Agai
Bradlaugh were arrayed five counsel,—the Attorney-General,
Solicitor-General, Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr Danckwertz, a
Mr R. S. Wright, and the case was argued at enormous leng
on a multitude of minutiæ as to Bradlaugh's original evide
before the first Select Committee, the practice of the House,
position of the Speaker on 11th February, the law as to wh
constituted the oath, the force of an oath taken by an athe
and so on. After two delays, caused by the illness of Lo
Coleridge, his summing-up, which was proportionately long a
elaborate, was given on 30th June. It advised the jury that t
weight of evidence was to show that Bradlaugh was all alo
an unbeliever in a Supreme Being—a point which Bradlau
argued should not have been raised—that in law a person
whose conscience an oath would have "no binding effect" w
a person who could not legally take a oath; and that Bradlau
had not taken the oath in accordance with the practice of Par
ment. The other judges concurred; but Lord Coleridge havi
spoken of inquisitorial questions on belief in general (not th
in the Bradlaugh case in particular) as "hateful" and "d
gusting," Mr Baron Huddleston desired to express dissent on t
head, while Mr Justice Grove said he would call them, "to
a mild term, extremely objectionable." The Lord Chief Justi
remarking that he felt strongly on the matter, gracefully agr
that his words should be "discounted" on that score.

Formally, there went to the jury eight questions, to this effe
(1) Was the Speaker sitting when Bradlaugh took the oath
11th February? (2) Was he sitting to prepare notes for use
addressing Bradlaugh? (3) Had he resumed his seat to
Bradlaugh swear? (4) Was Bradlaugh then without belief i
Supreme Being? (5) Was he a person on whose conscience
oath, *as an oath*, had no binding force? (6) Had the Ho
full cognisance of these matters through Bradlaugh's avow
(7) Did he take the oath according to Parliamentary practi
(8) Generally, did he take and subscribe the oath?

The jury's answers were, in brief:—(1) Sitting; (2) Sitting
prepare notes as stated; (3) No; (4) He had no such beli
(5) Yes; (6) Yes; (7) Not according to the "full" practice;
Not as an oath.

Bradlaugh at once asked for a stay of judgment in order to ena

m "to move for a new trial to move to enter judgment for
e defendant *non-obstante veredicto*, and to move for arrest of
dgment." Outsiders had supposed that the jury trial ended the
atter, but it was not so. Bradlaugh wrote in his journal un-
auntedly: "If my constituents still give me their confidence,
othing can defeat me;" and when friends wrote that they could
e no hope of good from the "wearisome and disappointing
tigation," he characteristically answered:—

"There are only two weapons to defend the right with: Law and
orce. As yet I try the law; and so long as I believe, as I do believe,
e law to be on my side, it is to the law and to public opinion I
ght to appeal. My opponents rely on force and trick. If the law
as actually against me they would take away my seat by law. This
ey do not even try to do. They hope to weary my constituents, and
tire and ruin me in this contest. Hampden, resisting ship-money,
ught more than three years in the law courts; but his wearisome
tigation was not quite in vain. Wilkes, backed by Earl Temple with
rse and power, struggled with the Commons through several weary
ars, and at last Middlesex gave him victory."

The appeal was, on the face of it, a better case than Bradlaugh
d had in defending the action of the Crown. It came on, on
h December, before the same judges, sitting "*in banc*," who had
ied the action "at bar," Bradlaugh turning out to be right in
s theory of the proper procedure, whereas the judges had all
een avowedly in doubt. But the greater apparent force of the
se as now put did not avail. Bradlaugh cogently argued that
o Act of Parliament gave the least countenance to the notion
at Atheists were to be disabled from swearing. The Parlia-
entary Oaths Act of 1866, cap. xix., enjoins on members of
arliament, with the exception only of those qualified to affirm,
e taking of an oath of allegiance of uniform phrasing, thus ad-
itting of no disability, and making an end of any disability which
ay be supposed to have previously existed. Yet again, an Act
1867 expressly provided that any subject of Her Majesty,
ithout reference to his religious belief, should take the oath of
legiance on taking office. But Lord Coleridge had in the
evious trial fully made up his mind that "oath" must mean
adjuration made by one believing in the Deity adjured," and
early indicated that this conviction overthrew all arguments
om the mere wording of statutes. On the Act of 1867 he

remarked (with a discourtesy which for him was unusual, and which disappears in the report) that "a little common sense and a little knowledge of history" would have made the appellant aware that that Act was passed on behalf of a Roman Catholic judge. Bradlaugh knew the facts well enough, and capped the Lord Chief Justice's history with some more, all going to show that the wish of the legislature had then been to sweep away all religious disabilities whatever. It was all to no purpose. Lord Coleridge was rather a man of strong sentiments than a strong lawyer. He hated all persecution on behalf of religion; and on behalf of Messrs Foote and Ramsey he stated the law of blasphemy in the mildest possible way—a way to which Mr Justice Stephen, albeit a rationalist, declared he could not subscribe. But Lord Coleridge was also an emotional Christian; and though his admired friend Arnold would readily have taken the oath without any belief in the Deity adjured, his Lordship was strongly averse to having it taken by an "aggressive" Atheist; and though he must have known perfectly well that in Parliament there had for generations been known holders of atheistic views, and that nobody proposed their exclusion, he yet chose to assume that all laws as to oath-taking were meant to exclude oath-taking by Atheists. One or two notable passages took place between him and the appellant. Lord Coleridge, in his nervous irritation at being persistently argued against, once so far forgot himself as to say Bradlaugh was wasting time. The charge was too bad: Bradlaugh was one of the closest and concisest of pleaders, as many judges had admitted; and at a later stage in this trial the Lord Chief Justice took back his words. At another point he somewhat impatiently deprecated a particular line of argument, and Bradlaugh quietly answered, "My Lord, I must fight with what weapons I can." Once or twice more his lordship was rather idly petulant,* but this was transient; and he was very genial when on his remarking, "It may be, of course, that you are right and we are all wrong," the appellant answered, "With the utmost respect, my lord, that is practically what I am going to contend."

Justice Grove, an amiable and fair though unsubtle judge, argued very courteously (while incidentally avowing that his sympathies were on the side of minimising oaths) that the legis-

* I was present at this trial, and took notes for an article.

ature could not be held to have enacted an oath in the tolerant xpectation that it would be taken by some men for whom the djuration had no meaning. That was no doubt a perfectly easonable point for a judge to put; but, on the other hand, nothing more common than the plea of judges—it was made by Justice rove himself—that they have only to do with the law as it ands; and if in this case they were to look into the probable ate of mind of the legislature, it was plainly their business to take nto account all the well-known facts of the case, including the otorious fact that members known to their fellow-members to be theists or "Lucretian" Theists had repeatedly sat in the House.

Their lordships, of course, repeated their former decision—ord Coleridge giving the very inaccurate reason that no "new oint" or "new argument" had been raised—and the rule for a ew trial was refused. Immediately Bradlaugh appealed; and the ase was heard (on the motion for a new trial, and, secondarily or seven days' time to move for arrest of judgment after the first notion should have been adjudged upon) in the Court of Appeal on 5th December by Lords Justices Brett (Master of the Rolls), otton, and Lindley. These judges heard the appeal with great atience, and on the 18th gave judgment to the effect that they ould not grant a rule for a new trial on the ground that the erdict was against the evidence. But on "many other questions the case which it is not improbable might all be raised upon the ppeal by way of arrest of judgment," they thought it right to rant "a rule *nisi* to show cause upon all the other points taken y the defendant, upon condition that the appeal in arrest of udgment is brought on at the same time." The argument on this ule was taken on 26th January 1885, when the Attorney-General nd Sir Hardinge Giffard argued (a point which had been left open efore) that no appeal lay, the case being technically a criminal ne. This plea, after voluminous argument, was overruled—the oint being settled by Bradlaugh's references to portions of the rown Suits Act which the other side had not dealt with. Then ame the argument on the main issue. To a lay listener Lord ustice Brett seemed to give a more strictly judicial attention to he problem than did any of the judges who had dealt with it itherto, and never was the subject more fully illuminated. In a revious trial Justice Grove had noticed the anomaly that whereas n oath or affirmation was set up as a means of securing true

answers, the judge had to satisfy himself beforehand on a witness's bare word as to the nominally all-important point whether an oath would be "binding on his conscience." Bradlaugh now brought out another no less precious anomaly, namely, that the Speaker, at the opening of Parliament, must of necessity administer the oath to himself; and that the first forty members *must positively break the law*, seeing that they swear while there is not a "full House" sitting. Another curious issue was raised by the Court. An unbeliever could certainly be punished for perjury; how, then, could his oath be "no oath," when perjury expressly meant false testimony given on oath? Sir Hardinge Giffard's answer was that no man may "take profit from his own wrong." It might have been more dramatically put that the Christian law says to the Atheist, "Heads, we win; tails, you lose."

Despite the fairness of the hearing given, it soon became apparent that the Master of the Rolls held that "religious test" could only mean "test as between different forms of religion," and that to exclude an Atheist from civic rights is not to impose a religious test. Now, the English tests of last century were as between sects, not as between religions; that is, they were denominational; that is, political. Still, they were always known as religious tests. It would surely follow that "religious test" meant any test connected with religious matters. In that case Lord Justice Brett's distinction was completely arbitrary and fallacious. But on grounds such as these, among others, the judgment was given (28th January) against the appellant. It was certainly an able judgment—as able as it was lengthy. It raised among other things, the exquisitely complicated anomaly that Bradlaugh could satisfy a judge on his bare statement that he was an Atheist, and yet, after affirming on that ground, could be solemnly examined as to whether he was an Atheist. And the judge very explicitly laid it down that if a non-believer in a false hood-punishing Deity were to take the oath unopposed, with all the customary formalities, he could on proof be sued for the penalty of £500 for every vote he had given. This meant, if anything, that the Atheists or Agnostics then sitting in Parliament were all so liable.

Lord Justice Cotton, with much simplicity, laid it down that the law of England "undoubtedly" was that if a person in the "unhappy position" of not believing in a lie-avenging Deity took

he oath, it was not a real oath. And Lord Justice Lindley, with a certain cynical candour, dealt with Bradlaugh's main argument, hat it was absurd to hold that a man is by law incapable of doing hat which the law requires him to do. "I agree in the absurdity," aid his lordship, "but not in the argument adduced from it." He eld that the only solution would be that the defendant "could ot be properly elected."

"It is a mistake to suppose," said Lord Justice Lindley further, "and think it is as well the mistake should be known, that persons who do ot believe in a Supreme Being are in the state in which it is now sup- osed they are. There are old Acts of Parliament still unrepealed by hich such people can be cruelly persecuted. Whether that is a state f law which ought to remain or not is not for me to express an opinion pon; but having regard to the fact that these Acts of Parliament still emain unrepealed, I do not see my way to hold judicially that this ath was not kept alive by Parliament *for the very purpose, amongst thers, of keeping such people out of Parliament.*"

This last deliverance is memorable on several grounds—memorable as showing the need, from the point of view of one more judge, for a repeal of the brutal laws of the past against heresy; and further memorable as showing once more how ready are judges to rest alternately on mutually exclusive principles f interpretation. On the point as to whether the case was one n which an appeal lay, Lord Justice Lindley grounded his opinion n the fact that there was not to be found in the Judicature Act "the slightest indication of any intention on the part of he legislature" to prevent appeals in cases which were "previously made civil proceedings for the purposes of appeals." On he same principle, he ought to have looked whether there were he "slightest indication of any intention on the part of the egislature" in modern acts to exclude all Atheists from oath-aking. There is no such indication. Not a word is said of xcluding unbelievers. On the contrary, it was only with difficulty that the legislature could be got to meet the fact that there *were* many Atheists who at times had to give testimony in courts f law. Had the legislature really desired to exclude all Atheists rom oath-taking it would surely have said so, knowing as it must ave done how common unbelieving oath-taking had been. And ll the judges, as individuals, must have known perfectly well that rivately known Atheists had sat in every Parliament for genera-

tions. Such are the conditions of legal judgment on questio of legal principle.

Bradlaugh at once gave notice of appeal to the House of Lord and, all things considered, he had as good chances of success ever he had. But this litigation had now reached its clima and the appeal did not come off. The struggle had gone f towards completing its fifth year, and relief was almost withi sight. It was not to come from legislation. Mr Hopwood ha undertaken to introduce an affirmation Bill grappling with th whole position, which was not merely an affair of the admissio of Atheists, but of providing also for certain religionists who, n being Quakers, Moravians, or Separatists, were not entitled t affirm, though strongly objecting to the oath. And there wer yet further matters to be dealt with, as the position of fre thinking jurors. But the saving credit of passing such a measu was not in store for the "Liberal" Parliament. At the Liber Conference on Reform in 1884, presided over by Mr John Morle a resolution had been unanimously carried in favour of Nort ampton's right; and at the Conference of the National Liber Federation in 1885, Mr Hopwood's Bill was unanimously approve of; but though this action was backed up by countless resol tions of Liberal and Radical Clubs, and hundreds of petitions the Anglican and Roman Churches set to work as zealously ever to oppose, the Liberal Government would make no attem to grant facilities in the House, the Bill was blocked, and nothi was done while that Government remained in office. But whe on their being defeated at their own wish on the Budget, Conservative Ministry took office, Bradlaugh at once present himself (6th July) to be sworn. He might have presented hi self before the re-elected Tory ministers, in which case they cou not have taken part in the proceedings against him, but treated them with the chivalry they never showed to him, a allowed the ministers first to be sworn in. The new Chancell of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, took up the matt on the lines of Northcote, who was now made a peer, and mov that Bradlaugh be as before excluded from the precincts. Parnell and Mr Healy went further, appealing to the Speak to have Bradlaugh (who was standing below the bar) who

* By August, 655 petitions had been presented, with 77,639 signatures.

xcluded from the House at once, before the motion was debated. o this stretch of malice the Speaker could not accede, and the ebate proceeded in the usual way. Mr Hopwood moved an nendment declaring legislation to be necessary "on wider rounds than the interests of a constituency." Gladstone, though eprecating any general legislation on the subject, supported the nendment. Only 219 voted for it, however, and 263 against, ie majority again including many Home Rulers and a number f Liberals, while many more Liberals had absented themselves. gainst most of these, vigorous measures were taken in the con- ituencies, which now had before them the imminent prospect f a fresh general election. In this election it had been arranged iat Bradlaugh should stand for the new borough of East Fins- ury, London, as well as for Northampton, on the understanding iat if elected for both he should sit for Northampton. This as a generous attempt on the part of the Finsbury Radicals o strengthen his case; but other Radical candidates being less enerous, he finally withdrew from the Finsbury candidature to void a split in the Radical camp. In Northampton the fight ad little excitement in it, the conclusion being foregone. Mr Richards at one of his meetings claimed credit for avoiding per- onalities, and mentioned that he had in his pockets letters from everal persons offering to flood Northampton with slanderous acts. He did not add that that device had been played out, and ad become just a little unsafe besides. Towards the election ay virulent placards were resorted to, from force of habit. Bradlaugh did not post a single bill. The poll (25th November) tood:—Labouchere, 4845; Bradlaugh, 4315; Richards, 3890; Bradlaugh thus standing higher than ever before. The difference etween him and his colleague was represented by 366 plumpers or Mr Labouchere, and 300 votes split with the Tory, less 126 lumpers for Bradlaugh, and 10 split for him and the Tory. The ews was received everywhere with special enthusiasm. But till more significant was the havoc wrought among those pseudo- Liberal members who had turned the scale against Bradlaugh in he House. Mr Samuel Morley had been forced to retire from Bristol, Mr M'Cullagh Torrens from Finsbury, the Hon. H. W. Fitzwilliam from Dewsbury, Mr Jerningham from Berwick, and hen later from Blackpool, the selection being cancelled before he election; Mr George Courtauld, Unitarian, from Maldon,

Sir Alexander Gordon from Aberdeenshire, Sir Thomas Chamber from Marylebone, and Baron de Ferrières from Cheltenham These were all opposed by former supporters on the expres ground of their votes in the Northampton question. Others whl went to the poll, again, were defeated on the same score Mr Norwood at Hull was defeated by the running of a specia Radical candidate in protest against his anti-Bradlaugh action ir the House. Mr A. P. Vivian, a frequent absentee on the question was defeated in North-west Cornwall, and Sir W. Charley at Ipswich Mr B. Whitworth, formerly of Drogheda, chosen and then dis missed at Hackney, was defeated at Lewisham. Prominent Tor and other enemies suffered in a hardly less degree. Newdegate after beginning his candidature, withdrew rather than meet cer tain defeat; Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was defeated, so wa Earl Percy, so was Sir J. E. Wilmot, so was Mr Warton, s was "O'Donnell." Dr Lyons collapsed at nomination in Dublin M'Coan was thrown out at Lancaster, Mr Nicholson at Peters field, and Mr Denzil Onslow at Poplar. Of new Tor candidates who had been specially offensive in their hostility Mr Hammond was beaten at Newcastle, Mr Bruce Wentwort at Barnsley, Mr Holloway at Stroud, and Mr Edwardes-Mos at Southport. There was no mistaking the "Bradlaugh element in these cases; and though some Radicals who had stood by hir were also defeated, as Mr Hopwood and Mr Hugh Mason, tha was solely owing to the hostility of the Irish vote, then bein manœuvred by Parnell to weaken the Liberals. Much of the wor of destroying the renegade Liberals had been done by Bradlaug in person in his lecturing tours. "I think I have settled round dozen of them," he remarked some time before the electio One former Liberal member, who had been his persistent enem in the House, finding defeat staring him in the face throug Bradlaugh's action, came to him in his hotel when he was lecturir in the constituency concerned, and humbled himself to ask f mercy. Bradlaugh gravely refused. "You are very hard whined the petitioner, who had thought fit to work iniqui with the majority for five long years, with as little thought justice as of generosity.

The tables thus turned, it is probable that in the first Parli ment which assembled in 1886, an Affirmation Bill cou have been carried in the teeth of the Tory minority, seei

at even some Tory members had had to pledge themselves to pport such a Bill; and Mr Serjeant Simon had arranged to introduce Mr Hopwood's. But the settlement was precipitated an unexpected way. Bradlaugh wrote Sir Michael Beach king how the Government would treat the Bill if introduced, d received a non-committal answer. Soon afterwards it was nounced that communications had passed on the subject be- veen Sir Michael and the new Speaker-elect, Mr Peel; and radlaugh wrote to ask Sir Michael what they were, but was fused the information, whereupon he strongly protested. The ystery was only cleared up when the new Parliament assembled 13th January 1886.* The new Speaker had determined to verse the policy of his predecessor in the Bradlaugh case, and e Tory Cabinet in vain sought to dissuade him. On the opening ay, before any members were sworn, he informed the House that had had two communications—one from Sir Michael Hicks each, and one from two other members, Mr Raikes and Sir ohn Kennaway, appealing to him not to let Bradlaugh take the ath. To these requests he flatly declined to accede. In the rmer Parliament, he pointed out, the Speaker had taken no dependent authority on himself, but had always acted on the structions of the House. "We are assembled," he went on,

in a new Parliament. I know nothing of the resolutions of the past. Cheers.) They have lapsed; they are void; they are of no effect in ference to this case. (Renewed cheers.) It is the right, the legal, atutable obligation of members, when returned to this House, to come the table and take the oath prescribed by statute. ('Hear, ear.') I have no authority, I have no right, original or delegated, to and between an hon. member and his taking of the oath. ('Hear, ear.') I have been further asked whether, when the House is com- leted, and after a quorum has been constituted, it would be competent for motion to be made intervening between the hon. member for North- mpton and his taking of the oath. I have come clearly and without esitation to the conclusion that it would neither be my duty to rohibit the hon. gentleman from coming, nor to permit a motion to e made standing between him and his taking of the oath. (Opposition heers.) The hon. member takes that oath under whatever risks may ttach to him in a court of law. ('Hear, hear.') But it is not for me—

* This Parliament is alluded to as "of 1885" by Mr Walpole, Mr Lang, nd others. It was elected in 1885, but did not assemble till 1886.

I respectfully say it is not for the House—to enter into any inquisition
(cheers)—as to what may be the opinions of a member when he comes
the table to take the oath. I am bound, and the House is bound,
the forms of this House, and by the legal obligations and rights
members. If a member comes to this table and offers to take the oat
I know of no right whatever to intervene between him and the form
legal and statutable obligation. (Cheers.)"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in vain sought to make
declaration: he was called to order. Bradlaugh was duly swor
with a Tory Ministry in nominal command of the House. Th
protesters against "profanation" had to stand by and see wh
they had defined as profanation "solemnly"—as the law cour
defined solemnity—authorised by the supreme authority of th
House. They had refused to permit affirmation; their oath w
now, on their own declaration, outraged and trampled upon.
the same time, the whole past procedure of the House, the who
course of the last Speaker, was overruled and impeached
unwarrantable. The House had drunk its cup to the dregs.

§ 22.

The Tory press naturally solaced itself by repeating the we
tried falsehood that Bradlaugh had originally refused to ta
the oath, and declaring that he had now eaten his words.
26th January, dissatisfied with that unsubstantial comfort,
Raikes asked the Government if they would prevent Bradlaug
from sitting and voting until he had proved his capacity to ta
the oath, or until the judgment of the Court of Appeal w
reversed by a higher tribunal. Sir M. Hicks Beach formal
replied that he was not prepared to take action, and no acti
of the kind was ever taken. Soon the Tories, being in t
minority in the House, were turned out and the Liberals install
in their places. Appealed to to enter a *stet processus* in the acti
in which Bradlaugh had appealed, they timorously declined, drea
ing Tory comment. But when the Tories later in the ye
were returned to power by the election following on Mr Gl
stone's defeat on his first Home Rule Bill, and Lord Randol
Churchill became leader of the House of Commons, that versat
personage, desirous of placating if possible so formidable and
avowed an enemy as Bradlaugh, gave the relief which the Liber

d refused. Bradlaugh was thus finally secured in his seat by e capitulation of one of the most unscrupulous and offensive his old enemies. Churchill's allusion in the House to Brad-ugh's supporters as the "scum and dregs of the nation" had icited from Bradlaugh, in connection with his agitation against rpetual pensions, a short tractate on the manner of the founding the Churchill family, which struck his lordship in a fashion had not been used to at the hands of Gladstone, or even of r Chamberlain; and he desired to make peace. He did not tain it.

But not only did the Tory party, as represented by its new ader in the Commons, thus give up all it had contended r: it was finally to make personal submission to the man it had ronged. The Affirmation Bill introduced by Mr Serjeant Simon ever reached a debate; and it was left to Bradlaugh to carry one n his own initiative in 1888, by the votes of the men, Tory and arnellite, who had defeated former Bills. Last of all, it was the same Tory House of Commons, while Bradlaugh lay dying, hat there was carried the resolution he had repeatedly put down, xpunging from the journals of the House the old votes for his xclusion, even as the resolutions against Wilkes had been ex-unged. If the act was one of repentance, it the more certainly nplied an infamous wrong done.

There were certainly many reasons why the Tory party should epent. They had "struck for themselves an evil blow," though he sudden rising of the Home Rule issue served to obscure the onsequences of their course in the Northampton struggle. It was mpossible that as a party they could have gained in credit by it ither among the masses or among thoughtful and earnest men. Nothing was more notorious than that nine-tenths of the leading Bradlaugh-baiters were the least worthy men in the House. Wolff, described by Bradlaugh as a noted retailer of *choses grivoises;* Churchill, the noisy and reckless charlatan of the new Toryism, 'the Demosthenes of bad taste and vulgar vehemence;"* Tyler, the company-promoter, hooted by the shareholders he had im-poverished; "O'Donnell," the turncoat; Callan, the drunken; Newdegate, besotted with more fumes than those of fanaticism; Fowler and Warton, the gross and blatant; Healy, the ever-

* Byron's description of a better man.

rowdy—these could not gain good repute from alliance w
types like Mr Samuel Morley, and could not be made respectab
by the leadership of Northcote, whom they hustled and humiliat
It is not possible to say with entire certainty what had been
general view of Beaconsfield on the case while he lived; but i
difficult to believe that he could have taken any satisfaction
seeing the most prominent function of the new Toryism ma
out to be the rowdy resistance to the sitting of a freethinke
member, and the insolent refusal of a constituency's rights.

There can be no doubt, I think, that one effect of the wh
episode was to create a new and widespread intensity of
tagonism to the prevailing religion and to the Conservative cau
Men who had before regarded Christianity with indifference
disfavour or contempt, as a delusion, began to detest it as a liv
fountain of injustice; and men who had seen in recent C
servatism a policy of diverting the people's attention from ho
needs by foreign adventure, now saw in it a great machinery
working iniquity within the State. The party which had b
seen making gun-wadding of the decalogue in its wars of agg
sion had now made a crass Semitic Theism the pretext fo
dastardly effort to crush one man, partly by way of embarrass
the opposite side; and the party which denounced "disloyal
took sides with the disloyalists to the same end. Of course,
heat of the immediate struggle did not last on one side any m
than on the other; above all, it did not last with Bradla
himself; but it is certain that thousands of Freethinkers date th
conversion from the time of Bradlaugh's fight with the bigo
and I fancy there are still many who preserve the impress
they then gained of what Voltaire meant by "the infamous,"
the purpose they then formed to make war on it throughout th
lives. As regards Toryism, too, though "each day brings its p
dust, our soon-choked souls to fill," the adherents of that ca
may rely on it that for many a citizen, for many a day to co
their declarations of concern for justice and right, in any
whatever, are made derisory by memories of their five-year-l
course of gleeful injustice to the Atheist. Time brings
revenges. If Liberals in mass have deserved ten years of frus
tion, in an effort to do right, by their former treatment of Irela
Tories in turn have wrought for the cup of defeat they h
tasted, and are yet to drain to the dregs. And the Irish

o, claiming freedom for themselves, shamelessly withheld from ther even the rights they already enjoyed—they, too, have paid l are paying for their misdeeds, despite their avowed repentance. As for the Conservative party, despite its practical recantation, would be too much to say that there is any real concern among mass of its members for the five years' carnival of injustice r Bradlaugh. I have gone through Mr Lang's "Life of rthcote" without finding one word of regret for the whole meful business, though he quotes a passage in which Northcote pressed in his diary a mild deprecation of the ruffianism of ne of his followers in the matter. But, indeed, the capacity do the thing as it was done excludes the capacity to be ashamed it. Toryism is transmuted, but does not repent. At best, new ries may at times deprecate the action of their predecessors.

§ 23.

Whatever be the sympathies with which the matter is looked there is no gainsaying the historical fact that Bradlaugh's uggle is a decisive episode in constitutional history. It will ways rank in English annals with the partially parallel case of ilkes, dating a hundred and twenty years earlier; and it will be very bold or a very blind majority which ever again attempts exclude from the House of Commons a duly-elected member ainst whom no legal objection lies. Of Wilkes, Mr Gladstone s declared that whether we choose it or not, his name must be rolled among those of the great champions of English freedom. that be so, Bradlaugh's name must stand still higher, in that it presents not only the principle of the rights of constituencies, t the principle of freedom of conscience in the last and most ious issue. And in every moral respect, Bradlaugh's case nds above that of Wilkes. The point in which they best com- re is their courage; but even the undoubted courage with which ilkes faced an unpopular king and unpopular ministers was less rare thing than the fortitude which faced the hate and e slander of half of the more articulate part of the nation. For e rest, though he had the merit of geniality, Wilkes was a poor eature enough in many ways—a rascal towards his wife, a leader ribald orgies, a prurient poetaster, a briber of constituencies, hile professing to be uncorrupting and incorruptible. He was a

blasphemer in the strict and really bad sense of a man deriding
Deity in whom he did not profess to disbelieve; he wrote an
privately printed indecent verse for the indecency's sake. An
if he is to be remembered for courage in that he resisted an un
popular Ministry with a great and aristocratic party to support an
salary him, much more so is Bradlaugh, who was scouted an
insulted by many even of the Liberals that felt constrained at time
to vote on his behalf, and who had little save poor men's help i
his long and costly fight. It is significant of the worth of commo
opinion that Wilkes was much more readily forgiven for real an
ill-meant and undisputed obscenity than was Bradlaugh for th
earnest and scrupulous defence of true doctrines infamously mi
called obscene. On the point of politics, Wilkes is hardly mo
justly notable than on the point of character. He had no highe
mission than to attack an autocratic and unpopular minister; h
very animus was partly the evil and vulgar spirit of racia
animosity; he had no high purpose of political reform. Aft
unwilling drudgery in a public office of dignity, he found h
chosen reward in a semi-sinecure. Bradlaugh stood for gre
causes in the world of thought as well as in the world of action
he was a thinker and a high-minded reformer where Wilkes w
at best a high-spirited adventurer.

And as Wilkes was the worse man, so he had the worse cas
When elected in 1768, he was legally an outlaw—albeit und
an unjust sentence; and his supporters signalised his success
a riot, breaking windows wholesale, mobbing and insultin
leading opponents. Afterwards he was elected while a prisone
Certainly Parliament, in his case, took a more courageously illeg
course than it did in Bradlaugh's, not only refusing to adm
him, but declaring him disqualified, voiding his seat, and declarin
Luttrell member when elected by the minority. The jugglers
1880-85 kept a member out of his seat without daring to decla
the seat therefore vacant, though the law courts hinted n
obscurely that an Atheist was *hors la loi* in respect of the chi
civic rights. Certainly in the case of Wilkes the King was know
to be the main mover in the breaking of the law, and so w
more openly putting the liberties of the whole people in jeopard
But the fact that in Bradlaugh's case the tyrants were bigots a
partisans, representing masses of electors, and the wronged m
a heretic, only made the danger the more profound. The fir

mph of the law-breakers would in his case have been a worse
w to freedom than it could have been in that of Wilkes, just
ause so many hundreds of thousands of bigots would have
iced in it. It would have been more dangerous to democracy,
ause undermining democracy from within, whereas the ostra-
n of Wilkes was an ostentatious blow from without. The
any-headed tyranny of an unscrupulous senate" is a more
ister thing when it rests on the fanaticism of thousands than
en it is the mere subservience of time-servers to the sovereign;
if the principle were to be practically established that a man
y be politically ostracised for theological heresy, the axe would
laid to the root of a greater thing than political privilege. What
Inquisition did for Spain, brainless bigotry might have begun
do for England. It had become clear that the law courts
uld not give any decision which struck at the freedom of the
use of Commons to act as it pleased, our constitution being
is seen to lack the safeguard set up in the Supreme Court of
United States; though the House went through the form of
uing its case before the judges. The value of their decisions
s seen when, after Bradlaugh took the oath before Mr Speaker
el, he was allowed to sit in peace though he had been declared
ally incapable of taking an oath. Evidently the principle of
ality had little remaining validity. It may be, nevertheless,
t the time is not yet come for the majority of Englishmen to
lise fully how much was saved to their heritage by Bradlaugh's
g stand against nefarious faith. The language of sincere con-
tion still blends with the language of cant in calling his
nions "peculiar" or worse; and half of those who stood
ide him on the political issue were anxious in avowing their
udiation of his doctrines and his personality. But even in
few years between his struggle and his death there was a
nge; and to say that he has not yet had his full share of
nour is only to say that his fame will be at its clearest in the
ger air of a more enlightened day.

CHAPTER IV.

CLOSING YEARS.

1886.

ADMITTED at last to the seat for which he had fought so long a so hard, Bradlaugh set himself strenuously to work to make up f lost time. With nearly every quality that goes to make a go legislator, and with the most abundant political experience fro his youth up, he had reached his fifty-third year before he sat his place in Parliament by secure tenure. He had fought for th place, in all, eighteen years—chronically during twelve of the against constitutional opposition; continuously through six them, against gross injustice. And in these last six years, u happily, his life went very much quicker than the years. Tho who had lived by him through it all recognised that it had ma him an old man. A certain aging effect seems to have come fr the terrible attack of typhoid fever in New York in 1875; b still in 1880 his portraits show him in his prime, the face matu without being furrowed. In 1886 he looked far more than t years older. The long battle had left its dire marks.

No private member in his prime, however, went to work in t Parliaments of 1886 with such energy. Before January was out had obtained leave to bring in his Land Cultivation Bill,* whi was backed by Mr Joseph Arch, Mr Thomas Burt, and Mr Lab chere; and he was extorting from the officials exact details as the Perpetual Pensions, against which he had already for ye agitated outside. In March he obtained from the new Libe Ministry the appointment of a Select Committee on the subje The debate on Mr Jesse Collings' amendment to the Addre calling for labourers' allotments—the amendment on which Tory Ministry were thrown out—gave him his first opportun of striking a blow at the party which for him was identified

* Described in a previous chapter, p. 182.

much with tyranny in general as with tyranny towards himself. In February he gave the first notice of his intention to raise a question which he later pushed far—that of market rights and tolls; his first move being to call for a return giving minute particulars as to the state of the case in each municipal borough in England and Wales. And in the same month he was vigorously pressing his proposal for a Labour Bureau on the lines of that of Massachusetts—a proposal to which the Government promptly acceded. In March he took a step abundantly justifiable on public grounds, in moving the reduction of the monstrous vote of £12,000 to Sir H. D. Wolff for six months' unprofitable service abroad, and £3000 more for telegrams in connection with his mission. And he was further able to connect another enemy, Sir Henry Tyler, with systematic breaches of the Truck Act on the part of the Rhymney Iron Company, of which he was a director. Bradlaugh characterised the action of the Company as part of "an infamous system by which poor men are defrauded of part of their earnings." The result was a Government prosecution and the infliction of the fullest statutory penalty. In the way of direct service to labour, he was in the same month appointed a member of the Select Committee on the Employers' Liability Bill, on which he worked hard and carefully. In April came the epoch-marking Home Rule Bill, on the debate on which he made a powerful speech in support, loudly cheered by the Home Rulers who had so long helped to exclude him. He was emphatic against the exclusion of the Irish members, but urged that such points should be left for discussion in committee; and he did his best outside for the second reading by organising a great mass meeting in St James's Hall, presided over by Mr Labouchere, which was in its way a great success, a multitude coming sufficient to fill the hall twice over. His own Land Cultivation Bill came to its second reading; and his speech upon it was well received, though he saw fit not to try to press it to a division. Again in June, shortly before the decisive division, he delivered a second and longer speech in support of the Home Rule Bill, to listen to which to the end Mr Gladstone delayed his dinner; and on the dissolution he issued an "Appeal to the Electors: Mr Gladstone or Lord Salisbury: Which?" He had done more than justice by the people whose representatives had most zealously done him injustice. Readers of his journal had written to urge this on him as one reason for opposing Home Rule. He

answered: "If I cannot try to do justice to my political and religious enemies, I am unfit to be a legislator." On the merits of the reform he tersely observed: "Home Rule is no four-leaved shamrock, but it is the beginning of justice."

In the new General Election, a new excitement was given to the contest in Northampton by the candidature of a Liberal Unionist, Mr Turner, a leading local manufacturer, in coalition with a Conservative. His supporters were extremely confident; but when the vote was counted the figures stood: Labouchere, 4570; Bradlaugh, 4353; Turner, 3850; Lees, 3456. On the declaration of the poll, Mr Turner, being shouted down by the crowd, addressed to the reporters the intimation that he "came forward for the first time to wrest the representation of the town from the greatest and most mischievous demagogue of the present century." But by this time the old obloquy had considerably quieted down. At the beginning of the year the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Magee, had published a review article in which, while making hostile allusion to Bradlaugh—doubtless in recollection of old criticisms—as an Atheist "whose name certainly neither softens nor sweetens any controversy with which it is connected," he declared forcibly against the Parliamentary Oath altogether. As he truly observed,

"Whatever else our present Parliamentary Oath was designed to effect, it was never designed to keep Atheists out of Parliament. It was and is, strictly a political test, and for a purpose happily quite remote from modern English politics. It is dynastic. . . . It does not even . . . . exclude Republicans; for, should the Parliament which imposes it decide at any time upon the ultimate abolition of monarchy, there would then be no 'successors according to law' to whom to be faithful. . . . As a political test, it is practically all but obsolete. . . . It does not even incidentally and indirectly act as a religious test, for no Atheist that we know of has ever refused to take it."

Oddly enough, while arguing for the abolition of the Parliamentary Oath, the Bishop proposed to "retain" the oath in courts of justice, being apparently unaware that there it was already to some extent optional. His opinion on the other point, however, counted for something; and though an appeal was made to the Liberal ministry, as it had been made to their predecessors, to prosecute Bradlaugh afresh for sitting and voting, the ministry refused, and the

atter dropped once for all. There was also, of course, a cessation the attacks on him by Conservative members. One, a Mr E. H. lewellyn, at a Primrose League meeting early in the year, scurrilsly spoke of him as having "seemed more as if he spat upon an kissed" the Testament in taking the oath; but for this conenial indulgence Mr Llewellyn had to make a public apology to radlaugh and to the House of Commons alike. Bradlaugh was an cessively inconvenient enemy to have at close quarters.

No one knew this better than Lord Randolph Churchill, who was ow promoted to the leadership of the House of Commons over ne head of Sir Michael Hicks Beach. "The most bitter enemy the Tory party," wrote Bradlaugh, "could hardly have planned r it greater degradation than this leadership." One Tory jourlist attributed to him, quite falsely, a proposal to hiss Churchill his first rising to address the House. That was not his way fighting. The "new leader," on his part, was extraordinarily nciliatory. When the new Parliament met in August, Churchill ade not even a sign of wish to stand again between Bradlaugh nd the oath; and when Bradlaugh made his important motion hat the House do not assent to the usual Sessional Order prohibitng the interference of peers in elections, his lordship actually ffered him a committee for the following year to frame another rder instead, admitting that the existing one was habitually nored. Bradlaugh, however, pressed the matter to a division, hen 126 members supported him, the Liberal leaders voting with ne Tory majority against him. His object had been, as the igilant Newdegate noted, to take the "first step to getting rid of ne House of Lords." By allowing peers to interfere freely in lections, he proposed to strike at their hereditary privilege. But he time for such a measure was not yet.

It was understood to be on Churchill's urging, again, that two nonths afterwards the Tory Attorney-General entered a *stet rocessus* in the still outstanding appeal to the House of Lords, hus ending an action which the Gladstone Ministry had declined o end at Bradlaugh's request. But Bradlaugh in no way slackned his hostility on this score. On 19th September, in a discussion n the committal of Father Fahy for using threatening language owards magistrates, he reminded the House how its leader had nce declared in the House that the Crown could procure the ecisions it wanted from certain judges. Churchill, entering the

House later, and learning what had been stated, assured Bradlaugh that he had been entirely mistaken, and gave the statement an unqualified denial. On Bradlaugh saying he thought he was right, Churchill made the curious answer: "I am sure he cannot find anywhere a record of my having said such a thing." Bradlaugh immediately went to consult Hansard, and not finding the passage he had expected, came back and frankly confessed the fact to the House. But on turning back he found that he had made an equivalent statement in his letter to Northcote on 1st March 1884, and that Northcote, while disputing in his reply certain of Bradlaugh's assertions, lest he should be taken to admit them, did not dispute this. A more leisurely search in the newspaper files cleared up part of the mystery. Churchill had repeatedly said in effect what Bradlaugh had attributed to him. In at least three speeches (30th April 1883; 21st February 1884; 12th June 1884) he had directly and indirectly insinuated that the Government could get the decisions they wanted in a collusive action against Bradlaugh by bringing it before judges who had been Liberal Attorneys-General. What had apparently happened was that the noble lord had struck at least one passage out of the Hansard report when, according to custom, the proofs of his speeches were sent to him as to other members for correction afterwards. Having done this he felt safe in saying that Bradlaugh "could not find anywhere a record" of such a statement on his part. It was a mistaken confidence; and besides publishing the newspaper extracts at the time, Bradlaugh later found an opportunity to pay off his score with interest.

In the October of 1886, meantime, he addressed to the noble lord an open letter of scathing comment on his policy, his tactics, his speeches, and his character. It contained the sentence referring to "old English gentlemen"—"These belong to a class to which I, as well as yourself, am a stranger—I from birth and you from habit;" and in reference to his lordship's language (outside) towards Mr Gladstone, it had the passage: "He has often been generous to you—the great can be generous. You might, in taking a leader's place, at least have for the moment aped a leader's dignity. *Noblesse oblige;* but no such obligation weighs on you; *il n'y a rien le roi perd ses droits.*" Yet even after this Churchill sought to make his personal acquaintance and disarm his resent-

ient, making repeated attempts to be introduced, and on one ccasion actually intervening with a broad compliment in a onversation between Bradlaugh and another member in the noking-room. Bradlaugh bowed with the old-fashioned ceremony hich he adhered to in such cases, but would not further accept ie obtruded friendship. He had, however, passed beyond his ormer disposition to square accounts with the lordling who had lled his supporters the "mob, scum, and dregs." I once heard im remark that it was pitiful to see Churchill, with his fidgety, awyer's-clerk manner and tactics, trying to rise to the dignity of ie leadership of the House, trying not to twist his moustache all ie time, and to listen to opponents like a statesman. And some tory he heard of an act of generosity on Churchill's part helped rther to disarm his never very vindictive hostility.

Nothing, indeed, could well surpass the magnanimity with which e put away from him all rancour for the endless insults he had eceived. New Tory members, expecting perhaps to see in him a ruculent demagogue, were disarmed on finding a genial gentleman nd comrade, who bore no malice, was excellent company, and layed chess as sociably as skilfully. As the years went on, here actually arose a sort of enthusiasm for him among the younger 'ories, more than one of whom assured him that they deplored the reatment he had met with at the hands of their party. Of course hey did not suffer from the embarrassment of the Liberals at the rospect that the irrepressible Atheist, with his extraordinary gift or legislation, would possibly have to be included in the next iberal administration.

This feeling began to arise very rapidly among the Radicals utside. His prompt success in securing the Labour Bureau, and n checking the practice of truck in Scotland and England, brought im immediate votes of thanks from labour organizations, though he press at this stage practised against him such a boycott that at time when he was constantly speaking on the estimates, corres- ondents wrote deploring his silence in the House. The old tactic f ostracism was not easily unlearned; and the official Liberal ournals, as the *Daily News*, for years on end sought to suppress he fact that it was he who had brought about the Labour Bureau. o anxious were such journals to keep him out of sight, that when ie important return moved for by him as to market rights and olls was issued, and had to be discussed, the *News* dealt with it

elaborately without mentioning that it was Bradlaugh who ha obtained it.

No conspiracy, however, could suppress general knowledge o such a mass of work as he got through, outside the House a well as inside. When it was not sitting, he was on lecturin hours, and I find that in the last three months of 1886, Parlia ment being in recess, he addressed nearly sixty political meeting in all parts of the country, in addition to his Secularist lecturing which he never abandoned, though he devoted a larger proportio of his lectures to politics than formerly. In the House, beside working specially at his questions of truck and land cultivatio and perpetual pensions, and serving on the committee to conside the effects of the Employers' Liability Act, he was one of th most generally industrious of legislators. All this strain was no for nothing, and at the end of the year we find him suffering fro erysipelas and neuritis.

1887.

In the session of 1887, however, he went to work with unslack ened energy. In a long speech delivered to a full house in th debate on the address, he attacked the Government on thei permission of illegal truck practices, on their Egyptian policy, o their Burmese policy, and on their Irish policy. On the resignatio of Lord Randolph Churchill, the new Commons leader, Mr W H. Smith, continued the Tory policy of concession to the forme victim of the party; and he was granted a Select Committee o Perpetual Pensions, himself being a member. The point raise by him last year as to peers' interference in elections was made th subject of investigation for another committee (of seven), move for by the Government, and on this too he sat. The majority o the committee, of course, soon reported in favour of leaving th Sessional Order unaltered, Bradlaugh and Mr Whitbread dissenting Meanwhile, he was continuing his attacks on the practice o truck, and got down for discussion a Truck Act Amendment Bi in addition to the Affirmation Bill which he had introduced whe Sir John (formerly Mr Sergeant) Simon's came to nothing. I March, too, he took an active part with Mr Howell and M Labouchère in the attack on certain members of the Corporatio of London, including, and specially, his own old enemy, Alderma Sir R. N. Fowler, for corrupt expenditure. In Fowler's presenc

Bradlaugh on his part "undertook to specifically connect the hon. baronet with the issue of City funds under conditions which compelled the knowledge on his part that they were corruptly used for the purpose of influencing the decisions of that House. He would prove that up to the hilt." And again he renewed his energetic action against the huge expenditure on Sir H. D. Wolff's mission to Cairo, a mission which, he declared, amid Radical cheers, to be a gross Conservative "job;" and he had the support of 146 members to his motion to quash the vote.

The charges against the Corporation were formally heard before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, Bradlaugh acting as prosecutor. Fowler, without really denying the charges in the House, had described them as "anonymous tittle-tattle;" and on the insufficiency of this disclaimer being pointed out, one of the ministers, Lord G. Hamilton, formally denied the charges on Fowler's behalf. Before the Committee—consisting of Lord Hartington, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr Dillwyn, Mr Houldsworth, and Mr Stevenson — the statements made as to expenditure were proved,* as Bradlaugh had promised, "up to the hilt." Fourteen witnesses were examined by him; the City accounts for five years and other documents were closely gone into; and when the alleged payments could no longer be disputed, the defence (conducted by Mr J. Compton Lawrence, Q.C.) took the line of arguing that the challenged payments were within the right of the Corporation. They had been made during a number of years by way of resisting the popular movement for the reform of the municipal government of London. In the words of Bradlaugh:—

"£19,550, 10s. 10d. was proved to have been expended in financing Associations such as the Metropolitan Ratepayers' Association, Metropolitan Local Self-Government Association, Anti-One-Municipality League, and South London Municipal Association, described by Mr Howell as 'bogus' Associations, which were mostly started by paid agents employed by City officials, under the direction of, and with the knowledge of, the Special Committee; and which Associations were

* See the Blue-Book, "Report London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)," together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix, Parliamentary Paper, 161, 1887. A brief account of the matter was written by Bradlaugh for *Our Corner*, July and August 1887, under the title, "How the City Fathers Fight."

used as a means of creating a fraudulent, unfair, and collusive opposition to the proposed legislation for London municipal reform. Improper use and malversation of funds were also shown in promoting and carrying on collusive and fictitious charter movements in Lambeth, Woolwich, Greenwich, and other places in the metropolis, with the view of representing these to Parliament and to the Privy Council as spontaneous and *bona-fide* movements, when they were really only intended as opposition to the Government Bill. (The fictitious nature of the charter movement is especially illustrated by Mr Stoneham's answer: 'When the London Government Bill was dropped, the charter movements were let fall through by the City to a great extent.') Improper use was further shown in paying men to attend in very large numbers for the purpose of opposing, sometimes with violence, the meetings in favour of the reform of the Corporation; in paying for sham deputations, sham meetings in favour of the City, and for unfair reports which were published in the press; in procuring signatures to petitions," etc.

The most extraordinary thing of all was the fact that in the case of one municipal reform meeting in 1883, at least 2000 forged tickets had been issued, and their distribution was not obscurely traced to Corporation officials. In regard to this matter, Fowler was shown to have helped to evade inquiry when it was challenged at the time; and in regard to the improper expenditure, he was shown to have been officially cognisant; and though the Committee let off their fellow-member as lightly as they could, he had a very bad quarter of an hour under Bradlaugh's examination. One by one, the champions of the religiosity of the legislature against the Atheist had been shown to do their cause small credit in their persons. About the same time Bradlaugh took a leading part in exposing in the House a gross and systematic fraud in the preparation of a certain petition from Haggerston, signatures having been forged and invented wholesale, to the extent even of putting names of infant children and racehorses; and this again was done for payment made by City officials. But on Bradlaugh's side there was no subordination of the public to his private interest; and when in April 1887, Newdegate died in the odour of sanctity, he displayed no vindictiveness in his comments on the local obituary biography, which of course dealt freely with his own name. "I am credibly informed," he wrote, "that, apart from his bigotry against Catholics and heretics, Mr Newdegate was a kindly country gentleman, well liked by those who knew him. I regret

to learn from his biographer that he treated the six years' harassing anxiety and cost to myself, which he did so much to continue, as a subject for merriment."

In respect of his legislative work he was as successful as he was industrious. By the end of April he had got his Truck Bill into the Committee stage; and he secured from the Government, without a blow, the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls for which he moved in a speech of an hour's length.* The manner of this success was singular. In the words of one Tory journal: "It was no secret that the Government intended at first to oppose Mr Bradlaugh's motion, but it gave way on receiving an intimation from a large number of Conservative members sitting below the gangway that, if a division took place, they would be compelled to vote with the junior member for Northampton." So oddly had the tables been turned. Yet he had in no way slackened his opposition to Tory policy. On the Coercion Bill he had made three forcible speeches, and he was always pursuing ministers with awkward questions. His success with the enemy was due simply to the irresistible impression he created of honesty and industry and single-mindedness. And when in May he made a merciless exposure of Churchill on the point above alluded to, of his old imputations on the integrity of Liberal judges, it did not appear that Conservatives failed to enjoy the proceedings. It was in the course of the privilege debate on the *Times*' articles on "Parnellism and Crime." Bradlaugh first elicited from Churchill a repudiation of one of his former utterances, and then proceeded to quote in full the passage from Hansard, with the now verified reference. Another challenge elicited another denial, and yet another quotation, with the reference. They were all ready for this occasion. "I am not responsible for Hansard," cried the noble lord, in much agitation; whereupon Bradlaugh added new and sharper punishment, going on to quote yet more of the damnatory passages from Hansard. "The noble lord," he went on, "was of opinion in 1884 that the courts of law were not fair tribunals," whereupon Churchill again indicated dissent. "It was perhaps," admitted Bradlaugh, "not quite correct to say that the noble lord was of that opinion—he only said it." And still the castigation went

* Circulated as a pamphlet in immense numbers by the Cobden Club, and reprinted among his speeches.

on, the House punctuating it with laughter, till Churchill rose and protested that in regard to his recent speeches on the *Times* question he had been utterly misrepresented. Whereupon "Mr Bradlaugh said he was not dealing with the noble lord's views—he did not know what they were. (Opposition cheers and laughter.) He was only giving the noble lord's words." At the close of the speech, which as a whole was unanswerable, Churchill rose to offer a "personal explanation" on the Hansard business. Delivered with anxious prolixity, it was primarily to the effect that in 1884 his speeches were "greatly compressed" in Hansard, "as is invariably the case with ordinary members," and that the compressed reports could not be taken as true and faithful. This gave Bradlaugh his final opportunity.

"I accept the explanation of the noble lord [on the bearing of his words on the *Times* case], and I can corroborate his statements as to the compression of his speeches, because I used at one time to hear from him expressions which, having unguardedly repeated them without verification, I could not find in Hansard when I went to look for them. (Loud laughter and cheers.) The only mental difficulty I have is to imagine how any process of compression could put words on record which were never spoken. (Loud laughter and cheers.)"

It was as sufficient and artistic a piece of punishment as the House had witnessed for a long time; and Bradlaugh thenceforth considered his accounts with his former vilifier reasonably squared. Besides, in his anxiety to propitiate his powerful opponent, Churchill immediately afterwards declared in a letter to the *Times* that he did not see how Bradlaugh's Oaths Bill could with propriety be opposed by the Conservative party, whose duty it was by supporting and passing it, to "secure that the Parliamentary oath in future will in all probability only be taken by those who believe in and revere its effective solemnity." This was written in anticipation of the action of a few Conservatives who, rebelling against their own leaders, obstructed the measure when it came on for discussion after other matters about five o'clock in the morning. Sir Edward Clarke, who had zealously resisted all previous bills of the kind, gave his support to this. Twice over in a House of 300, Bradlaugh had large majorities—of 91 and 10—against adjournment, but still the motions went on. At length having sat in the House for eleven hours, he gave way, an act for which some outsiders thought fit to blame him. Some journal

however, took the opportunity to speak of him, on the merits of the question, with a civility they had never before seen occasion to show him. Others made use of the occasion to point out how fully it proved the utter dishonesty of most of the previous Tory opposition to Bradlaugh. Some of the details in the debate gave dramatic corroboration to this view. Colonel Hughes had stood forward as one of the representatives of religion; on which Mr Healy—himself once in that galley—observed that "it was to be hoped Christianity would not be defended by a gentleman who had been scheduled for bribery."

While the Oaths Bill was thus delayed, Bradlaugh contrived by incessant vigilance to get the Truck Bill through Committee in July. He confessed that if he had known beforehand the enormous labour such a Bill involved—"the receiving deputations, the large explanatory correspondence, the huge mass of suggested amendments, the objections from various interests to each amendment, and the utter impossibility of conciliating or satisfying the various sections, some friendly, some hostile, some well-meaning but impracticable"—he might have shrunk from the task. For twenty-seven nights he had watched till the morning hours on the chance of his Bill being reached, and when all was done it seemed for a time as if the Upper House, in its customary manner, would wreck everything. Their lordships' first "amendments" were insufferable, and were sent back to them, the House of Commons backing up Bradlaugh with vigour. Finally their lordships agreed to limit their amendments to a few which, while of course doing harm, did not affect the main work of the Bill, and though some Irish and other members desired to reject it on the score of these, the measure was at length passed.

He had thus in one session carried an important Act, made considerable progress with another, and obtained a Select Committee on Perpetual Pensions and a Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, apart from the Committee appointed by the Government on his former initiative to discuss the action of peers in elections. In the Committee on Pensions his report was unanimously adopted, barring the clauses which dealt with certain payments to the Duchy of Cornwall—in other words, to the Prince of Wales. He had further prosecuted the Corporation of London before yet another Select Committee of the House, effectively damaging one of his enemies in the process, as he had in the

previous year secured the prosecution of another for breach of the law in his capacity of a company director. He had seen yet another enemy, Churchill, deposed from his place of pride, and had incidentally overthrown him in debate. All the while he was doing hard work on the Employers' Liability Committee besides speaking often on the Estimates and on the Coercion Bill, putting an ever-increasing number of solid questions to ministers on grievances submitted to him, many of which were redressed, and in particular pertinaciously pursuing the Indian Office as to certain underhand dealings in the matter of the ruby mines of Burmah. No other member's work could compare with it all; and the press decided that "Bradlaugh's Session" was the proper summary of the Parliamentary season. But, of course, such success evoked jealousy no less than tribute. In the carrying of the Truck Act he had not a little experience of the jealousy of labour leaders and others; and while the official Liberal press still partly boycotted him, the Socialist press made a point of belittling or perverting everything he did. Despite his continuous attacks on Tory policy, his Truck Bill was declared to owe its success to Government adoption. The Socialist *Reynolds* declared that he did little or nothing in Parliament; while the Tory *England* protested that he spoke far too often. As a matter of fact, he had made some sixty-five speeches up to Whitsuntide, thirteen of them against Coercion. But the circumstance which made his Parliamentary industry absolutely unique was that it was carried on alongside of a continuous course of Sunday lecturing, with special attendances at week-day demonstrations thrown in. When the Sunday lectures were in London the strain was comparatively light, as only two were given in the day at the Hall of Science; but in the provinces it is the Secularist practice to have three discourses on the Sunday when a London lecturer comes, and the physical strain of this, it need not be said, is heavy. Thus for Bradlaugh the two days of the week which other members of Parliament could give to rest and recreation were oftenest simply days of travelling and extra speaking. Now and then he could get a Saturday's pike-fishing on the Lea or on a Thames backwater; once or twice in the year he could even run down to Loch Long for two or three days of the very much more bracing fishing there. Even the holiday became a source of fresh work, for he took up with his usual energy the case of the

pollution of Loch Long by Glasgow sewage; and it was due to his persistent pressure that the nuisance was at length stopped. He thus made a rich return for the measure of rest and strength gained from his days of fishing—a gain which was at times wonderful. But though his powers of recuperation were great, the rest-days were far too few; the balance was always heavily on the side of overwork; and so his intimates now saw him year after year showing ever heavier traces of the overwhelming strain of his life. Whether he got to bed early or in the late morning hours, he was always up and at work before eight, attacking his great pile of correspondence, which alone would have seemed to many men to supply a good day's work. Every day's post brought him on an average a round dozen of grievances to be submitted to Parliament, and in every case which he thought worth attention he made careful investigation, always declining to trouble Ministers without good grounds. Then there were the continual letters from poor men of all denominations asking for legal advice gratis—a kind of request he never refused. Yet with it all he found time to write for his journal; and his articles and speeches at this time are as pregnant and efficient as any he ever penned or spoke. Among other things he wrote a weighty little pamphlet: "The Channel Tunnel: Ought the Democracy to Oppose or Support it?" which was widely circulated as the strongest possible popular plea for the undertaking. When next the public is effectively challenged for a vote on that question, it will probably be found that there has been a great transformation of opinion; and not a little of the credit will be due to his pleading. Of the extent of his influence in this and other ways the average metropolitan reader never had any accurate idea, between the grossly unjust attacks of Socialists on the one hand, and the boycotting of the Liberal press on the other. Thus we find him delivering in Birmingham, in October 1887, a great fighting speech on the party situation, of which no report whatever appears in the London papers. It dealt with the question raised by Mr Chamberlain, "Is a National Party possible?" and the answer it gave was a determined and uncompromising attack on the Unionist coalition, this at a time when Liberals and some Radicals were insinuating that he was ingratiating himself in the Tory counsels. This was a type of dozens of provincial addresses delivered by him every year, some of them at immense

open-air demonstrations of miners, who always invited him to their great gatherings. Of all this activity the London press revealed hardly a trace, any more than of his hundreds of Sunday lectures every year, of which one or two out of every three were devoted to politics. It is safe to say that no other English politician of his time spoke publicly to such numbers of his fellow-countrymen in the course of each year.

A striking illustration of the new animus against him among "advanced" propagandists came up on the occasion of the deplorable Trafalgar Square episode of 13th November 1887. The Socialist press and some Radical journals sedulously circulated the intimation that "somehow or other Mr Bradlaugh was very conspicuous by his absence," while pointing to his old proceedings in similar crises. He was actually lecturing at the time at West Hartlepool, in fulfilment of an engagement made months before; and next day he was at Hull. On his return he contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* a careful statement of the law on the point of the use of Trafalgar Square, criticising and condemning the action of the authorities, and he followed this up with further protests, while advising the Radical M.P's concerned to fight out the case at law, and begging those who trusted him to await such legal settlement. Yet several times since his death it has been stated in the press that he exhumed a forgotten law which entitled the Home Secretary to prevent meetings in the Square. The laws he cited were all to the contrary effect, and were well enough known to those officially concerned; the point having been raised, as above mentioned, over one of his own Trafalgar Square demonstrations a few years before. And when Mr Cunninghame Graham and Mr Burns were prosecuted, he gave evidence on their behalf, making a hasty and difficult journey across the country from Leek to London on a telegraphic summons to arrive in time when they were tried at the Old Bailey.

A paragraph which he published in his journal in this connection will serve to mark the degree of political severance which, with no diminution of mutual regard, had arisen between him and his long-tried colleague and partner, Mrs Besant. It ran:—

"As I have on most serious matters of principle recently differed very widely from my brave and loyal co-worker, and as that difference has been regrettably emphasized by her resignation of her editorial functions on this journal, it is the more necessary that I should say how thoroughly

I approve, and how grateful I am to her for, her conduct in not only obtaining bail and providing legal assistance for the helpless unfortunates in the hands of the police, but also for her daily personal attendance and wise conduct at the police-stations and police-courts, where she has done so much to abate harsh treatment on the one hand and rash folly on the other. While I should not have marked this out as fitting woman's work, especially in the recent very inclement weather, I desire to record my view that it has been bravely done, well done, and most usefully done; and I wish to mark this the more emphatically as my views and those of Mrs Besant seem more wide apart than I could have deemed possible on many of the points of principle underlying what is every day growing into a more serious struggle."

The severance spoken of had arisen over Mrs Besant's adoption of Socialist principles, a change of attitude on her part which began about 1885, and soon went the length of a somewhat extreme propaganda, afterwards modified in common with the general tone of the Fabian Society, of which she had speedily become the most active member. The joint editorship had now become a practical difficulty as well as a source of complaint among readers; and in October 1887 it was amicably ended, Mrs Besant continuing to act as sub-editor and contributor. She had fought beside Bradlaugh and for him loyally and well, and though the suddenness and vehemence of her new departure had startled and troubled him, his friendship, as the above paragraph shows, had in no way weakened. He was not the man to break a tie for even a serious difference in opinion; though he was also the last man to do what some Socialists contemptibly accused him of doing—arrange that his colleague should take one line and he another in order to promote the circulation of his journal. He did for Socialists what he did for everybody who got into legal trouble on political grounds, and he gave Mrs Besant ample assistance in fighting the case of those who were arrested by the police for open-air propaganda. The most serious change of position on Mrs Besant's part, her conversion to Madame Blavatsky's "Theosophy," was soon to come. Even when that came, in the following year, he neither withdrew his friendship nor asked her to cease contributing to the *Reformer*; but, coming after political differences, the new and deep division of opinion undoubtedly pained and depressed him. He was to find, as so many have found, that when success comes something is sure to go which leaves success a different thing from what was dreamt of.

1888.

The first important task of Bradlaugh on the re-assembling of Parliament was to fight this cause of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square. It had been badly enough managed by others. In January he wrote:—

"The conviction of Messrs Cunninghame Graham and Burns for unlawful assembly is, I fear, in great part due to the foolishly boastful evidence of Mr Hyndman and Mr Tims. If the first had been a Crown witness, his evidence on cross-examination could not have been more mischievous to the accused, on the count on which a verdict was found against them; and the incautious replies of Mr Tims to the counsel for the Crown were almost as fatal."

The Government on their part had carried adroitness to the point of cowardice, refusing to arrest Mrs Besant when she sought to have a legal trial on the merits of the right of meeting. The effect of it all was that not only the Liberal leaders, but such journals as the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News*, took the line of deprecating any further public meetings in the Square. Bradlaugh, standing firmly to the claim of right, commented gravely on the promoters of the meeting for "bringing together a huge mass of people whom nobody was prepared to lead or to control;" and he expressed his regret that Mr Saunders, a prosecution against whom was laid and then departed from, should have let the legal question drop. Before the assembling of the House certain metropolitan members, learning that Bradlaugh was determined to raise the question by an amendment on the Address, took the unworthy line of protesting that, as a metropolitan matter, it was no business of his. He offered to leave it to Sir Charles Russell, as the most capable of dealing with it. Sir Charles promptly replied that no one could handle it better than Bradlaugh, but undertook the moving of the leading amendment. In addition to such difficulties Bradlaugh had the trouble of opposing the action of Mrs Besant on the newly-founded Law and Liberty League, promoted by herself and Mr Stead, with its "Ironside Circles," and other risky arrangements for meeting force with force.

When the House met, Bradlaugh took occasion, before the debates began, to make a personal statement on a matter that had of late frequently come before the public. In February

of 1886 he had offered in the House to show that large sums of money, excessive for such a purpose, had been supplied by leading Conservatives of both Houses of Parliament for the promotion of a Trafalgar Square demonstration for "Fair Trade," organised by a Tory agitator named Peters, which had culminated in a riot. Peters had at the time blusterously denied this, but had declined Bradlaugh's challenge to a formal investigation before an arbitrator as at *nisi prius*. In the recent prosecution of Messrs Burns and Cunninghame Graham at Bow Street, Bradlaugh had been pressed by the Crown Counsel on this point, had reaffirmed his statement, and had added that one of the cheques, which he had seen and was prepared to trace, was from Lord Salisbury. This statement was first denied by Lord Salisbury in a letter to the *Times* (2nd December), and was afterwards characterised as wilful perjury in a published letter from his secretary to one Kelly, a colleague of Peters. On the first denial Bradlaugh promptly offered to have the matter investigated before a Committee of the House of Commons. This offer Lord Salisbury neither accepted nor declined. Bradlaugh now asked the Government to agree to a Select Committee of Investigation, pointing out that he lay under an imputation of perjury from the Prime Minister on a statement which he had made in Parliament. An action for libel, however, had been already begun against Bradlaugh by Peters; and the Ministry, after waiting a few days, answered that the matter was not a proper one for a Select Committee, especially as a lawsuit on it was pending. Bradlaugh, however, pointed out that the action in question could not raise the real issue, and offered to raise it if Lord Salisbury would acknowledge the publication of the letter to Kelly, signed by his secretary. This acknowledgment he sought to obtain by letter, but after delay the noble lord took the singular course of declining to accept legal responsibility for the publication of the letter, as he had not consented to it. When, however, Bradlaugh read this letter of disclaimer in the House, Lord Salisbury sent him a secretarial letter (22nd February) referring to the original letter to the *Times* over his lordship's own signature (in which the truth of Bradlaugh's statement had been denied without charging perjury), and admitting his lordship's legal responsibility for that. That letter, however, was not actionable, and Bradlaugh had replied to it at the time, as he now pointed out. Lord Salisbury

then wrote (25th February), repeating that he could accept no responsibility for his letter to Kelly, concerning whom he made the curious statement that he, too, was affected by Bradlaugh's false and injurious charges, though Bradlaugh had never mentioned Kelly's name in the matter. His lordship, however, professed his readiness to facilitate a legal investigation of Bradlaugh's statements, which his lordship inaccurately professed to reproduce. Bradlaugh, protesting against his lordship's tolerating the publication of the charge of perjury, and never once apologising for it, answered that he preferred to have the charge stated in the words in which he made it, and in none other. No reply was offered, and the matter was left to be settled by Peters' action for libel.

The debate on the Trafalgar Square question did not come on for a week or two, and in the meantime one notable episode occurred over a remark made by Bradlaugh in the discussion on an amendment to the Address concerning the Scotch Crofters. The report runs :—

"Mr Bradlaugh said he understood the Chief Secretary to say that the cause of the evil they had to deal with in the Highlands was over-population, and that the sole remedy for this difficulty was emigration. He also understood the right hon. gentleman to denounce the reckless increase of population in that district during the last forty or fifty years. He felt some astonishment that the right hon. gentleman should put forward such an argument, when he remembered that the right hon. gentleman, and those who sat around him, tried before all England to make him appear as one of the most immoral men alive, because he had tried to teach the people for the last quarter of a century these very evils of over-population, and these very difficulties of their condition connected with reckless increase. It was astounding to hear from the other side such a doctrine put forward to be supported, because, when urged by him in olden times, it had made him the mark for some of the most wicked language that one man could use against another.

"Mr A. J. Balfour: I never in my life used any such language against the hon. gentleman ; never, never. (Cheers.)

"Mr Bradlaugh said that, at any rate, the important party of which the right hon. gentleman was then a prominent member, flooded the country with literature containing such attacks, without then one word of repudiation from the right hon. gentleman. But he would not discuss the personal position of the matter further. The sole remedy for the existing distress, according to hon. members opposite, was emigration. But how were they going to apply it? Was the State

to undertake the emigration? Were the people to be sent away by force, and to what lands were they to go? In every case they would have to struggle for existence against hostile life-conditions, extremes of heat and cold, hard for starving men to bear. Everywhere they would be confronted with the labour struggle, for we were no longer the sole, or even the principal, colonising people; masses of Germans and other thrifty colonising races were now found in every distant land. Of course, emigration resulted in a few successes, and of these much was heard; but nothing was said about the many miserable failures. Medical men in America and Canada could tell many heart-rending stories of madness supervening on the home-sickness that embittered the emigrant's life. There was no country where pauper emigration would be welcomed. State emigration, if at all, must include on a large scale other distressed subjects. This was impracticable. Emigration of charity was mockery save to the veriest few. No; emigration ought not to be thought of as a remedy until other means had been tried, until the unjust conditions which hampered the poor, and which had been artificially created by the class to which the hon. gentlemen opposite belonged, had been swept away. ('Hear. hear.')"

Thus again did Bradlaugh prove that his Neo-Malthusianism was anything but an argument against the political improvement of the lot of the people. The emphatic declaration of Mr Balfour may be held to class him with Mr John Morley, Mr Leonard Courtney, and the late Lord Derby, as a believer in the importance of restriction of population; but it is not on record that he, any more than they, has sought to communicate his belief to the public or his party; and it is certain that, as Bradlaugh remarked, he never said a word in deprecation of the attacks of his fellow-Tories on Bradlaugh as a Neo-Malthusian at a time when such attacks were a main means of keeping him out of his seat.

When at length the Trafalgar Square question was reached (1st March), being raised in a masterly speech by Sir Charles Russell, Bradlaugh followed with one perhaps not less effective, which, lasting till midnight, had to be continued on the following evening. It included a sharp indictment of the conduct of the police, and a broad suggestion that the authorities seemed to have made use of *agents provocateurs;* and it made short work of the official pretence that the Square was Crown property, as having been constituted out of the King's Mews—a statement on a par with Mr Burdett Coutts' citation of the old Act against certain

meetings near Parliament without the all-essential clause specifying the kind of meetings forbidden. The King's Mews, Bradlaugh pointed out, had formed only a very small part of the ground, while the rest had been bought and paid for with public money. He challenged an investigation of the conduct of the police, and wound up with an earnest appeal to "those who were elected as Liberals" to resist the tyrannous policy of the Government. The Home Secretary was stung into promising an investigation of the charges against the police; but it is matter of history that the Liberal leaders homologated the action of the Tory Ministry.

A few weeks afterwards (21st March) came the decisive struggle on Bradlaugh's Affirmation Bill (otherwise "Oaths Bill"), which he had failed to force through in the previous session. He moved the second reading in a tersely argued and conciliatory speech; and though some Conservatives, as Mr Stanley Leighton and Mr De Lisle (Catholic), made foolish speeches against it, the great majority of the House was with him. One member, Mr Gedge, made a success of absurdity by arguing that the promoters of the Bill had defined an Atheist as one "*on whom conscience had no binding effect*," and this nonsensical phrase he repeated again and again without recognising its nature, entirely failing at the same time to see the point that the "definition" he meant to quote was that given by a court of law, and not by the promoters of the Bill at all. At length the second reading was carried over the amendment (which proposed a Royal Commission) by 247 votes to 137. On the substantive motion being put that the Bill be read a second time, obstruction was attempted, which Bradlaugh met by moving the closure. On this he had 334 votes to 50; and the second reading was then formally carried by 250 votes to 100, a majority which surpassed his most sanguine expectations.

To secure the passage of the measure, however, he had to meet the old Christian plea that the permission to affirm—which his Bill gave alike to witnesses, jurors, officials, and members of Parliament, in Scotland and Ireland as well as England—should not be given to believing Christians who, having no conscientious objections to swearing, might seek to evade it because they felt freer to lie on affirmation than on oath. This was urged on the Conservative side as a concession essential to acceptance of the Bill, and Bradlaugh consented to make the provision in Committee. No Liberal opposed; but trouble was to arise later in the matter.

Months after Bradlaugh's undertaking had been given, and after he had put down the promised amendment, some leading Liberal members, who had not before made any protest, raised a strong objection to the concession made, inasmuch as it placed upon every one desiring to affirm the necessity of avowing whether he objected to the oath on religious grounds, or as having no religious opinion. There ought, these members argued, to be no questioning whatever as to reasons. This was a perfectly reasonable objection to make on principle; but it ignored the fact that only by making concessions to the Christian side, to meet the case of superstitious and dishonest Christians, could any relieving measure be carried at all; and it was brought forward surprisingly late in the day. It is not clear, further, that the objectors realised what the amendment actually did, for they protested that while it was all right for Freethinkers, it put a stigma on those who were not prepared to say they had no religious beliefs. The plain answer to this was that such persons, if they objected to an oath, had only to say it was inconsistent with their religious belief. Although the objectors included such able heads as Mr E. Robertson and Dr W. A. Hunter, it must be said that their opposition was not justified by their arguments. It was less difficult to follow the complaint of Mr J. A. Picton, who said he would have no relief from the Bill, inasmuch as he was not without religious belief, but "regarded oath-taking as a humiliating and barbarous custom." In that case, however, Mr Picton might with perfect propriety say that oath-taking was inconsistent with his religious belief. Further, though it is quite fair for Agnostics, Theists, and others to protest that they ought not to be asked for any account of their opinions in a court of justice, it was less than fair for them to propose to leave without any relief whatever the Freethinking jurors who were liable to much worse odium and annoyance than is involved in saying that the oath is inconsistent with one's religious belief; the witnesses who in Scotland could not affirm on any condition whatever, and in England could only affirm on answering a grossly invidious question; and the members of Parliament who had to take the oath while very much disliking it. With the single exception of Dr Hunter, none of the Liberal objectors to the added clause had made any fight against oaths; the whole brunt of the battle had been left to the Freethinkers. Yet some of those objectors, who had not specially moved a finger for any reform

whatever, were now prepared to throw over the measure. Mr John Morley, who had voted for the second reading after hearing Bradlaugh's undertaking to insert the qualifying clause, now made some heated remarks against it, which Bradlaugh drily characterised as "not very philosophic." They certainly came ill from the editor who had deprecated Bradlaugh's willingness to take any oath. By dint of more forcible remonstrances with other members in the lobby, Bradlaugh secured a majority of 87 votes for the third reading, the figures being 147 to 60. Many of the Liberal objectors, recognising that to vote with the Noes, who were mostly bigots, would be to put themselves in a false position, abstained from voting; and of the 147 in the majority, 92 were Liberals.

The trouble, however, was not yet over. The "Liberal and Radical Union" of Northampton passed by a majority a resolution complaining that the value of the Bill was taken away by the amendment; and some Liberal journals accused Bradlaugh of giving away the principle of religious equality by agreeing to the imposition of "a new test." He met these criticisms in a very temperate letter "To Liberal Editors in general, and the Editor of the *South Wales Daily News* in particular," the latter journal having been one of those which had been most just to him throughout his struggle. The editor replied, acknowledging the courtesy of the criticism, and making his own less extravagant, but making the extraordinary blunder of alleging that even then any member of Parliament could affirm on the ground that oath-taking was contrary to his religious belief—this while avowing that he only dealt with the measure as regarded the Parliamentary oath. His main argument was that there were many people who detested the oath, but could not say it was condemned by their religious belief; and on the score of his measure not relieving such persons, Bradlaugh was pronounced "ungenerous." The truth was that he had done his best to make affirmation absolutely unconditional, but could only carry his Bill at all by making it conditional on the giving of a reason. He had done all he could for all classes of objectors, and he rightly thought it better to relieve those who suffered most than to secure no relief at all. The further relief claimed by believers should be demanded by them from their fellow-believers. The rational course, clearly, is to abolish oaths altogether, and this Bradlaugh would gladly have done; but it is neither rational nor candid to talk as if this or even a somewhat less measure of reform

could possibly be secured by him within two years of his admission to Parliament after a desperate struggle with a majority who stood for the grossest irrationality and injustice. Those who condemned him ought in consistency and decency to have begun an agitation either for making affirmation unconditional—a course which would still leave some people open to annoyance—or for the entire abolition of oaths. Yet, after six years have elapsed, there is still no word of any such movement. It is the old story of the half-way people leaving all the stress of the fighting to the more advanced. These may be permitted to say that it is a little too much to put on avowed Freethinkers, fighting for bare rights under all sorts of calumny and ostracism, the burden of securing an effortless immunity for those who all along stood at best in the rear-guard, if they did anything in the matter at all.

Close on the heels of the second reading of the Affirmation Bill (March) came the debate on the report of the Perpetual Pensions Committee, on which he moved a resolution that steps should be taken by the Government to give effect to the Committee's recommendations. He had a Tory seconder, Mr Louis Jennings; and the debate included a friendly speech, with an acceptable amendment, from Mr W. H. Smith, and a very interesting speech from Gladstone; whereafter the amendment (amended) was incorporated, and the Government stood pledged to "determine" all hereditary pensions with due regard to justice and economy, and to revise the pension system in general. In May, Bradlaugh again (as told in the chapter above, on his "Political Doctrine and Work") pressed his resolution as to the expediency of Compulsory Cultivation of Waste Lands, only to see the House counted out after his seconder (Mr Munro Ferguson) and the mover of an amendment had spoken. He was not to succeed alike in everything. Later in May he had an unpleasant experience in respect of the Government's breach of faith over his motion of a new Rule, to the effect that on a new member presenting himself in due form, the Speaker should forthwith call him to the table. Mr Smith agreed to accept the motion as an "amendment to going into Supply," on its being amended by the clause "unless the House otherwise resolve," which Bradlaugh was advised was a harmless provision; but when, on the pressure of Sir Henry James (who in the Courts had argued for the House's right to "resolve" to an extent to which Bradlaugh's clause would not allow) and others, he withdrew the clause, the Government

threw over the whole motion, though nobody objected to the withdrawal, and the Unionists who had urged the withdrawal of the clause left the House without voting on the motion. It was accordingly rejected by 180 votes to 152.

His main undertaking for 1888, however, succeeded finally, to a marvel. In the House of Lords, the Affirmation Bill might have been held to run considerable risk; but singularly enough, though amendments were talked of, none were pushed, and the Bill passed its third reading (December 1888) absolutely unchanged. In the absence of Lord Herschell, it was taken charge of by Earl Spencer and Lord Coleridge; but what was no less important, it was endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as a desirable measure. As usual, the Church took credit for lending itself to a reform which it had violently resisted. Outsiders were left asking which policy had been the more insincere—the old outcry against all Affirmation Bills or the new pretence of welcoming one. The Lord Chancellor, who, as Sir Hardinge Giffard, had so often opposed Bradlaugh and all his works, was more true to his antecedents, and confessed his jealousy and dislike of the measure, while grudgingly abstaining from trying to defeat it. To Lord Esher, who as a judge had always administered the law as to oaths dead against him, but who now helped the Affirmation Bill through the Upper House, Bradlaugh tendered grave and chivalrous thanks in his journal, adding that none were necessary in the case of the Lord Chancellor.

While the Affirmation Bill was on its way the libel action by Peters was heard and decided. Before it came on, the editor of the *St Stephen's Review* (Mr Allison), who had made a libellous attack on Bradlaugh in respect of the case, was on Bradlaugh's suit tried before Justices Manisty and Hawkins, and submitting himself apologetically to the Court (March 22nd), was let off with a fine of £20 and full costs for his contempt of Court, Mr Justice Hawkins observing that he "very much doubted whether such a fine was an adequate punishment for so gross a contempt. He did not think he had ever seen a worse attempt to affect the administration of justice." The judge added some no less forcible remarks on Mr Allison's explanation that he had made his attack "to advance the interests of the Conservative cause." But that principle was destined to have a still more remarkable illustration within the law courts themselves, when the libel suit was tried

April 18th) before Mr Baron Huddleston and a special jury. If the action of Peters for libel, in inception and upshot, be not the most extraordinary libel case of modern times, it is only because the judge who tried it gave a no less extraordinary turn to another libel case which came before him eighteen months later. Peters' contention was, in brief, that Bradlaugh had libelled him by stating that he got money from leading Conservatives, including Lord Salisbury, for the promotion of a "Fair Trade" demonstration in Trafalgar Square. His counsel, Mr Lockwood, argued that 'if Mr Peters was doing what Mr Bradlaugh accused him of, then Mr Peters was doing a very corrupt thing"—a plea only intelligible as resting on the fact that Peters was the secretary of the 'Workmen's National Association for the Abolition of Foreign Sugar Bounties," and as implying that it would be corruption on the part of such a Society to take money from a lord. The evidence led was to the effect that Lord Salisbury had given money, not to Peters, but to Kelly, who was the *fidus Achates* of Peters, but was also secretary to the "Riverside Labourers' Association." Both had for years been known to Lord Salisbury in connection with the sugar protection movement. Kelly had gone down to Hatfield and seen Mr Gunton, the secretary, and in consequence of that interview had sent a letter to Lord Salisbury explaining that money was wanted to give a piece of beef each to 120 of "our best men at Christmas." The said best men were 'all fathers of families," and "had never been in receipt of parochial relief." Lord Salisbury, who gave evidence, remembered getting this letter and sending Kelly a cheque for £25; but had no recollection of any talk with Mr Gunton as to Kelly's previous visit to Hatfield, in consequence of which the letter was sent. He thought it unlikely that Kelly would have seen Mr Gunton in that way, but confessed his error when shown that Kelly's letter to him actually mentioned the interview. The landlord of a temperance hotel, which was the headquarters of Peters' and Kelly's activities, testified to having spent this money on provisions, which he distributed to "needy working men," all save a small balance, which was otherwise distributed. He kept no books. Peters was on the committee of distribution.

Now, granting that the money had been honestly spent in the way alleged, there was clearly no libel on Peters in saying that the money had been sent him to promote the Trafalgar Square demon-

stration. There would be no wrongdoing in getting money from any one for such a purpose. He declared in his evidence that Lord Salisbury had never given him anything—"nothing, only his friendship." The buffoonery of the plaintiff's evidence, which kept the audience in chronic laughter, was not more remarkable than the bluster of his statements as to his accounts. Never was a demonstration apparently got up with a more enthusiastic zeal by working-men promoters, or with a more simple-minded financial reliance on Providence. Only £4 had been spent on the demonstration—"to obtain bands and banners." What the placards had cost witness could not say; he could not even say whether they had been paid for. The evidence of his colleague, Kelly, was hardly less edifying. He had been one of those who had received Corporation money to get up meetings against municipal reform.

Bradlaugh's defence was that even on the evidence there was no libel. When Baron Huddleston interrupted him to suggest that he should apologise, he answered that he was ready to do so as regarded Lord Salisbury, but he could not deal with the rest of the case on those lines. On the evidence led he was bound to admit that he had been inaccurate as regarded Lord Salisbury's cheque; but his statement had been wider than that, and neither in general nor in particular had it been of the nature of a libel. Further, he had spoken in good faith and on distinct evidence. Peters had on pressure admitted receiving subscriptions from persons outside his Association; and Peters had refused the investigation originally invited in 1886, when the other facts could have been better traced. And Bradlaugh had led evidence as to the receipt by Peters of such cheques, two of which had been shown to him.

In pleading his case, Bradlaugh perhaps made the mistake of being too concise in putting to the jury the point that on any view of the facts no libel had been committed. Baron Huddleston was more circumspect. He turned affably to the jury, and in the most intimate manner laid before them his view that Bradlaugh had directly or indirectly accused Peters of getting up "bogus" meetings—a statement which Bradlaugh had distinctly repudiated, and which was entirely wide of the facts and the evidence. The whole drift of Bradlaugh's charge, as he stated, was "that the Conservative party were playing with edged tools in assisting any such meetings." As the summing-up went on, indeed, it became clear that Baron Huddleston felt this also, and that in his view there had been a

libellous" statement against Lord Salisbury, who, however, was t the suitor in the action. On the point of law he made no telligible attempt to rebut Bradlaugh's plea that the statement ed on was in no sense a libel; but he thoughtfully suggested to e jury, with regard to the evidence of a witness called by Brad- ugh, that they could consider what value should be put on the idence of a man who objected to take the oath. He further took uch pains to impress on the jury that "a man could never be lowed to say things against a man, and then, when he found that ey were false, to say he was very sorry, but he honestly believed em true. Such a thing would never do." On this instruction e jury found a verdict for Peters, with £300 damages. And yet the following year (November 1889), when Mrs Besant sued e Rev. Mr Hoskyns for libelling her, during her School Board ndidature, in a circular which had the statement: "A Free- inker thus describes the practical outcome of her teaching: Chastity is a crime; unbridled sensuality is a virtue,'" the same dge hardily instructed the jury that "the question was not hether Mrs Besant's books were obscene," but as to "the efendant's honesty of belief at the time he had published the andbills." He himself became conscious as he went on of the niquity of this instruction, and proceeded to cite and vilify assages from Mrs Besant's works, thus doing everything in his ower to prejudice the jury on the real issue. But in the end, hile professing to put to them the separate issues of publication, bel, and truth in fact, he added the issue: "If untrue, *then did e defendant when he published it honestly and reasonably believe to be true*, and that it was his duty to publish it, and did he do without malice?" And yet again he urged that even if the bel were found untrue, "they would have to say whether the efendant had been guilty of *mala fides* in the sense he had xplained." His own obtruded opinion was that a priest might stifiably issue such a circular to his parishioners. Thus he laid own for the trial of Mrs Besant's action against a priest the exactly pposite principle to that which he laid down in Peters' action gainst Bradlaugh. The priest was now adjudged free to do what he judge had said "would never do." The priest confessed in the itness-box that he had not read any of Mrs Besant's books when e issued his circular. He had availed himself of the libel of a seudonymous scoundrel, making no attempt to ascertain its truth

Bradlaugh in his statement as to the Fair Trade demonstration ha spoken on the actual evidence of cheques which he saw, and c his knowledge of the habitual co-operation of Peters and Kell But the Conservative judge contrived to find the priest right an Bradlaugh wrong. And it is on the strength of a verdict thu procured that Bradlaugh has since been spoken of as "a convicte libeller."

The view taken of the case by Bradlaugh's fellow-members o Parliament was shown by their instantly getting up a subscriptio to pay the damages and costs in which he had been mulcted; an the view taken by the legal profession may be gathered from th following verses, which appeared in the *Star*:—

"HALVES.

(An Historical Poem.)

DECEMBER, 1885.

Take this cheque, my gentle Kelly,
Fill our starving London's belly:
Hie thee down with dearest Peters
To the lowly primrose eaters;
Tell the unemployed refiners
Cecil sends them of his shiners;
Let each toilworn Tory striver
Batten on this twenty-fiver.
Spread my bounty
Through the county;
But my right hand must not know
What my left hand doth; and so,
If thou value my attention,
Full details must thou not mention.

FEBRUARY, 1886.

Riots! whew! too bad of Kelly.
I must ask him what the—— Well, he
Can't at least pretend that I
Had any finger in this pie.

APRIL, 1888.

Halves, Peters, halves! Honour 'mongst *us*, my sonny;
Had I but tipt the wink a year ago,
You might have gone and whistled for your money,
And *my* straightforwardness been spared a blow.

I was ashamed of giving you the cash :
You were ashamed of getting it from me
Three hundred is the value of that splash
On our fair fame, unspotted previouslee.

Remember, sonny, when your freethought flesher
Showed Charles your name and mine upon that cheque,
Had I owned up, I think you must confess your
Foot would not now have been on Charles's neck.

So halves, my Peters :—nay, I crave not coin :
To touch the brass would not befit my station :
I only ask that Kelly you'll rejoin,
And pay your debt in Tory agitation."

This, unfortunately, was not the only libel suit forced upon Bradlaugh during the year. He had himself to raise another, against a gang of enemies who had laid their heads together to produce a so-called "Life" of him, which was but a tissue of the most malignant libel from beginning to end. It attacked his daughters as well as himself, and was so flagrantly malicious that no legal defence was possible. The nominal author was one Charles R. Mackay, and the nominal publisher was one Gunn—a name which was afterwards admitted by Mackay to be fictitious. Believing that the real author or promoter of the work was Mr Stewart Ross, editor of the *Agnostic Journal* (then the *Secular Review*), one of his most persistent and scurrilous assailants, Bradlaugh set about bringing him to account, and soon procured adequate evidence of his complicity. A friend had accidentally discovered for him that the book was printed by the Edinburgh house of Colston & Co.; and on proceeding against that firm in the Court of Session, he obtained from them an apology, costs, and payment of £25 to his usual beneficiary, the Masonic Boys' School. But the most effective assistance was supplied by those concerned in issuing the book, who were soon flying at each other's throats. In August 1888 Mr Stewart Ross prosecuted Mackay, with a solicitor named Harvey and his clerk named Major, for conspiracy "to obtain from him £225 with intent to defraud." Mackay had previously brought two actions against Ross, one for slander, and one to recover £500, which actions were settled on the basis that Mackay withdrew "all claim against the defendant for writing the 'Life of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.,'" the plaintiff admitting the claim to be "based on an

erroneous conception," while Mr Ross was to pay Mackay "
respect of the other claims" the sum of £225, besides writi
Mackay a letter "denying the slanders alleged," and opening l
columns for subscriptions to a Defence Fund on Mackay's beha
Mr Ross now alleged, in his prosecution for "conspiracy," th
Major (whose employer was Mackay's solicitor) had called on hi
and alleged that he had seen some pages in Ross's handwriting
the MS. of the Mackay "Life," and "that he (Ross) who ha
denied all share in the authorship of that work, would be pros
cuted for perjury unless he recovered possession of those pages
Ross admittedly agreed to pay £250 (afterwards reduced to £22
to recover the pages. In Court he would not admit that he ha
written any part of the "Life," but explained that he thoug
some unpublished MS. of his might have been got hold of f
it. The promised MS., he stated, was not returned, and
stopped the cheques he had given towards the promised paymer
In cross-examination he confessed to having supplied Mackay wi
books and "materials" to help him in writing the "Life," a
had seen the proofs of it. Another of Ross's coadjutors fierce
quarrelled with him, and handed over to Bradlaugh's solicit
further evidence of his concern in the publication. Mackay, w
became bankrupt, did likewise, expressing to Bradlaugh his regr
for having been led into the publication by Ross. Bradlaugh w
advised, however, that he had evidence enough without the
testimony; and at length, after various delays, Mr Ross, throu
his solicitor, begged Bradlaugh's solicitors to intercede with th
client to let him make a voluntary settlement. This being acced
to by Bradlaugh, Mr Ross agreed in Court (15th February 188
before the Hon. Robert Butler, Master in Chambers) to account f
and destroy within four days all copies of the book which h
"come into his possession or control," to pay £50 to the Maso
Boys' School, and to pay all Bradlaugh's costs as between solici
and client. Soon afterwards Mr Ross wrote to the *Star*: "I
not and never was the publisher of the 'Life,' and I cannot 'destr
all the copies of the work' for the reason that I never possess
more than one copy." Bradlaugh commented that he was s
willing to have the case tried in court; and that he had evidence
Ross's sending out a large number of copies of the book for revie
and once having close on 200 bound copies on his premises.
Ross is understood since to protest that he had been victimized

e matter, and at Bradlaugh's death he penned a remorseful and logistic article. Copies of the book are still believed to be on le in underhand ways; and Mrs Bonner has recently had to take gal proceedings against one London bookseller who announced it his catalogue, knowing it to be a libel, and not legally saleable. In connection with the same matter Bradlaugh in 1888-89 brought action against the *Warrington Observer* for a libellous article unded on the "Life;" and the proprietors, after undertaking to stify, finally withdrew the plea, apologised, and paid the costs id a sum of £25 to the Masonic Boys' School. A Scotch journal, ie *Dumfries Standard*, had previously apologised with prompti- ude, paying costs and £10 to the Masonic Boys' School, which stitution thus netted £110 in all from the proceedings in this ne matter. Yet further, Bradlaugh sued the *Warrington Observer* or another libel, consisting in the publication of a malicious report f a silly proceeding in which a man who had been subpoenaed by im in the Peters' case applied to a London police magistrate to now whether he could recover "costs" for a day's attendance at ne court. The man had actually been paid 10s., and Bradlaugh had efused to pay more. This case was tried (April 1889) before Justice Ianisty and a special jury, who awarded Bradlaugh £25 damages —another windfall for the Masonic Boys' School.

As against the manifold annoyance of libels, Bradlaugh had in 888 one great and solacing relief from a strain which had sorely ried him. His various lawsuits over the Oath question, despite he success of those against Newdegate, and the saving of outlay hrough his pleading his own cases, had left him saddled with a pecial debt of between £2000 and £3000, on which interest was lways running. And, even as the lawsuits themselves helped to ripple his power of earning while they were going on, his intense pplication to his Parliamentary work had limited his earnings in he years following on his admission. His whole sources of ncome were his lectures, his journal, and his publishing business. But he could no longer give proper personal attention to the ushing of the business; the lecturing was curtailed; and the ournal fell off in circulation just when it might have helped him nost. Thousands of miners had been among its subscribers, lespite its non-democratic price of twopence; but prolonged listress among the miners caused many of these subscribers to migrate, while many more could no longer buy it. In villages

where forty or fifty copies had been bought, one or two had do duty for all the remaining readers. All the while the borrow capital on which the Freethought Publishing Company had opene business in Fleet Street had to bear interest, whereas, in th ordinary course of things, it had been hoped that the princip would have been repaid in the years that, as the event can about, had to be devoted to a desperate struggle against politic injustice. Freethinking friends, who knew how he was worrie by the fresh debts incurred in the struggle, started a fund in 188 to meet the more pressing burden of £750, which then had t be repaid, and over £500 was then collected. But in August 1888 his embarrassments became so serious that, answering corre pondents who urged a holiday on him, he wrote: "My gre trouble now is lest I should be unable to earn enough to meet m many heavy obligations, in which case I should be most reluctantl obliged to relinquish my Parliamentary career." He was the addressing seven and eight meetings a week, while other membe were recruiting on the moors and on the Continent. The avowa through no action of his, got into the newspapers, and was th means of setting agoing a general public subscription, the cred for starting which is due to Mr W. T. Stead, then the editor the *Pall Mall Gazette*, whose action in the matter was chivalrou and generous in the highest degree. Another fund was opened i the columns of the *Star*, another at Northampton, another in th *Halifax Courier*, and the upshot was that in a month's time the had been subscribed close upon £2500. There were over 600 separate donations, and the subscribers' names indicated a remark able range of recognition. In addition to Freethinkers an Northampton friends who had helped nobly before and no helped again, there were remittances from sympathisers who goodwill had not before been known to the subject. Sir T. E Farrer, Lady Ripon, Mr D. F. Schloss, Lord Hobhouse ("acknowledgment of gallant service done for mankind"), M Stansfeld, Mr T. B. Potter, Mr M'Ewan, M.P., Admiral Maxs W. M. Rossetti, Auberon Herbert, Mrs Ernestine Rose, M Labouchere, Lord Rosebery, Mr Newnes, Lord J. Hervey, M Munro Ferguson, are a few of the best-known names that catch th eye in the long lists, which include thousands of signatures. number of Churchmen and Conservatives subscribed as such, son of them largely; £200 was given by one Freethinker over a

itial, and £100 "from Melbourne;" groups of workers and clerks ade up sums among them; clubs collected goodly totals; widows ave their mites; and hundreds of scattered toilers gave yet again f their scanty pence to the man they believed in. At his wish, he funds were closed, as far as possible, on his birthday, 26th eptember, when he counted fifty-six years, *bien sonnés*. Had he llowed the subscription to continue, the amount would probably ave been doubled. As it was, he paid off all his outstanding w debts, and had a clear £1000 to put towards the others; nd he turned with new cheerfulness and courage to his tasks, is holiday, as usual, being of the shortest. But hard upon he great relief came a great blow, of the kind that turns good ortune to ashes. On 2nd December his daughter Alice died f typhoid fever, after sixteen days' illness, aged thirty-two. he was her father's daughter in her high spirit, in her enerosity, in her energy, and in the thoroughness of her work s a student and teacher of biology, though for all her years f ungrudging service in the latter capacity there is only left to how, apart from the gain and the gratitude of those she taught, er little tract on "Mind considered as a Bodily Function." It had een her wish that her body should be cremated; but the crema- orium just then chanced to be out of order, and she had to be uried. Briefly acknowledging condolences, and replying to the equest of many friends to be permitted to attend the funeral, her ather wrote, to appear after it was over, the lines: "Any public uneral would have been painful to me; and I trust I offend none n not acceding. The funeral, private and silent, will have taken lace at Woking Cemetery. The funeral wreaths and flowers sent re reverently laid on the grave."

The year thus grievously closed had been for Bradlaugh as full s the preceding ones of political work, which involved strife over nd above that of the lawsuits, and over the Oaths Bill. On wo issues he came in conflict with sections of the democracy. he first was Sir John Lubbock's Early Closing Bill, one of those easures in which legislatures go about to remove, as it were, umours and swellings by applying a vice to them. Declaring imself strongly in favour of the shortening of hours by voluntary

effort, Bradlaugh vigorously attacked the Bill as an arbitrary and capricious application of force on wrong principles, pointing out that it would close shops irrespectively of the length of the shifts worked in them by the assistants, and that it left untouched public houses and tobacco-shops, which were kept open latest. It had the further demerit of renewing the old Sunday Trading Act of Charles II. and increasing the penalties. On a vote (May) it was rejected by 278 to 95. This was one of several points at which Bradlaugh came in conflict with the policy of empirical regulation in which some Socialists go hand in hand with some Conservatives. He was blamed, as before mentioned, for rejecting State interference in some cases, while urging it in others, as that of truck. The criticism failed to note that he opposed truck as a form of fraud, not at all necessarily arising out of the economic situation, whereas hours of labour are determined by the whole economic situation. While offending some Radicals as well as Socialists by opposing time-laws, he offended the extreme Individualists by supporting Public Libraries, which he justified as he had justified State education, and as being a rather more defensible form of public expenditure than much of the outlay on armaments, to which so few individualists strongly demur, on principle or in practice.

But his sharpest conflict with men usually on his own side was over the Employers' Liability Bill, to which he had given constant and laborious attention as a member of the Committee appointed to consider the subject in 1886. He had then and afterwards taken every possible pains to get at the views of the workers, had spoken on the subject before many thousands of them, and had done all he could to make the Bill as strong a measure as could be carried. He did not like it in every respect; he objected to the retention in any form of the doctrine of common employment and of the principle of contracting-out, both of which he had sought to restrict by his action as far as possible; but the measure was in several respects an improvement on the Trade Unions Bill of 1886, then introduced by Mr Broadhurst, Mr Burt, and others, to amend the Liberal Act of 1880. That Bill had been referred to a Select Committee under the Gladstone Government, which Committee duly reported. The Bill now (1888) under discussion was, save for one or two points, either the re-enactment of the Act of 1880, or the formulation of the suggestions of the Select

Committee of 1886. It was, however, strongly opposed by the abour leaders, especially by Mr Broadhurst, who denounced it as a sham, misleading, mischievous—the worst Bill ever introduced o the House," and moved its rejection on the second reading December), after it had been amended by the Standing Committee n Law. On this, Bradlaugh had a sharp brush with him, point- ng out that with two exceptions all the complaints urged against he 1888 Bill struck equally at Mr Broadhurst's own Bill of 1886. he hon. gentleman denounced the new Bill as protecting the ondon and North Western Railway Company, whereas it did xactly, in that regard, what his own Bill had done; and an mendment which he had moved, as expressing his latest wishes, ould equally have legalised that Company's arrangement with its mployees. Bradlaugh's criticism was perhaps the sharper, inas- uch as he believed that the Liberal labour leaders were mainly oncerned to throw out the Bill because it was introduced by a onservative Government, who would in due course have claimed he credit if it had passed. Bradlaugh knew well enough that the onservative party systematically facilitated certain popular measures hich the same party would have strongly resisted when introduced y Liberals; but that was for him no reason for refusing to pass he measures so facilitated. He took all he could get, and fought or the return of a Liberal Government all the same. Mr Broad- urst, it is believed, afterwards regretted in some respects the titude he took up, as did Sir William Harcourt, who hastily upported Mr Broadhurst by accusing Bradlaugh of attacking the ade unions in general—a charge which Bradlaugh instantly and armly repudiated. However that may be, Bradlaugh's case may e read by those who care in his letter to his friend, Thomas Burt, .P., published as a pamphlet. Mr Burt sent a reply, to which radlaugh gave prominence in his journal, in which one of his hrases, as to "setting the employed against the employer," was bjected to; and on this point Bradlaugh explained the precise mit within which he applied it. He always opposed those orkers who sought to make it illegal for masters to insure them- lves against loss through accidents to their men; and on that oint Mr Burt fully agreed with him.

A less prominent but important part of his dealings with bour problems was his service on the Committee which investi- ted the subject of the immigration of destitute aliens, and on

that which investigated the working of Friendly Societies an Industrial Assurance Societies. As to the destitute immigrant he was satisfied that they were not then numerous enough t justify any legislative action.

While to some extent in conflict, as we have seen, with som of his fellow Radicals, he was able to co-operate actively wit the Irish party. On the Bill for the Commission to investigat the charges against the Irish members, he made what he confesse he believed to have been one of his best parliamentary speeche but found it either ignored or "cut down to nothing" in th press. Recognition was forced, on the other hand, by his ever increasing work on behalf of India, which in the course of th remaining two years of his life was to make his name known t every Indian interested in the affairs of the dependency.

1889.

Though already showing sad signs of failing health, Bradlaug seemed to begin the session of 1889 with even extra energy He laid down for himself at once a resolution dissenting from th Government's rate of commutation for perpetual pensions; motion to expunge from the journals of the House the old resol tions excluding him; a fresh resolution on the utilisation of wast lands; a repetition of his motion for a new Rule as to the callin of members to the table; and a motion for a Royal Commissio to consider the grievances of the native population of India and he further introduced his Bill for the repeal of the Blasphem Laws, and a Bill for abolishing political pensions. On the fir paragraph of the address he made a strong speech in oppositio criticising the foreign, Indian, and colonial policy of the Gover ment; and in regard to Ireland he made another of still great vigour, setting out and ending with a telling attack on M Chamberlain, and vehemently impeaching the whole drift of M Balfour's policy in Ireland. Yet, again, he spoke on the Trafalg Square question.

The first reached of his motions was that for the expunging the resolutions excluding him in 1880, on which (8th March) h made an extremely temperate speech, assuring the House, how ever, that on behalf of his constituents he would certainly go o making his motion until it should be carried. The Governmen

rongly opposed, through Sir Michael Hicks Beach and Sir Edward larke, who were however answered by Sir Henry James and ir William Harcourt, and Bradlaugh had 79 votes to 122. He rtainly did little about this time to propitiate the Government, aking repeated attacks on their Irish policy and their colonial lministration, besides keeping up such a fire of questions on ievances of every description, submitted to him from all parts the world—miscarriages of justice, official misdeeds and tyrannies, eaches of the Truck Act, jobs domestic and foreign, misdirection id ruin of emigrants, fleecing of workers in Government employ, aste of money on royal palaces, Irish oppression, and a score of ings which cannot even be catalogued. Probably no non-ficial member had such a budget of daily business; and certainly one was more in earnest. At the beginning of April we find m writing:—

"I confess that I left the House about 1 A.M. on Tuesday, after a ng sitting, in a very bad temper. All our front bench voted in vour of the Government resolution to spend £21,500,000 on the Navy, d to raise £10,000,000 of this by increasing the National Debt."

Of State finance he was the most vigilant of critics; and he used much Tory resentment by habitually impugning the claim at the old purchase of Suez Canal shares had been a good in-stment. At least ten millions, he pointed out, had been spent Egypt in pursuit of the policy of looking after the shares in estion.

There was thus small sign of Conservative complaisance towards s Bill for the Abolition of the Blasphemy Laws. As always on such easures, he spoke with extreme concision and moderation, packing s argument with authoritative deliverances, and making only a iet and simple appeal to good feeling. Similar bills had been troduced by Professor Courtney Kenny and other Nonconformists the two preceding years, but had come to nothing. At first the omoters had inserted what is known as the "Indian clause," an traordinary form of enactment which provides that any use of nguage "likely" to hurt religious feelings and cause disturbance, ith the "intention" of so hurting feelings, should remain punish-le. This clause had been unanimously rejected by Freethinkers making fully a worse law than the old, the vague expressions to "intention" and "feeling" being capable of a construction

such as bigots had not ventured to put on the blasphemy law
and the principle being plainly destructive of that of free discu
sion. Even one or two religious bodies petitioned against the Bi
on the latter score. The dissatisfaction with the clause was s
great that it was dropped, but even then it was not till Bradlaug
took up the Bill that it reached a second reading (12th April). I
was now opposed not only by Tories, but by pious Liberals, M
Samuel Smith and Mr Waddy in particular taking pains to get u
a panic about the possibility of having impious caricatures distri
buted at the doors of churches and Sunday schools, and children'
minds blasted by blasphemous placards. Finally there voted onl
46 for and 141 against the second reading. Most of the Libera
leaders were conspicuous by their absence.

He was better supported in the following month in his motio
to dissent from the Government's system of commuting perpetua
pensions. It was seconded by Mr Hanbury; and after a debate
in which Mr Gladstone spoke at some length in support of th
resolution, the closure was carried on Bradlaugh's motion by 35
votes to 96, and the resolution was only rejected by 264 votes t
205. The moving of the closure in the midst of a speech by D
Clark—a step which Bradlaugh declared to be fully justified by a
the circumstances—gave some offence among Liberals; and jus
before, Bradlaugh had been made the subject of a furious new
paper attack by Mr John Burns, who pronounced him "the greate
enemy of labour in the House of Commons," and an opponent
"Employers' Liability Bills and other measures affecting the re
interests of the people;" described him as shirking the Trafalg
Square question; and attacked him for having resisted a motion
reduce the Lord Chancellor's salary. The last step would hav
struck most people as one of peculiar chivalry, seeing that th
Lord Chancellor had been one of Bradlaugh's most persistent an
embittered personal enemies; but as the other items show, M
Burns was not much concerned as to the validity of his charge
He even chose to speak of Bradlaugh as having sought an inte
view with him, when the fact was that Mrs Besant had intr
duced him to Bradlaugh to get the benefit of his legal advice.
more offensive attack was made on Bradlaugh shortly afterwar
by Mr F. C. Philips in a serial in the magazine *Time*. Th
novelist made one of his characters allude to "a ruffian in th
United States—a colonel, I believe—who is a kind of Yank

radlaugh, only that he has the courage of his convictions, which radlaugh has not." This was by far the least offensive part of the assage; and Bradlaugh, after expressing his surprise that any ditor or publisher should permit such a wanton attack, added:—

"F. C. Philips is right in saying, at any rate so far as he is concerned, at I have not the courage of my opinions, for my opinion is that I ught to horsewhip him. As I will not do that, I reprint his words."

he publishers promptly and cordially apologised for the outrage, hich had taken place entirely without their knowledge, and which as really a piece of gratuitous literary ruffianism, not easily to be atched in modern times.

Much more troublous than any scurrilities or injustices from ithout was the shock which now came upon him from Mrs esant's definite avowal of her conversion to the so-called "Theos-phy" of Madame Blavatsky. No persistence of personal regard ould countervail the complete sense of intellectual sundering from ie friend and colleague of so many years which this involved for im; and the change was the more felt by him for that his physique as now fast giving way. But he held on his course with un-hanging fortitude, adding fresh Freethought work to the ever-rowing bulk of his work for India, and adding to his earnings as e could by articles for the reviews which were now open to him. n article on "Humanity's Gain from Unbelief," contributed in he spring to the *North American Review*, elicited an invitation to ebate the point with the Rev. Mr Marsden Gibson, M.A., a New-astle clergyman. This was accepted, and the debate took place at Newcastle in September, before densely packed audiences, on two uccessive nights. It was conducted with good feeling on both ides, the nearest approach to personalities being in respect of Mr ibson's using the argument that Bradlaugh "stood alone," since at least eleven apostles of the Secularist party" had left it within wenty years, Mrs Besant's being the only name given. Bradlaugh rily replied that he doubted whether the assertion was material to he question, but that if it were he could remind Mr Gibson "that leven apostles deserted *his* founder in the sorest hour of his need." One bystander, not a Secularist, summed up the debate as a natter of Bradlaugh launching cannon-balls while his opponent pun cobwebs, a criticism partly justified by the rev. gentleman's efining "unbelief" as a state of mental indecision, whereas

Bradlaugh, of course, used the term to signify the critical and challenging spirit. But the open-minded reader can judge for himself on the published verbatim report. It elicited a number of sermons, some decent and courteous, others otherwise.

If Bradlaugh could have spent his autumns on Loch Lomond (where at last he had secured for the dwellers and health-seekers an almost complete stoppage of the pollution of the waters by the discharge of Clyde dredgings and other horrors) instead of in the usual round of lecturing, he might still have been among us. But he could never have the rest needed to build up his strength after the session's long drain on it; his vascular system was fast running down, and in October 1889 he was at length prostrated by a dangerous illness, a manifestation of the Bright's disease which was soon afterwards to destroy him. A surprising and touching proof of the change in public feeling towards him was given in the offering up of prayers in many churches for his recovery—a display of good will not undone by shoals of religious tracts, or even by the already started legend that he was "altering his opinions." One clergyman, the Rev. F. E. Millson of Halifax, generously gave a lecture specially to make a collection to help the sick man financially, which realised £10; and Mr M'Ewan, M.P., with characteristic munificence, sent him a cheque for £200 to enable him to take a health voyage to Bombay, as advised by the doctors. After weeks of extreme danger, he began slowly to regain ground. The great frame was not to be overthrown by one attack. But the seizure had been a terrible one: he had looked as close on death he told us, as a man could look and live; and it was with heavy hearts that those who loved him saw him set sail in cold November for India. Before going, he penned a few notes, calmly contradicting the absurd story of his change of opinions, and other legends. "It would be ill-becoming to boast," he wrote, "but I may say that my convictions and teachings have not been with me subjects of doubt or uncertainty." One of the legends, circulated by the *British Weekly*, was to the effect that "on one occasion he said that he had almost been persuaded by a sermon of the Rev. Arthur Mursell." On this he remarked that the story was pure fiction; that though he had had friendly services from him, he had only heard Mr Mursell preach once in his life; and that all he remembered of it was the concluding intimation: "My subject next Sunday will be 'Beware of the Dog.'" The reverend editor

he *British Weekly* had thought fit to add to his tale the judg-
nt: "He (Mr Bradlaugh) has the earthliest of minds, is without
ouch of poetry, imagination, or yearning"—a Christian character-
ion which the patient treated with the charity it so eminently
ked.

There was a pathetic fitness in the advice which sent the sorely
ken man to India to recover, if it might be, health wherewith
work. It was just after delivering a lecture on India that he
t the first grasp of his illness. What strength he had had, he had
leed freely spent for India. In 1888 he had handled more
dian matters than in any previous year; and in particular had
de (27th August) an important speech (reprinted under the
le: "The Story of a Famine Insurance Fund and what was
ne with it") by way of protest, in the discussion on the Indian
dget, against the mismanagement of Indian affairs. Early in
e session he had obtained a first place for his notice of motion on
dian grievances, but the Government took away the time; and
now made his criticism none the less forcible. None of his
eserved speeches will better show the peculiar energy of his grasp
Indian questions, and of his pressure on the Indian Government;
w indeed will better show one of the great characteristics of his
eaking—the intense and constant pressure of his argument, the
ntinuance of the highest stress of thought and feeling without a
oment's lapse into incoherence or verbiage. It was in particular
crushing indictment of the action of Lord Lytton—the most
structive ever brought against him, Anglo-Indians say; and the
timate effect of it was that the misapplied famine insurance
nd was at length restored to its proper and solemnly pledged
rpose.

It was a very different pulse and note that marked the short and
ave address delivered by the stricken orator to the Indian
ongress of December 1889. On board the *Ballarat*, jotting
wn a voyager's "log" for the friendly readers of his journal, he
eclared on the third day: "My health is coming back very fast;
y hopes are rising even more rapidly;" but a man does not come
ack in a week or two to health from the door of death; the
covery slackened; and when he reached Bombay on the 23rd he
as still far from convalescence. His reception would have electri-
ed him into strength again if enthusiasm could. In the Congress
uilding, for the occasion of his coming, there were added to the

2000 delegates 3000 spectators, and the whole multitude rose their feet in mass to cheer him as he appeared on the platform Hundreds of addresses for presentation had been sent to him fro all parts of India, some of them in rich cases, or accompanied b beautiful gifts in gold and silver and ivory and sandalwood. Th address prepared by the Congress itself was read in lieu of all t the chairman, Sir William Wedderburn, and then the guest mad his speech, a grave oration, touched with the tremour of recen suffering and restrained by the sense of broken strength, but fu of greatness and dignity—a speech worthy of the man and of th occasion, weighty and wise in its counsels, urging patience, an disclaiming praise. It is impossible to read it without catching th vibration of its deep emotion, and as it were the breath of th listening host. The sight of the living mass, and the hearing o the actual proceedings at the Congress, gave him a new and illum inating knowledge of the great forces he had been dealing with but he had nothing to unsay or unthink. Of the vitality of th Congress movement he was well assured, and he could gather fo himself how much of sympathy among English civil servants ha as yet to be concealed.

He had no time to give to seeing the regions and the peopl which the Congress represented; and in any case it was th voyage that was to restore him if anything would. So o 3rd January he set sail from Bombay for home, receiving tremendous ovation at the Apollo Bunder, where the carria could scarcely get through the crowds that rained flowers on hi and Sir William Wedderburn. The end of January found hi once more at his library table and at his work, "marvellous better," indeed, but not restored. There was to be no restoration

1890–1891.

Before sailing for India Bradlaugh had issued a summons to extraordinary and special general meeting of the members of t National Secular Society, to be held after his return on 16 February, to receive from him a special statement, and his resigna tion of the Presidentship, and to elect a successor. This last w a step he had hoped to postpone until he had carried a B repealing the blasphemy laws. Freethought and Freethinke would in that event stand free and equal before the law; an with endless tasks before him as a legislator, he felt he mig

ly withdraw from the more militant and organising work of ecularism, of which he had done so much. But looking to his efeat on his Bill in 1889, and to the desperate illness he had ist gone through, he felt he must needs lighten his burdens orthwith as best he could.

The scene of his resignation was a touching one. From all arts of England came men who had fought with and for him, ome of them for a good thirty years listening to his teaching and preading it around, criticising him at times, but always admiring im, standing by him in battle and rejoicing with him in victory; nd when he rose to lay down his leadership, and the cheers of velcome on his recovery rang warmer and warmer, it was some ime before he could command himself to speak. A few moving eriods told of the necessity he lay under of giving up a task vhich he was no longer fulfilling as he held it ought to be ulfilled. The party would have rejoiced to have him hold the ffice nominally, letting another do the work. But he "must be a real President or none. My fault," he went on, "has sometimes been that I have been too real a one (laughter), but it is no easy matter to lead such a voluntary movement as ours. I think I am entitled to say that the movement is stronger when I am giving up this badge of office (holding up Richard Carlile's chairman's hammer) than when I first took the presidential chair." And a thunderous cheer endorsed the claim.

The office had no emoluments whatever. The little wooden hammer and its memories had been the prize for a generation of work involving much spending. He calculated that during thirty years he had given to the Society and its branches, as proceeds of benefit lectures, some £3000; and the members on their part gladly relieved him of certain money obligations of considerably less amount. He ended:—

"I do not say, 'We part friends,' because this is not parting. The movement is still as much to me as ever, as much as it has been during my life. For more than forty years I have been a speaker among you. Now I lay down the wand of office, and the right to give command, but I hope always to remain with you a trusted counsellor. And to you, I hope unstained—to you, I hope untarnished, I give back the trust you gave."

When the cheering and the addresses and resolutions had been got through, he proposed as his successor in the Presidentship

Mr G. W. Foote, the able editor of the *Freethinker* and the leading lecturer in the movement; and on Mr Foote's being unanimously elected, he handed over to the new President the hammer of office, with the words: "I give it to you, George William Foote; and I trust that when it becomes your painful duty to resign, as I do now, the progress that has been made in the cause while you have held it will be such as to compensate for the pain."

In dismissing the meeting he gave it some grave words of counsel:—

"The battle of Freethought in this country is not over. There are signs, not far off, of possible strife, and there will be needed wise heads cool heads, and firm hearts. There is a tendency to renew the anti-Jewish cry; and you may easily, in connection with the lower phases of the Salvation Army, get excitement and tension that need a greater self-command than is always shown among us, if personal conflict is to be avoided. The forthcoming report on sweating may bring about an attempt to raise the anti-Jewish cry; and it is impossible to have strife between religions without the possibility of the various religions turning on the one party that is outside all. One element of danger in Europe is the approach of the Roman Catholic Church towards meddling in political life. . . . Beware when that great Church, whose power none can deny, the capacity of whose leading men is marked, tries to use the democracy as its weapon. There is danger to freedom of thought, to freedom of speech, to freedom of action. The great struggle in this country will not be between Freethought and the Church of England nor between Freethought and Dissent, but— as I have long taught, and now repeat—between Freethought and Rome."

To his political work he turned with all the strength he could command. At Northampton his constituents welcomed him back with joyful enthusiasm, and an address from the Liberal and Radical Association formally expressed their felicitations. When he addressed them, he had to stand for several minutes on end before the cheering and singing would subside. The speech had some pregnant passages:—

"I, personally, am not so hopeful as my colleague of a democratic Parliament in England. And why? Because a democratic Parliament in England can only come when you pay each servant there for the work and the service he renders you—(cheers)—and when the worry and the wear-and-tear of earning a livelihood beside his work do not —he ended the sentence shortly—"sometimes break the man down."

On points of policy he went on to express himself firmly and ıcompromisingly as to the Eight Hours' movement, against which ı had already written and spoken as being utterly fallacious on ıe side of practice and pernicious in point of principle; and king the demand for a time-law as the prelude to a demand for wage-law, he assailed the entire movement as illustrating the ractical application of Socialist theory to practice, both demo-ratic and despotic:—

"As you all know well, I have always been in favour of Trade nions; as you know also, I have spoken for them, and I have worked ith them. (Cheers.) But I say here, I am utterly against—and ıough it should cost me my seat in Parliament to-morrow, I would be gainst—the doctrine and opinion that Parliament could thus add one rthing to a man's wage, or one jot to a man's comfort. (Cheers.) Vhat Parliament can do is, remove restrictions; what Parliament can o is, reduce expenditure; and what the Emperor of Germany had etter do, instead of summoning a conference of the nations of the orld, is to disarm twenty regiments (great cheering), and send back o the plough and to the machine a huge number of men who now ve upon the labour of others, and lessen the wage of others, y being soldiers instead of working men. (Loud cheers.) I speak ıost strongly on this, because I feel most strongly on it. ('Hear hear.') am not one of those, as you will know, who have ever yet, and I have assed too close to the end of my life to have any thought at anyrate to ecome one now—I am not one of those who have ever flattered the eople, or striven to win their favour by telling them that from the rown or from the Parliament that could be got which could not be ot from themselves, by themselves. (Cheers.) I would impress upon ou this. What the State gives to you, the State takes from you first; t further charges you with the cost of collection, and with the cost of istribution. ('Hear, hear.') Better by far for you that you should save or yourselves and spend for yourselves, than put into the purse of the tate your earnings, of which only part can at best come back. (Cheers).[1]

Just after the Northampton meeting came the death of the man vho had been his right hand in all his struggles there from the first —Thomas Adams, now ex-Mayor. Mr Adams had been a valued riend as well as a trusted agent, and his death came as another of he thickening blows of fate upon the rapidly aging man. In Parliament, all the same, he stuck sternly to his tasks. At the pening he had set down for himself important amendments to the ndian Councils Amendment Bill and to the Criminal Law

Practice Amendment Bill; a repetition of his motions as to wast lands and the expunging of the old resolutions excluding him; an a motion on behalf of the Financial Reform Association, callin for the abolition of the gold and silver duties and compulsory hal marking; and he introduced besides an India Bill of his prepara tion. He at once resumed work, too, on the Royal Commissio on Vaccination, on which he had done careful work in the previou year, charging himself as he did to watch over the case for th anti-vaccinators, though not committing himself definitely to thei view of the facts. He had been left out of the previous Roya Commission (moved for by himself) on Market Rights and Tolls— partly, it was thought, because Her Majesty could hardly be aske to include the Republican and Atheist in a list of "trusty an well-beloved" counsellors; but in the Vaccination Commission th difficulty was somehow overridden.

In the House, his first long speech was in opposition to th motion of Mr Cunninghame Graham on the Address with regard t the restriction of adult hours of labour by international legislatio and the sending of a delegate to the "Berlin Conference" t support such proposals there. The speech was a very vigorou one, and besides exposing some bad blunders in Mr Graham' figures, argued strongly against the policy of a time-law as a crud and superficial treatment of a far-reaching economic problem During the course of the year he developed this criticism in variou review articles and otherwise; and a systematic treatment of it wa to have made a large part of the book on "Labour and Law" o which he was engaged at his death. Among his other Parlia mentary discussions he fought his colleague's battle on the occasio on which Mr Labouchere was suspended for persisting in th declaration: "I do not believe Lord Salisbury"—in connectio with the escape of Lord Arthur Somerset from a crimina prosecution.

He continued to incur a fair share of the personal abuse o which he had had such ample experience. The *Observer* told hi that he was an object of "loathing" to Hindoos on account o his religious and Malthusian views; Mr Hyndman described hi and Mr Burt as "friends of the plundering classes;" Mr Willia Morris's *Commonweal* dubbed him a "renegade;" and Mr Cunnin hame Graham, by way of retaliation for punishment, declared hi work to have consisted mainly in fighting about the oath and th

istence of a Deity. The *Lady's Pictorial Journal* more subtly scribed him as "no longer the rough, rugged, carelessly-dressed an of the people, who once vainly sought admission to the pular Chamber, but a grave, dignified, and well-groomed nator;" and this legend of his "transformation" did duty with any as an exculpation of their own past brutalities. It almost ems heartless, as against such self-absolved penitents, to record the ct that in his costume he had always been the most conservative men, and that he dressed in 1890 exactly as he had dressed in 80 and 1870. The clerical stories of "awful examples" of ined infidels, tacked on somehow to his name, and the more viously knavish stories of his having been "shown up" or confounded" on the platform, continued to have their customary rculation; and during his illness and his absence the libellous Life," of which the surplus copies had *not* been destroyed, was ore actively circulated.

Accustomed as he was to the steadfast repetition of religious tions against him after all manner of refutation and contradiction, was somewhat astonished at the length to which some of the bour leaders had contrived to mislead their followers as to his tion in the House. At a Labour Electoral Congress at Hanley, April, one speaker, who declared himself otherwise friendly, tually moved a resolution "That this Congress regrets the termined opposition of Mr Charles Bradlaugh to the Employers' ability Bill, as the working men of this country desire it to be ssed, and refuses to recognise him as a labour representative." s has been above told, he had been the strongest supporter of the ll, whereas its rejection had been moved by Mr Broadhurst. he mover may have been under a hallucination in which the rôles Mr Broadhurst and Bradlaugh were reversed; but the extent to hich working men can go astray under such hallucinations was own by the fact that the resolution was actually carried. The rational hostility thus shown was of course not lessened when, the debate on Mr Bartley's motion for an inquiry into profit-aring, Bradlaugh administered another unsparing correction to r Cuninghame Graham, who in his excitement became so interruptious" as nearly to get himself suspended. "The hon. ember," said Bradlaugh among other things, "charged Liberals d Nationalists with having done nothing to prevent the starva-on of one man whose terrible death he had brought before the

House; but what did he do himself except promote a strike the district, one result of which was that many men were no without employment who had theretofore at least been kept fro starving?" Mr Graham, with his youth and health, was no mat for Bradlaugh, out of health.

While politics were thus growing increasingly contentious f him, he paradoxically found calm in new resorts to the theologic controversy. A series of serenely trenchant papers on the questi "Are the Hebrew Scriptures Impregnable?" in criticism of th treatise of Mr Gladstone—a criticism to which the right ho gentleman offered no reply—were among his writings during th session. He had increasing satisfaction, too, in his work f India; and on the occasion of a reception at Northampton to th delegates of the Indian Congress, he delivered a most eloque speech, full of his old fire, though towards the end he was fa to express the wish that he had the force and fire of the o years. In the House, in the course of the session, besides co stantly pressing Indian needs on the Secretary of State, h made an important speech on the case of the Maharaja of Kashm whose high-handed deposition by the Indian Government, on th scantiest justification, had seemed to him as worthy of reprobati as wrongs to common folk. Republican as he was, he would nev admit that an Imperial Government, which itself professed to re on hereditary monarchy, had the right to tread underfoot pleasure the titles of Indian princes; and he saw at once what th Imperialists are so slow to see, that a brutal disregard of the esta lished titles of such princes is the surest way to breed disaffecti to British rule, which has the least satisfactory title of all. T official Liberal press, of course, lectured him for his failure to s that the official course was the right one, and charged him wi championing a corrupt native despot. The sufficient answer such deliverances was and is that within three years the Mahar of Kashmir was restored, just as the famine fund was restored Bradlaugh's previous pressure. From such eloquent facts we m infer what he might have done for the reform of Indian admin tration had he lived, and what a loss to the cause was his dea just as his most important plans were coming within sight effective discussion. In his last enfeebled years he did for In what some men might have reckoned good work for a lifetime.

Weakened as he was, he entered on one undertaking during t

mmer, which, in the state of his health, was anything but udent. Mr John Burns, in a public speech, spoke vaguely of allenging him to a debate in some very large hall on the Eight ours question; but on being asked to come to business, declared at nothing would meet his wishes short of an open-air debate hich could be "heard" by 200,000 persons, who were to vote on e issue—a farcical proposition which made an end of the matter far as Mr Burns was concerned. Mr Hyndman, however, who om endorsing Mr Burns' denunciations of Mr Bradlaugh had due course passed to denouncing Mr Burns, wrote to Bradlaugh allenging him in Mr Burns' place. "I observe," he put it, that John Burns imposes such terms in relation to his debate ith you, that he obviously does not wish it to come off." After me contentious preliminaries, a debate on the Eight Hours uestion came off between Mr Hyndman and Bradlaugh in St ames's Hall on the evening of 23rd July. It was, like most of ne debates on Socialism held in London, a noisy scene, many of ne Socialists present being disorderly in the extreme; and it was rievous to some of us to think that Bradlaugh, with his failing ealth and slackening nerves, should have the strain of such a neeting for such a grossly inconsiderate audience as made up the ollowing of his opponent. The published report will serve to how whether the advocacy on the other side made the debate vorth holding.

Twice in this year did Bradlaugh seek fresh strength on his ishing ground of Loch Long, far from the madding crowd. Fail- ng still to build himself up to anything like his old standard of ealth, he grew more and more anxious about his money matters, he successful management of which depended so much on his eeping up his personal earnings. Physically unable to lecture o much as formerly, he sought by writing review articles to keep p a sufficient income to meet all his obligations. But on the other and, he found himself at length obliged to close the Freethought Publishing Company's shop in Fleet Street, which meant too urdensome a cost for a bookselling business, even were that usiness not one-half boycotted by "the trade," and catering for nly a section of the reading public. Appealing to that section to elp him in the way of clearance sales, he wrote: "There are ome folk who repeatedly say that I am rich. I should be a very happy man if to-morrow I could assign all my assets, except my

library, which I should not like to lose, to any one who would discharge my liabilities." The closing of the shop was made the occasion of another painful step—the dissolution (December 1890) of the partnership which had for so many years subsisted between him and Mrs Besant. They had diverged too far in thought to permit of the old community of interest, though to the last Mrs Besant continued to write for the *National Reformer*, and there was no cessation of friendly intercourse.

Hardly was the dissolution accomplished when once more the overwrought man was struck down by the malady which had barely let him go a year before, and which this time was not to be fought off. On the 10th of January 1891 he came home very ill indeed, hypertrophy of the heart having followed on the old Bright's disease. After the first seizure was over, he went to see his physician, who diagnosed the trouble. Still he did not take to bed, and about midnight on the 13th an attack of spasm of the heart, as he wrote in the last notes he penned or dictated, "nearly finished my chequered life." It was soon to end indeed. He rose to work as usual the next morning, and was unwilling even to have the doctor called in again; but on the day after he was persuaded to take to bed, though he went reluctantly, not dreaming at first that the end was so near. He had the best of doctoring and nursing; being attended by his old friend, Dr Ramskill, and by his near neighbour, Dr Bell, while he had in his daughter a nurse for whom the doctors had nothing but praise; but the case was past cure. He faced the end as he had done twice before, with perfect tranquillity, sorry to close his work, but calm with the calmness of a perfectly brave and sane man. Coming from Scotland to see him a little before the end, I found him in the perfect possession of his judgment, occupying himself among other things by auditing the peculiar accounts of the Salvation Army, which he had mastered much more thoroughly than their framers liked; and at that time, though they had no hope, the doctors thought his illness would be a long one. He himself, I saw, was prepared for the worst. The one regret he expressed was that he probably should not be able to move once more the motion he had put down yet again at the beginning of the winter session, for the expunging from the journals of the House of the old resolutions excluding him. He had set his heart on carrying that motion, even as a similar one

ad been carried after the lapse of years in the case of Wilkes. nd, happily, across the very shades of death there came for him light of comfort on this his last desire. Dr W. A. Hunter, .P., on being appealed to without the dying man's knowledge, nstantly and kindly consented to move the resolution on his ehalf on 27th January, when its turn came; and Bradlaugh, hen told of what had been arranged, declared that that was the ery choice he should have made, and turned contentedly to his est, though he did not suppose the motion would even now be arried.

Dr Hunter's success, however, was complete. The motion was pposed at great length by the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward larke; but after Gladstone had delivered a conciliatory speech, he front bench agreed to accept the motion on condition that the ords characterising the resolutions to be expunged "as subversive f the rights of the whole body of electors of the kingdom" should e dropped. These words had been copied from the motion in he Wilkes case, so as to follow precedent; but of course the ssential thing was the consent to the expunging of the resolutions, hich very sufficiently implied all that was said in the withdrawn ords. So, after Sir Edward Clarke had protested against a eletion, which he admitted to be "a mark of ignominy," Mr W. H. mith agreed to the motion; and although Mr De Lisle made a olish speech in opposition, even he expressed his "deep regret the illness of Mr Bradlaugh," while Sir Walter Barttelot not ly deplored that there should be any lack of unanimity, but xpressed his admiration of the straightforwardness Mr Bradlaugh d shown in the discharge of his duties as a member. "God ant that the junior member for Northampton might recover; t whatever happened, hon. members would feel that, by accept- g this motion, they had done a generous act towards a man who d endeavoured to do his duty." So the motion was finally rried without dissent, amid cheers, and the wrongful resolutions ere formally expunged.

Alas, when the news of the triumph was telegraphed by Dr unter, it was too late to tell the dying man. Day by day he d grown weaker, albeit cheerful and even sanguine when he owsily talked of himself; and now he had sunk so low that his ughter dared not rouse him with so exciting a message. He

never fully regained consciousness; and those about him learned how bitter a thing it could be

> "To hear the world applaud the hollow ghost
> Which blamed the living man."

The end came on the morning of 30th January 1891. He was fifty-seven years and four months old.

As in his previous illness, prayers had been offered up for him in many churches; and many were the tributes of those who had been opposed to him in religion and in politics; still more, of course, of those more in agreement with him. But his daughter had been driven to take the precaution of procuring signed testimony, from those who had been attending him, that during his illness he was never heard to utter one word "either directly or indirectly bearing upon religion or any religious subject." The eternal pretence of a "recantation" was already current afresh, as it had been after he resigned his presidentship of the National Secular Society, even while he was writing his arguments against Mr Gladstone's book, and re-stating his Atheism as explicitly as ever in his "Doubts in Dialogue." One of the last non-political lectures he had given, in November, had been a manifesto on "My Heresy now and Thirty-six Years ago;" and in December he had discoursed on "Life, Death, and Immortality" with no faltering in his doctrine.

The funeral was on 3rd February, at Brookwood Cemetery. He had never troubled himself as to how his body should be dealt with, so his daughter chose that it should be in the "earth to earth" fashion. At his express wish, written in a will dated some years before, the burial was perfectly silent—an arrangement which caused some regret among friends, and some characteristic phrases about "being buried like a dog" from others, who could not feel the pathos and solemnity of the silent sepulture, amid the uncovered multitude who had come to pay their last tribute at the grave of the man they had honoured and loved. As he had always disliked the shows of mourning and the badges of grief those who knew his tastes wore none. But the grief of the thousands who filled the trains from London to the burial-place was such as needed no other attestation. They were of both sexes and all classes, from costermongers to right honourables; they came from all parts of England; and soldiers' red coats and the bronzed

faces of hundreds of Hindus gave a wide significance of aspect to the throng. Hundreds, many of them from Northampton, had brought the little tri-coloured rosettes they used to wear in the old fighting days; and many threw these in the grave, some saying as they did so that their work too was done, now that he was gone.

Over an hour after the coffin had been laid in the earth, when it was thought that the multitude had passed away, the immediate friends and mourners of the dead went back to take a last look, and they found that a lingering band of devoted men had got the shovels from the workmen, and were one by one obtaining the last sad privilege of casting their handful of earth into the grave.

CONCLUSION.

If the foregoing volumes have not shown what manner of man Bradlaugh was, as well as what he did, they have been written in vain. But it may be fitting to attempt, in a closing page or two, some general estimate of his personality. The present writer is, indeed, conscious of unfitness for the task, were it only because of a personal affection which must somewhat bias criticism. But when a man has had so much evil said of him as Bradlaugh had throughout his life, the inclining of the balance a little way towards love and admiration may be forgiven. Indeed, most men would find it hard to write of him with perfect impartiality. He inspired, as a rule, either aversion or admiration, and the furious enmities of which these pages bear record were in a way the correlative of the intense devotion given to him by thousands.

Such a description would in some cases suggest an intensely passionate and ill-balanced nature, at once winning and grievously faulty; hardly a man of keenly analytic intellect, remarkable self-control, and extreme sagacity. Yet these latter qualities he certainly had. He was in truth a singular combination of chivalrous heroism and practical wisdom—a combination such as I cannot find a parallel for in memory. He had the quixotic ardour of a young enthusiast, an ardour which never left him to the end; and he combined it with a political foresight and judgment such as few modern English statesmen have exhibited. It was the ardour for justice and truth, the forthright sincerity and disregard of convenient conformities, that won him the love and allegiance

of men who possessed and valued courage; and it was his keen sagacity that kept their adherence. In modern England he stands out singularly as a powerful and prominent man who chose to set his face openly and systematically against what he held to be shams and delusions, though the impeaching of them brought him the bitterest hostility, the foulest calumny, and a perpetual struggle, where a mere tacit conformity would have meant manifold success, wealth, and ease. There is no country in which straightforwardness and single-mindedness are more belauded than in England, and perhaps none in which they are scarcer. The praise of them forms part of the "cant that does not know it is cant," which Carlyle denounced, and exemplified. Men declare their esteem for courage and sincerity; and when they meet a shining example of these virtues they cast their mud with the unthinking vulgar. No amount of reiteration of phrases about prophets who have been stoned by the Scribes and Pharisees can withhold the average moralist from joining the Scribes and Pharisees when the next prophet shows face. To panegyrise old prophets in platitudes is such a very different thing from recognising a new one in the market-place and taking him by the hand.

Of course, while men do unquestionably dislike an innovator and fighter for being more honest and plain-spoken than themselves they do not openly put their enmity on those grounds. They must find sins and faults for him: what faults he has they will magnify and multiply. And as, of course, all of us who practise any self-criticism at all can realise that the hostilities we set up however unjust we hold them to be, have a certain basis in our shortcomings, it is only reasonable to look for part of the pretext of Bradlaugh's enemies in his. What then were his faults? We have seen and heard enough of those falsely imputed: what was his real share of human infirmity? I have heard him accused, by people who were not rabidly hostile, of egoism, vanity, love of flattery, and a tendency to be overbearing. For perhaps all of these charges he would himself have more readily admitted a foundation than would his sympathetic friends. He used to make humorous allusion, in his speeches at Freethought gatherings, to his despotism in the chair. He ruled conferences with a rod, not of iron but of ivory—the rod of absolute technical law. He was the most swift and unyielding of chairmen; and men unwittingly out of order

lled him not only hard but unjust. But some who had resented s way in these matters have been known spontaneously to wish for s ruling hand when it was still. In all matters where authority and mmand belonged to the situation, and he was in authority, he ruled ith a military firmness and quickness; and as no man can miss aking mistakes, he must have made some, though they would be ard to prove. Nay, he himself avowed a certain stress of nervous ergy which, on bustling occasions, made him abrupt and im- atient of meddling and dilatoriness. This overplus of energy me out quaintly in his inveterate habit of being much too early r a train. He had, in fact, the relative defect of the Napoleonic uality of swift decision and intense determination. Thus, as ne Freethinker once told him, his manner was not always economical;" and the hostilities he aroused were apt to be as ntense as the admirations, and to be hindrances to his career. Most of his enemies were themselves certainly faulty men, and not a ew were very bad men indeed; but he would not have denied that e might at times have made an honest man his unfriend. Such an bnormal will-power as his * cannot miss making some of the mani- estations of excess of driving power in the human machine. But othing could be more mistaken, or more unjust, than to make out hat this stress of will-power made him an unjust or an incon- iderate man. On the contrary, tried by the decisive tests of his amily life and his relation to his colleagues, he was the fairest and nost tolerant of men. Of his family virtues his daughter has told: f his considerateness as an editor all who worked with him can peak. I never knew or heard of one who even came near him in is regard for the independence of his contributors, and in his con- cern to give the fullest hearing to opponents. In all the essentials f just-mindedness he was singularly well endowed; it was only in respect of physiological over-emphasis that he could ever be im- peached. And even on that score, as has been above abundantly shown, it is utterly false that he was ever brutal in speech, or arrogant or discourteous in intercourse or controversy. He was even criticised at times for a certain old-world courtliness, more

* His head gave a remarkable corroboration to the classification of the old phrenology, now being revindicated by the posthumous work of Mr Mattieu Williams. It had a highly intellectual cast at the brow, but the whole head sloped up to the organ of will, which dominated everything in his skull outline as in his character.

continental than English, and this long before he had won general recognition. A thousand printed reports and testimonies go to dispose of vague and unsupported aspersions. I am told that in the last year or two of his life, when his nervous and vascular system was breaking up, he was at times sharply impatient of incompetent opposition on the secular platform, but that is a small matter against the self-control of a lifetime. Tried by, or in comparison with, his peers, he needs no vindication.

On the points of "egoism" and "vanity" I have heard him forestall criticism. He confessed that he sought power, and shaped his life to attain his ambitions—these being what they were. He had simply the egoism of an extremely powerful man with an end in view. But it was never the egoism of a Napoleon, stooping to meanness as readily as it hazarded battles. He was an honourable gentleman to the end. Those who deprecated his legal way of fighting legal battles simply failed to appreciate the lawyer's method. That he was a born as well as a trained lawyer many lawyers have admitted; and he fought technically, and thwarted his enemies by technicalities, because law was to him a technique. Nobody but a man with a genuine belief in it as a technical system would have gone to law as often as he did, even to resist gross injustice. On the point of "vanity," again, he frankly anticipated criticism. "Oh, don't say that: *I* am very vain," I once heard him say to Madame Venturi when she was protesting that a certain statesman's vanity was insufferable. Of course such a confession could not come from a really vain man. He once spoke of "the Irish part of my character" as something that his friends must allow for. A man who can thus detect foibles in himself is not badly swayed by them. As for the charge that he was susceptible to flattery—a variant on the trite and stupid charge of "love of notoriety"—it came latterly, I think, only from Liberals in the House who grudged his popularity among the Tories, they themselves seeing in him a stumblingblock to that species of success which both parties are so apt to set above pursuit of principle. The later Tories, having nothing to suffer in the esteem of the pious from friendship with him, showed him some consideration; while the official Liberals uneasily anticipated the demand from their supporters outside that Bradlaugh should be in the next Liberal Cabinet. It is painful to have to say that to such Liberals his death was a relief. And it is intelligible that they should

refer to see in his geniality and courtesy a fishing for Tory flattery ather than a manly merit. If after years of desperate strife, onscious of failing health, the aging fighter had been sedulous to in goodwill, it would have been small harm; but he was genial ut of the very warmth of heart that had made him a fighter. Of is unwavering fidelity to the Radical principles of his life it ould be vain to say anything here if the preceding pages have ot made it clear. The respect which he won from political pponents in the House was no result of compromise on his part, r of his resistance to certain Socialist doctrines. He was in sharp ollision with them on other issues to the last. A good testimony o the genuineness of their respect is that which comes from the ate Mr W. H. Smith, in his biography by Sir Herbert Maxwell. t is there told that once in 1886 Mr Smith's private secretary, ravelling in the same railway carriage with Bradlaugh, happened o mention the station at which he was going to stop. "Ah, you re going to stay with Mr Smith," said Bradlaugh. "Well, I on't suppose there is a man in the House of Commons or in England with whom I am more widely at variance on many sub-ects, yet there is none for whom I have more sincere respect." In he evening the secretary told his host that he had travelled down vith Bradlaugh. "Indeed," said Smith. "Well, it's a strange hing; I don't believe there is a man whose opinions I hold in reater abhorrence than Bradlaugh's; but I cannot help feeling hat there is not an honester man in Parliament." And I have nyself heard Bradlaugh speak in private of the genuineness and implicity of Smith's character—in respect of such a matter as rivate donations to churches—even at a time when he had penned umorous paragraphs on Smith's head-butler manner of leading he legislature. Both men were honest, and that was a ground of ympathy. And though the professor of the "religion of love" ad to express "abhorrence" of the opinions he rejected, he called o make friendly inquiry when Bradlaugh lay on his deathbed—n attention paid by none of the Liberal leaders.

But this honesty, which won him the regard of antagonists when hey came close enough to see it, was simply the manifestation in olitical life of the fundamental and propulsive love of truth and eason which made him an Atheist propagandist. He happened to are for truth and justice all round, where other men were satisfied with a measure of homage to one or two principles they cared to

recognise, or prejudices they cared to gratify. He had leapt forward, from his youth up, at the sound of the trumpet in every good cause, where they had mostly been careful to count the cost.

"No fetter but galled his wrist;
No wrong that was not his own."

And to his last days, he never learned the sordid lessons of prudent conformity even where they might have meant a serious lightening of his burdens. Once in the last year of his life, I commented jestingly, as laying down the code of commercial journalism, on his devotion of columns of his journal to dry details of the Indian grievances he took up, when he might have raised the circulation by lampooning his fellow-members. He felt so strongly on the subject of English disregard of Indian claims that even the jest disturbed him, and he met it with an *Et tu, Brute.* No man was saner in the adjustment of a necessary compromise in legislation; but no man was ever more innocent of the spirit of Nothingarianism. "Good God, Bradlaugh," said a friendly Conservative member to him one day, reproaching him for his quixotry, "what does it matter whether there is a God or not?" The amiable indifferentists who subscribe to that philosophy, though they may have been able to appreciate him as a companion, will never be able to understand the enthusiasm which Bradlaugh aroused in thousands of those who followed him, and even in some whose way of thought diverged far from his. I have heard of one eminent professional man who long wore Bradlaugh's portrait next his breast, and long hesitated between following him and turning Catholic. Men who never had any leanings that way could the more heartily give their devotion. Certain it is that Bradlaugh evoked a passion of love and loyalty from thousands, such as no other public man of his day called forth. His followers followed him as Nelson's men did Nelson. Mr Gladstone has the enthusiastic reverence of myriads; but men who would go through fire and water for their leader, and give up their tobacco to send him a weekly sixpence, were to be looked for rather in Bradlaugh's following than his.

Men turned instinctively to Bradlaugh as to a born leader. Had any great social convulsion arisen in his time, such as some foretell for the near future, he would infallibly have come to the front as none of his political contemporaries were fitted to do—as Cromwell

id and as Danton did. In him the faculty of action was not mited to the sphere of the forum and the bureau. It has been old* how, when in Spain, he offered to the Republican leaders to o with fifty horsemen and shoot the traitorous general in the orth; and we may safely hold with the narrator of this episode hat "he would have done it" had the offer been accepted, mong the many adventures of his younger days, the details of hich will probably never now be put together, was a singular ttempt in which he took part to secure the election of a Liberal ope. He carried letters to and fro in Europe on behalf of Italian nd other democrats who had conceived the scheme. All I learned rom him was the fact of his positively taking part in the enter- rise, which, of course, failed. In these and other journeys he ran nany risks; and he told a funny story of how, travelling one night n a German train with a good deal of money in his possession, and eing awakened from his sleep, with the train at full speed, by the onductor's lamp presented to his face, after the continental ashion, where on his lying down there had been no one else in he compartment, he in an instant had that startling and startled unctionary by the throat in the opposite corner of the carriage. His army training and his later experiences had developed in him remarkable turn for dealing promptly with physical emergencies; nd persons who sought, in the old days, to block the "Reform" rocessions for the leading of which he was responsible, came to swift and serious confusion. To the last he had in him something of Cromwell's Berserker temper, though at his blood's hottest he could never have been guilty of the Puritan's ferocity. It came out in him in such acts as his personal seizure and expulsion of rowdies from his meetings. I saw him effect this dramatically enough at one of the great St James's Hall meetings he organised about 1886. Tories had come with forged tickets, but were detected and ejected; and these, or others, determined to give due trouble, took the course of keeping up a loud and distracting tapping on the glass door at the off end of one of the balconies. The disturbers being in great force outside, the doorkeepers were helpless; the loud click-click was disconcerting the speaker then on his feet; and the audience were growing more and more irritated and restless. Bradlaugh left the chair, passed down and then up

* *National Reformer*, February 8, 1891.

to the balcony, made his way along to the door, opened it sharpl and disappeared, but in a moment re-entered, holding a man b the collar. This was the ringleader with the stick. Startled a the apparition of Bradlaugh, he had involuntarily raised tha weapon; but in a flash it was out of his hands and broken acros Bradlaugh's knee. The pale disturber was then taken by hi captor—still by the collar—along the crowded balcony to the plat form end, where he was ejected by the other doorway. He did no return: his followers broke up; and the meeting proceeded i peace, after a spontaneous expression of its satisfaction at th manner of the relief. That there was nobody like Bradlaugh fo an awkward emergency, was the fresh verdict of his followers.

And these things, and his shaping of his life, were all of a piece wit the extraordinary effectiveness of his oratory. In tempestuous powe and intensity of feeling it surpassed any that it has ever been m lot to listen to: it roused men to great thrills of sympathy apa from any of that foregone approbation which swells the cheering fo so many political leaders. He could make enthusiastic follower at one hearing, and keep them for a generation. Oratory wa with him not an art, but an inspiration; he even misused hi wonderfully powerful voice; but he sounded easily all the note of eloquence, giving at times the whole gamut of effect, jest, patho gravity, reasoning, epigram, and thunderous vehemence, in quarter of an hour's speech. The platform was pre-eminently hi place; and no one who merely reads his articles written fo reading, tersely strong as his style generally is, can know th extent of his power over language. It did not lie in any specia sonority of vocabulary or choice of cadence, but in a volcani sincerity and spontaneous fire of speech which yet never passe beyond the control of logic and judgment—something equall removed from the measured passion and forceful dignity of Brigh and the copious mellifluence of Gladstone. It was the oratory o unswerving conviction, grave or impassioned or satirical in turn, bu always felt and never factitious. He spoke as he lived and fough going straight for his mark, and staking all on the issue.

To those whom his career leaves cold and whom his characte cannot attract, it is enough to say that those who applaud th career and honour the character recognise in them, in their specia kind, that invincible and unforgettable something which marks me for remembrance long after their immediate influence has passe

way—the something which in artists and poets and warriors we ll genius. What Mr John Morley has called the dæmonic elements f character, but may perhaps better be called the dynamic elements, ere present in Bradlaugh in a degree which gives a personality lasting interest. Beside the cautious and merely judicious or lever men, he stands out as one of larger mould and greater fibre, battling and conquering Titan, sure of the sympathetic retrospect f happier days. It is not merely that as a statesman he impressed riends and foes alike with his insight and his sagacity; and that e combined the fire of the orator with the exactitude of the cholar and the rigorous thinking of the born reasoner; but that n him sagacity never ceased to be heroic, and that his command- ng powers rested on a character more commanding still. When, n September 1892, twenty months after his death, a gathering vas held in his memory on the occasion of the completion of the ust for his grave, the enthusiasm was as strong, the throng s dense, the tributes as warm, the sympathy as keen, as on the ay he was struck down. His name is verily not written in water. And the bronze bust on his tomb, recalling as it does the high ront and the unflinching eye which his friends loved to associate vith him, and seeming as it does to face fate with an immovable trength and firmness, will for many a year say to passers-by what as been sought to be told in these pages—"This was a man."

THE END.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S BIRTHPLACE.

On p. 3 it is stated that Mr. Bradlaugh was born at No. 5, Bacchus Walk, Hoxton, but this appears to be an error. of which I only became aware in 1905. In that year the London County Council had under consideration the question of placing a tablet on the house in which my father was born, and they wrote me for the purpose of obtaining documentary or other evidence as to the identity of the house. As a result of careful inquiries I found that the birthplace of my father was No. 31, and not No. 5, as I had previously believed. As it was possible that the street had been renumbered, the London County Council undertook to try to find out, and Mr. Gomme, Clerk to the Council, subsequently wrote me that although this point could not be determined with exactitude:

"The probabilities are that the street had not been renumbered since the date of Bradlaugh's birth. If such is the case the house in which he was born has disappeared, for about 1883, No. 31 Bacchus Walk was with a block of other houses in the street demolished to provide a site for the present St. John's Road School, Hoxton. On my reporting these facts, the Committee of the Council dealing with the matter regretfully decided that under the circumstances they could take no further action with regard to this house.

"It will interest you to know that the Committee have also taken steps with a view to the erection of a tablet on No. 20, Circus Road, S. John's Wood, where your father died, after having resided there for a considerable period. The owner of the house, however, refused to consent to the erection of a tablet, and the Committee were thus compelled to abandon the idea of indicating this house."

H. B. B.

APPENDIX II.

LORD DUFFERIN AND CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

The following significant correspondence between Lord Dufferin and Mr. Bradlaugh is now (1908) included for the first time in this biography.

Lord Dufferin's letters are written throughout in his own handwriting, and the draft of my father's letter is written by his own hand. I am the more fortunate in having this, because it was very rare indeed for him either to make a draft of his letters

or to write at such length. The occasion was, however, one of more than usual importance. Lord Dufferin sent with his letter a copy of the speech he delivered at the St. Andrew's dinner, Calcutta, on November 30, 1888, ten days before he ceased to be Viceroy of India. It makes a booklet of 21 quarto pages, and it is to this that reference is made in the letters. H. B. B.

"Lord Dufferin presents his compliments to Mr. Bradlaugh, and, well knowing that even his bitterest opponents are ready to recognise not only Mr. Bradlaugh's ability, but also his perfect sincerity, uprightness and honesty of purpose, he takes the liberty of addressing him in reference to a lecture which Mr. Bradlaugh delivered in the Tyne Theatre at Newcastle on the subject of our Indian Empire. In that lecture, though Mr. Bradlaugh did not refer to Lord Dufferin in unduly harsh or unfriendly terms, he did certainly misrepresent both the words and the tenor of his Calcutta speech. This probably arose from the fact of the *Times* correspondent having only telegraphed those parts of the speech with which he himself especially sympathised. Under these circumstances, Lord Dufferin has taken the liberty of sending Mr. Bradlaugh a full copy of the speech as it was delivered. The statements in Mr. Bradlaugh's lecture to which Lord Dufferin particularly objects are:—First, that Lord Dufferin has misrepresented the avowed views of the Congress and its supporters. He can assure him that he has not done so. Mr. Bradlaugh may be quite certain that, before saying what he did, Lord Dufferin took every precaution to verify his references, and that the proceedings of the Congress and of the Committees whose conclusions the Congress adopted, were precisely what he described. It is true, at the last meeting, thanks to the friendly warnings which Lord Dufferin had given, the attitude and suggestions of the Congress were much more reasonable and moderate.

"The second statement in Mr. Bradlaugh's address to which Lord Dufferin objects, is where he says that Lord Dufferin asserted that these Congresses were seditious. Again he begs to assure Mr. Bradlaugh that he never, either directly or by implication, gave utterance to such an opinion. He has always referred to the Congress in terms of sympathy and respect, and treated the members with great personal civility. What he criticised was the distribution, amongst an ignorant population, under the auspices of some ill-advised persons who were not even natives, but with the authority of the Congress, of pamphlets which were calculated to excite the hatred of the people against her Majesty's Government in India. . . . . .

"Mr. Bradlaugh also seems to imply that Lord Dufferin has opposed himself to the native demands for a reform in the Civil Service. So far from this being the case, before the Congress even put forward any such suggestions, Lord Dufferin had appointed a Commission, with Sir Charles Aitchison (one of the most liberal-minded men that have ever been in India) as chairman, and some leading natives as members, to propound a scheme for the larger admission of natives into the higher ranks of the Civil Service. This Commission has recommended that over 12 offices now closed to natives should be thrown open to them.

"However, if Mr. Bradlaugh will only read Lord Dufferin's speech, Lord Dufferin thinks he will see that it is conceived in a totally different tone and spirit from that which Mr. Bradlaugh has himself imagined, and he may tell Mr. Bradlaugh in confidence—though, of course, he would desire that it should remain unknown to anyone else—that he himself has been doing his very best to forward such a reform of the Provincial Councils in India as Mr. Bradlaugh appears to advocate. In further illustration of his position, Lord Dufferin may mention that Mr. Yule, the gentleman who acted as chairman of the last Congress at Allahabad, was present on the occasion on which Lord Dufferin delivered the speech which Mr. Bradlaugh has criticised, and, at its conclusion, went out of his way to thank him for it as being calculated to do the very greatest good.

"Mr. Bradlaugh has also fallen into an error in considering that Lord Dufferin's speech is likely to cause embarrassment to Lord Lansdowne. It was intended, on the contrary, to produce the very opposite effect, and to smooth Lord Lansdowne's way for him; and it is in this light that both Lord Lansdowne himself and his friends regard it; for it is obvious that Lord Dufferin having undertaken the disagreeable task of pointing out the extravagances into which the Congress was being insensibly led, there will remain to Lord Lansdowne the agreeable duty of inaugurating whatever concessions it may be possible to make.

"In conclusion, Lord Dufferin hopes Mr. Bradlaugh will understand what perhaps is not readily appreciated by those who have not lived in India; namely, that the Government of India is perpetually fighting, on behalf of the great masses of the population, against the encroachments and usurpations of what may be called the specialised interests; for, unlike almost all other Governments, it is unconnected by ties of prejudice or self-interest with any particular class or section of the community it governs.

"Lord Dufferin is quite satisfied that Mr. Bradlaugh will forgive him for troubling him with this short letter of explanation.

"British Embassy, Rome.

"*7th February*, 1889."

(*Draft Letter.*)

"Mr. Bradlaugh, in acknowledging Lord Dufferin's 'private and confidential' letter of February 7th, desires to specially recognise the frank and more than kindly tone of that letter, and trusts that in the observations which Mr. Bradlaugh feels called upon to submit to Lord Dufferin's consideration, he may be pardoned if he ventures sometimes to wholly differ, even on statements of fact, from one so eminent, and one whose recent Viceregal position entitles him to special respect and attention in matters concerning India. It is true that at the time of the Newcastle speech and until the receipt of the letter of February 7th, Mr. Bradlaugh had only seen the Calcutta speech as given in the *Times*, and he is exceedingly obliged to Lord Dufferin for the more accurate and complete report enclosed in his Lordship's letter. Perhaps Mr. Bradlaugh may be permitted to add that

although the report of his own Newcastle speech as given in the *Newcastle Daily Leader* is very full and, on the whole, fairly accurate, it is necessarily not verbatim, and has appeared without any correction. The report in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* was less full, and though fair, has, in abbreviating, occasionally varied the meaning. This observation is only offered because of the importance the speech acquires by Lord Dufferin's notice of its purport. Mr. Bradlaugh, in charging Lord Dufferin with misrepresenting the avowed views of the Congress, was careful to express his opinion that Lord Dufferin had been misled by inaccurate information, and if now Mr. Bradlaugh had alone the Calcutta speech to guide him, he would still incline to that view; for the words on p. 9, line 26, 'the ideal authoritatively suggested, as I understand' seem to imply that Lord Dufferin spoke rather on information received than on his personal knowledge, but in view of Lord Dufferin's declaration that 'he took every precaution to verify his references, and that the proceedings of the Congress and of the Committees whose conclusions the Congress adopted were precisely what he described,' Mr. Bradlaugh trusts that he may be permitted to justify and maintain his criticism of Lord Dufferin's words as follows (Calcutta speech, p. 9, line 20, to p. 10, line 1):—

"'Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government and the adoption of a Parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation. The ideal authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in the minority who shall have the power of the purse, and who through this instrumentality shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will.'

"On this Mr. Bradlaugh ventures to refer Lord Dufferin to the only authoritative suggestion of which he is aware, *i.e.*, the actual resolutions of the Congresses defining their 'tentative suggestions' of reform and which seem to him to so essentially contradict the understanding arrived at by Lord Dufferin that Mr. Bradlaugh requotes their tenor from Resolution 4, with its sub-sections, as printed in the report of the Calcutta Congress, which, he respectfully submits, completely justify his Newcastle speech; he believes that these resolutions were precisely re-affirmed at Madras and Allahabad:—

"'(1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials, having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

"'(2.) The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the com-

munity, *primâ facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently.'

And, after suggesting possible elective bodies, it concludes:—

"'But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.'

In sub-section 6 providing that:—

"'All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all Budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to, and dealt with by, these Councils.'

And giving right of interpellation, it is

'provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of foreign policy, military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.'

And by sub-section 7 it is expressly declared that:—

"'The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majortiy of the Council in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision.'

"As it was on the faith of his reading of these resolutions, which he had in his hand when speaking at Newcastle, that Mr. Bradlaugh made the statement to which Lord Dufferin objects, he ventures to submit that such resolutions show clearly (1) that there is no attempt whatever at 'the application to India of democratic methods of government'; or (2) at 'the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has only reached by slow degrees'; (3) there is no creation of a representative body or bodies, there is simply the proposal that an existing body shall be enlarged and half of it made representative under special limitations of electorate; (4) the Executive is only mentioned to preserve it as paramount and with overruling power over the Legislative Councils which alone are meant or referred to; (5) though it is true that it is proposed that the purely 'official element' shall be a minority, as sitting *ex-officio*, it is also stated that a moiety of the Legislative Council shall be non-elected Government nominees, such nominees being either official or non-official as the Executive may decide.

"Mr. Bradlaugh notes that Lord Dufferin considers that 'the attitude and suggestions of the Allahabad Congress were much more reasonable and moderate,' and as Mr. Bradlaugh has not yet received any authorised report of that Congress he differs from Lord Dufferin with great hesitation; but so far as he is able to judge from the newspaper reports, and from the comparison of these with the official reports of the three previous Congresses,

the attitude in each case was that of moderate statement of grievances with explicit declaration of loyalty to the British Empire. Mr. Bradlaugh feels that on this point Lord Dufferin, who tendered hospitality to the Congress of 1886, speaks with more perfect knowledge than himself, but, judging as an outsider, from the official reports and guided by the extremely amicable relations between Lord Dufferin as Viceroy and the Congress of 1886, Mr. Bradlaugh, whilst gladly recognising the justice of Lord Dufferin's judgment that the attitude and suggestions of the Congress just held were reasonable and moderate, can find no ground for supposing that there was any difference in these respects at Allahabad from the former Congresses at Bombay, Calcutta, or Madras.

"Mr. Bradlaugh is in the highest degree grateful to Lord Dufferin for his repudiation and contradiction of the view urged by Mr. Bradlaugh at Newcastle, that Lord Dufferin had described the Congresses as seditious. Mr. Bradlaugh trusts that he may be permitted to point out that in a question put on the notice paper of the House of Commons by Mr. J. M. Maclean, M.P., immediately on the publication in the *Times* of the telegraphic summary of Lord Dufferin's Calcutta speech, Mr. Maclean claimed, under cover of that speech, to describe the Congress as one which 'aims at destroying the security of English Rule in India.' On this point Mr. Bradlaugh, in speaking in the future, will take care that it shall be clearly understood that Lord Dufferin 'has always referred to the Congress in terms of sympathy and respect,' and Mr. Bradlaugh tenders to Lord Dufferin his sincere apology that, misled by the *Times* version and by Mr. Maclean's gloss, he attributed to Lord Dufferin any views hostile to the Congress. With reference to the publications to which Lord Dufferin refers, but which he does not specifically quote, it would ill become Mr. Bradlaugh, without more complete information, to do more than submit that he is unaware of any pamphlets issued by the authority of the Congress 'calculated to excite the hatred of the people against her Majesty's Government in India.' If Lord Dufferin refers to 'the Catechism,' Mr. Bradlaugh observes that the author appeals to the people 'to lay aside their petty jealousies and race antipathies and learn their duties as loyal citizens of the British Empire.'

"Mr. Bradlaugh does not think that, either at Newcastle or elsewhere, he has ever implied that Lord Dufferin was opposed to Indian Civil Service Reform, and he is glad to know that the natives of India may count on Lord Dufferin's powerful help. Mr. Bradlaugh has not yet had the opportunity of fully considering the report, and may possibly underrate its favourable character to the natives. The recommendations to open some 108 offices to natives must be considered with reference to the contention that, under the statutory service rules, at least 150 offices should be so open. Mr. Bradlaugh pleads guilty to a little confusion as to dates, probably the result of insufficient knowledge. Lord Dufferin speaks of the Commission (appointed October 4th, 1886) as 'before the Congress ever put forward any such suggestions.' Mr. Bradlaugh ventures to think that Lord Dufferin has overlooked the

resolution on this subject of the Bombay Congress, December, 885.

"As desired by Lord Dufferin, Mr. Bradlaugh has most carefully read the authorised report of his Lordship's Calcutta speech, and especially thanks Lord Dufferin for the confidential intimation that he himself has been doing his very best to forward such a reform of the Provincial Councils in India as Mr. Bradlaugh appears to advocate'; this Mr. Bradlaugh assumes is intended by the parts underlined by Lord Dufferin on p. 18; but it is respectfully submitted that the words on p. 17 might, without Lord Dufferin's kindly confidential assurance, not unreasonably have been held to imply that his Lordship charged the Congress with seeking to effectuate constitutional changes by a stroke of the pen and without deliberation, when, in fact, the very first resolution of the first Congress asked for enquiry by Royal Commission, and it is for such an enquiry that Mr. Bradlaugh has already placed a notice on the order book of the House of Commons.

"Mr. Bradlaugh is pleased to learn that he has fallen into error in considering that Lord Dufferin's speech was likely to cause embarrassment to Lord Lansdowne, and he entirely accepts Lord Dufferin's assurance that it was intended to produce the opposite effect; but, in justice to himself, he thinks it right to submit that confidential information from India leads him to the belief that same embarrassment has actually already arisen.

"Mr. Bradlaugh fears that, although he has left many points untouched, he will already have exhausted Lord Dufferin's patience, but he trusts that the generous disposition and courteous frankness which prompted Lord Dufferin's letter of the 7th will serve as excuse for any *brusquerie* in Mr. Bradlaugh's present letter."

"5, Upper Berkeley Street, W.
"22nd Feb., 1889.

"My dear Mr. Bradlaugh,—

"I hope you will forgive me for taking the liberty of addressing you in the above direct manner; but I am so sensible of the friendly tone of your letter of the 19th, and so shocked at having given so much trouble to a busy man like yourself, that I presume to slip into the more familiar way of writing.

"With regard to the points you raise in your letter:—one thing has evidently escaped your observation, namely, that my remarks in the main were not addressed specially to the Congress, but to 'some of our friends, who, etc., etc.,' and in this category I embraced all those, whether speakers, writers, or other persons, who (for the sake of briefness) I may denominate the advanced party in India. Again, where I said 'the idea authoritatively suggested as I understand,' I referred to a speech, or rather, I think, a letter of Mr. Hume's. Mr. Hume is the Chief Secretary of the Congress, and certainly speaks with authority, if not in the name of the Congress itself, at all events in that of the Congress party. I also had in my mind the speeches of the two previous Presidents of the Congress, as well as the manifestoes put forth by the Congress

Press. The only respect in which I criticised the conduct of the Congress itself was in regard to its official sanction to the distribution of the pamphlets, and I do not think anybody can say that the terms I used were very severe. However, I am most unwilling to give you any further trouble in writing, but I should esteem it a great pleasure if I might be allowed to make your acquaintance, and to have an opportunity of talking over some of these matters with you. I make this suggestion because I believe I could not be doing a greater service both to India and to the public than by placing myself at your disposal in regard to any information you may desire to have about India. I shall be in town till next Thursday, when I return to Rome; but I shall be happy to wait upon you at any day or hour you may name, or to receive you here, if that should be more convenient to you. On Sunday I shall be engaged; but every other day up to the date of my departure I shall be free.

"Believe me, my dear Mr. Bradlaugh,

"Yours sincerely,

"DUFFERIN AND AVA."

"5, Upper Berkeley Street, W.

"Feb. 24, 1889.

"My dear Mr. Bradlaugh,—

"Many thanks for your kind little note of to-day. It will give me the greatest pleasure to receive you here at 1.15 to-morrow, Monday.

"Yours sincerely,

"DUFFERIN AND AVA."

"British Embassy, Rome,

"2nd April, 1889.

"My dear Mr. Bradlaugh,—

"I am very much obliged to you for your kindness in sending me the notice of your motion. There are already indications of the willingness, both of the present Viceroy and of the Government at home, to modify the existing régime in India, and I have no doubt that you will obtain some satisfactory assurances in regard to, at all events a portion of your suggestions. I am strongly of opinion, however, that for the present it would be wiser to apply whatever reforms may be found desirable to the Provincial Councils, and to leave the Governor-General's Council untouched, except so far as allowing the Budget to be discussed, and giving to the members the right of asking questions under certain specified conditions. The Supreme Council of the Governor-General is almost always engaged in the consideration of large Imperial questions, in regard to which it would not be likely to receive any great assistance from the native members who might be added to it; and, even if this were not the case, it would be well to watch how the proposed changes in the Provincial Councils had worked. Moreover, I think our efforts should be applied rather to the decentralisation of our Indian Administration than to its greater unification, and I made considerable efforts in India to promote and expand this principle. In any event, I am sure the discussion

which you will have provoked will prove very useful; and I am very glad that the conduct of it should be in the hands of a prudent, wise, and responsible person like yourself, instead of having been laid hold of by some adventurous *franc-tireur*, whose only object might possibly have been to let off a few fireworks for his own glorification.

"Yours sincerely,

"DUFFERIN AND AVA."

APPENDIX III.

A NOTE ON THE MOTION TO EXPUNGE THE RESOLUTIONS OF EXCLUSION FROM THE JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE.

When, with the kind help of his ever-devoted friend, Mr. John M. Robertson, I was writing this record of my father's life and work, there was one matter upon which neither of us felt able to enter very fully. I refer to the carrying of the motion to expunge from the journals of the House the resolution to exclude him passed on the 22nd of June, 1880.

I believe that the time has now come when I may, without unfairness to anyone, and without the slightest violation of confidence, state exactly what took place in regard to the moving of that resolution.

It may be remembered that Mr. Bradlaugh fell ill on January 10th, 1891, and that some five days later he had to take to that bed from which he never rose again. Mr. John M. Robertson was at the time in Edinburgh, on the staff of the *Scottish Leader*, and on the evening of Friday, the 16th, a mutual friend told me that Mr. Robertson had desired to know if Mr. Bradlaugh became worse, and that if he could be of any service he would come to London at a moment's notice. "Send for him now, then," I said, "for my father is dying."

Mr. Robertson came by the night mail on Saturday. He asked what he could do, and I put my difficulty before him. Mr. Bradlaugh had secured the first place on January 27th to move the resolution rescinding the resolution of 1880; he now knew that he would not be able to go to the House on that day, and he was troubling very much about it. He had had small hope of carrying the resolution, but he expected to get a substantial vote, and that would have satisfied him for the present. My ideas of the standing orders and rules of the House were not very definite, and I consulted Mr. Robertson whether we could not get someone to move the resolution in his place. I suggested that if it were thought wise, I would go to Mr. Gladstone—for I knew well that a small man would not do—and urge him to do it. I, at least, could not take an impartial view of the "Bradlaugh incident," and, rightly or wrongly, thought that Mr. Gladstone owed my father some amends for certain expressions he had used, and also for not having taken a bolder and stronger position

from the very first. Mr. Robertson, however, was doubtful about Gladstone; other names were mentioned, and amongst them, that of Dr. Hunter. However, we were still ignorant of whether it would be possible to substitute anyone's name for my father's, and this we had to find out. I then returned to my father's bedside, and mentioning that Mr. Robertson had come on a flying visit to London, asked if he would like to see him for a few minutes. This my father was very pleased to do, and Mr. Robertson went to have a little chat with him. The subject of the resolution soon came up, and my father told Mr. Robertson how deep his vexation was that he would be unable to be in his place in the House, and, in answer to careful inquiries, said no other name could be substituted for his; but it happened that the impression was so general that he would take the whole time of the House that no one had thought it worth while to put his name down for the second place. Mr. Robertson left him without, of course, giving any hint of what was in our minds; it was so likely that we should fail that we did not wish to disturb him about it. If we should succeed that would be ample time to tell him; if we should fail, he would never know.

At the earliest possible moment on Monday morning Mr. Robertson went to see Dr. Hunter, and explained the whole matter to him. But before Mr. Robertson had actually reached the point of asking him to move the resolution, Dr. Hunter offered to do so if the second place was still open. Then I told my father of Dr. Hunter's offer, without, of course, saying anything of our share in inviting it. We had our reward in his delighted surprise. "Hunter will do it, you say? . . . . The very man I would have chosen." I was more than pleased, for I had aimed high in my thoughts, and was doubtful whether Dr. Hunter was big enough! A little later, in thinking it all over, he asked, "You think I can quite rely upon Hunter doing it?" On my answering in the affirmative, he dictated letters to Dr. Hunter and two or three other members of Parliament. When a day or two after it was rumoured that Gladstone was to speak, he was quite pleased, although, as he said, "If Gladstone speaks that settles it; the Government will be bound to take it up; and, of course, they hold the majority; but I shan't mind that."

On the morning of Friday, the 23rd, he was shockingly ill, and waited in restless anxiety until the messenger should bring the "Order Paper." When he found that Dr. Hunter had been able to secure the place for his motion, and that his name was actually down on the Paper for that purpose, he was satisfied, and after dictating a couple of letters he gave himself up to rest.

On Friday night came the hemiplegia and unconsciousness; my father's work was done. Letters came from friends in different parts of the country, telling how they were urging their members to be present in their places on the 27th; letters came from Members themselves, promising their support; but they came to a man who could no longer read them. At last

came the morning of January 27th, and with the first post the following letter from Dr. Hunter:—

"2, Brick Court, Temple,
"26/1/91.

"Dear Mrs. Bonner,—Mr. W. H. Smith has sent for me and speaking in the kindest manner of your father and of his appreciation of his valuable services in the House of Commons said that it would be extremely painful to him to discuss the motion, in the present state of your father's health. He is, therefore, prepared to give a day during the present Session so as to put the motion in as good a position as it is to-morrow, if I do not proceed to-morrow. I stated that, subject to Mr. Bradlaugh's own opinion, I considered it a fair offer, and personally would have no hesitation in leaving the motion to be taken up at a more convenient time by your father himself. You will exercise, of course, your discretion in consulting him on the subject, and I stated to the First Lord that I should let him know before business begins to-morrow what course I should follow. If you approve, or your father is well enough to enter upon the question and approves, kindly send me a telegram to 2, Brick Court, Temple, to-morrow morning.

"I am, yours very truly,
"W. A. HUNTER."

I was in despair. Here was my father lying absolutely unconscious and dying. I knew that if that resolution was not moved that day it never would be moved. I had assured him positively that Dr. Hunter would do it; he had trusted me, and now I felt like a traitor. I sat down and wrote to Dr. Hunter, telling him that it was impossible for me to consult my father, since he was lying unconscious, that he had sunk into unconsciousness believing that this resolution would be moved, and, when he recovered, how was I to tell him that he had been deceived? I thanked Mr. Smith for his kindness, but I was firmly of opinion that the resolution should be moved whether it were carried or not; it was due to the treatment he had received from the Members of the House that Mr. Bradlaugh lay where he was, and they owed it to him to at least consider a resolution which should wipe out from the records of the House the resolution expelling him. I hardly knew what I wrote; I was so agitated. I hardly know now, except that it was to the effect as I have written, and through all my agitation I preserved two dominant ideas: first, to say all I could to induce Dr. Hunter to move the resolution; and, next, while picturing the very serious condition in which my father lay, not to let it be known that he was then actually dying.

The letter was despatched by special messenger, but after it was gone I felt I had not said half enough. My husband then went to find Dr. Hunter, and see him personally, but was unable to see him until about mid-day at the House. Dr. Hunter then said he had shown my letter to several members; they agreed, in consequence, that the resolution ought to be moved; and that he had decided to do so. Some of the members thought that the letter ought to be read to the House, but in any case he wished

to know if I had any objection to its being shown to Mr. Smith. Dr. Hunter then saw Mr. Smith, who not only withdrew all opposition to the moving of the resolution, but also agreed to withdraw the Government opposition to the resolution itself. This decision was arrived at so late that it was (so it was said) unknown to the Solicitor-General when he got up to oppose the resolution.

When the telegrams of congratulation—the first, if I recollect rightly, was from Sir John Mowbray—began to pour in, and he to whom they were addressed lay there unconscious of all, the tragedy of it seemed almost more than one could bear.

On the same evening Dr. Hunter considerately wrote me this further letter, acquainting me with what had taken place:—

"National Liberal Club,
"Whitehall Place, S.W.,
"27/1/91.

"Dear Mrs. Bonner,—I cannot say how glad I am that the House has unanimously accepted your father's Resolution. I trust that he will have improved sufficiently to be made acquainted with the news.

"After seeing your husband I had no scruple in showing your letter to Mr. Smith, and, without assuming any violent assumption, I think it had something to do with the result. On taking his place this afternoon, he nodded to me significantly, as much as to say he recognised the necessity of my proceeding with the Resolution. The soundness of your opinion has been shown by the result.

"Many members spoke to me, all expressing their deepest sympathy, and on both sides there was a general feeling of relief that an agreement was come to.

"The reports in the papers will, when you have time, fully inform you of the course of the debate; but I may add that Mr. Gladstone was extremely gratified, on many grounds, and turning round offered me his warmest congratulations.

"There is but one universal feeling among members of all sections of opinion—an earnest desire and hope that your father may be spared to continue his services to the State.

"Yours very truly,
"W. A. Hunter."

Those who have followed the story of my father's life will be interested in learning how narrowly this resolution failed to be moved and carried. That it turned out as it did was owing, in the first place, to Mr. Robertson, who found the man to move it, in the next, to Dr. Hunter who carried it through, and, finally, to the real goodness of heart of Mr. W. H. Smith.

Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner.

April, 1906.

INDEX.

м, The Hon. Mr, ii. 255, 337.
ns, Thomas, i. 398; ii. 210, 413.
ns, W. E. ("Caractacus"), i. 64, , 80, 109, 123, 125, 142.
m, Allowed to, ii. 246.
mation Bills (*see also Oaths Bill d Evidence Amendment*), i. 169; 234, 246, 272, 281, 304, 312, 315, 6, 358, 361, 374.
ɔsticism, ii. 117.
cultural Hall, i. 226, 231.
cultural Labourers' Movement, i. 4, 378.
ɔs, Destitute, ii. 404
p, Thomas, i. 64, 68, 273.
ica, Visits to, i. 380; ii. 1.
sements, Boyish, i. 5.
ews, S. Pearl, i. 384.
ɔ, Emanuel, i. 318, 320.
, Joseph, i. 374, 392; ii. 368.
Bill, ii. 196.
, Flogging in, ii. 201, 259.
life, i. 25, 35.
ld, Matthew, i. 230; ii. 151, 329.
ld, Rev. T., i. 279.
ism and Secularism, i. 332.
istic position stated, i. 87, 210, , 340; ii. 115.
istic morality, i. 334, 339; ii. 157.
ɔn, Hon. A. S., i. 142, 149; ii.).

." (*See Thomson.*)
John, i. 374, 378.
ncollig, An Eviction at, i. 31.
sm, i. 4.
Speeches at the, 1st, ii. 241; 2nd, 267; 3rd, ii. 295; 4th, ii. 341.
r, J., i. 121.
r, Rev. W., i. 207.
elot, Sir W., ii. 239, 272.
nsfield, Lord. (*See Disraeli.*)
s, Edmund, i. 220.
, Prof., i. 314, 319.
ll, S., i. 189; ii. 79.
Bernard, S., i. 64, 79, 99, 204.
Besant, Annie, i. 400; ii. 12, 33, 65, 70, 87, 92, 136, 175, 223, 286, 291, 308, 343, 382, 395, 406, 418.
Biggar, J., ii. 35, 195.
Birth, i. 3.
Bismarck, i. 312, 316.
Bizoin, A. G., i. 317.
Blanc, L., i. 65, 321.
Blasphemy Laws, i. 129; ii. 319, 405.
Blasphemy prosecutions, ii. 316, 324.
Bohn, H. G., ii. 24.
Bolingbroke, ii. 116.
Bonner's Fields, i. 8, 20, 23, 25.
Bradlaugh, Alice, i. 49, 116; ii. 93, 104, 291, 343, 401.
Bradlaugh, Charles (jun.), i. 95, 117, 300.
Bradlaugh, Charles (sen.), i. 2, 3, 13, 27.
Bradlaugh, Elizabeth (Mrs Norman), i. 13, 15, 20, 27, 35, 37, 349.
Bradlaugh, Harriet, i. 114.
Bradlaugh, James, i. 2.
Bradlaugh, Mrs (sen.), i. 3, 4, 36, 41, 49.
Bradlaugh, Mrs S. L., i. 49, 173, 181, 276, 300.
Bradlaugh, W. R., i. 114, 348.
"Bradlaugh for Northampton," i. 276.
Bright, John, i. 270; ii. 101, 214, 228, 234, 266, 271, 288, 348.
Brimont, Mde. de, i. 314, 347.
Brindley, Dr, i. 160.
British Banner, i. 20.
Broadhurst, H., ii. 105, 308, 402, 414.
Bryce, Prof., ii. 216.
Büchner, Dr L., i. 381; ii. 129.
Buckle, H., ii. 119.
Burns, J., ii. 382, 406, 417.
Burt, T., i. 249, 376, 392; ii. 347, 348, 368, 402, 414.
Business life: office boy, i. 7; wharf clerk, i. 7; "coal merchant," i. 17; selling braces, i. 19; soldier, i. 26;

Business life—*continued.*
errand boy, i. 41; solicitor's clerk, i. 48, 90, 99; city merchant, i. 100, 299; financier, i. 101; publisher, ii. 17, 100, 417; and printer, ii. 101.
Butler, Bishop, ii. 116, 150.

Campbell, Alexander, i. 88.
Capper, C., i. 274; ii. 65.
"Caractacus." (*See W. E. Adams.*)
Cardinal's Broken Oath, A, ii. 309.
Carlile, R., i. 9, 159, 333; ii. 165.
,, Mrs Sharples, i. 9, 19, 20, 24, 41.
,, ,, The Daughters of, i. 9, 11, 19, 388; ii. 4.
Carlist country, Through the, i. 355.
Carlyle, T., ii. 165, 422.
Castelar, Emilio, i. 154, 353, 359, 364; ii. 4.
Cavendish, Lord F., ii. 217.
Chancellor's salary, The Lord, ii. 406.
Channel Tunnel, The, ii. 381.
Chaplin, H., ii. 227, 231, 271, 336.
Character, Alleged change of, i. 211, 279; ii. 415.
Characteristics, i. 279; ii. 49, 99, 101, 152, 423.
Childhood, i. 4.
Christian, The, ii. 67.
Christian Globe, The, ii. 264.
Christian Times, The, i. 210.
Chronicle, The Daily, ii. 264.
Churchill, Lord R., i. 14; ii. 230, 261, 272, 298, 338, 349, 363, 371, 374, 377, 380.
City Solicitor, The, ii. 21, 27.
Clarke, Sir E., ii. 268, 378, 405, 419.
Clergy, Letters to the, i. 128.
Clerical libeller, A, i. 99.
Clerical feeling on the Oath question, ii. 250, 275, 291, 314, 319.
Clerkenwell explosion, The, i. 257.
Clifford, Prof., ii. 133.
Clock Tower, Imprisoned in the, ii. 245.
Closing years, ii. 102, 368.
Cluseret, General, i. 115, 253, 262.
"Cob of Coal" story, ii. 76.
Coercion Bill, The, ii. 196, 258, 290, 377.
Collet, C. D., i. 139, 142.
Commune, The, i. 322.
Compulsory Education, i. 265.
Congreve, Dr, i. 314.
Conway, Moncure D., ii. 9, 41, 43, 276, 312.
Cooper, Robert, i. 78.
Cooper, R. A., i. 267, 364.
Cooper, Thomas, i. 84, 209.
Corbett, ——, ii. 264, 302.
Corporation, The London (Malversation Charges), ii. 374.
Counsel in the various lawsuits—
Chitty, T., i. 297.
Coleridge, Sir J. D. (Sol.-Gen.), i. 144.
Collier, Sir R. (Att.-Gen.), i. 144, 182.
Crump, F. O., ii. 322.
Danckwertz, W. O., ii. 352.
Giffard, Sir H. (*see also Giffard*), ii. 23, 73, 177, 260, 292, 322, 327, 355.
Grantham W. (*see also Grantham*), ii. 75, 79.
Hunter, Dr W. A. (*see also Hunter*), ii. 322.
Hutton, Crompton, i. 145.
James, Sir H. (Att.-Gen. (*see also James*), ii. 355.
Karslake, Sir J. (Att.-Gen.), i. 141.
Keane, D., i. 284.
Moloney, M., ii. 73, 317, 328.
O'Malley, i. 90.
Russell, Sir C. ii. 73.
Seymour, Digby (*see also Seymour*), i. 290.
Straight, Douglas, ii. 20.
Smith, Lumley, i. 284.
Smith, Montague (*see also Judges*), i. 140, 184.
Solicitors-Gen., i. 142, 144; ii. 355.
Wood, i. 285.
Wright, R. S., ii. 352.
Courtney, L. H., ii. 177.
Courtship, i. 44.
Cowen, Joseph, i. 83, 376; ii. 270, 276, 288.
Crawford, J. G., i. 130, 139, 143.
Cremer, W. R., i. 220.
Crémieux, A., i. 317.
Cross, Sir R. A., ii. 336.

Darwin, C., ii. 23, 119.
Davey, Sir H., ii. 266.
Death, The fear of, i. 198.
Death and funeral, ii. 110, 420.
Debates:—Armstrong, ii. 50; Barker, i. 207; Baylee, i. 161; Bowes, i. 87; Brindley, i. 159; Browne, ii. 44; Burns, i. 343; Cooper, i. 209; Court, i. 88; Douglas, i. 63; Marsden Gibson, ii. 407; Gordon, ii. 47; Grant, i. 84, 158; ii. 38; Harrison, i. 338, 341, 342; Holyoake,

Debates—*continued.*
i. 322; Hutchings, i. 167; Hyndman, ii. 189, 417; Father Ignatius, i. 342; King, i. 332; Lawson, i. 170; Lightfoot, ii. 49; Mackie, i. 170; Mahalm, i. 170; Matthias, i. 87; M'Cann, i. 244; ii. 142; Mensor, i. 87; Porteous, i. 212; Roberts, ii. 46; Robertson, i. 336; Rutherford, i. 170; Simpson, ii. 47; Smart, i. 89; Westerby, ii. 51; ii. 132, 138; Woodville Woodman, i. 170, 212.
Denning, Inspector, ii. 287, 289, 336.
Derby, Lord, ii. 177, 294.
Devonport case, The, i. 175.
Dickson, Col., i. 220, 315.
Dilke, Ashton, ii. 216, 289, 308, 347.
Dillwyn, L. L., ii. 224, 303, 375.
Disestablishment, i. 265.
Dispatch, Weekly, i. 186, 233; ii. 265.
Disraeli, B., i. 222, 309; ii. 85, 245.
Donnybrook Fair, At, i. 32.
Drysdale, Dr C., ii. 24.
Drysdale, Dr J., ii. 138.
Dublin, In, i. 261.
Duel, Challenged to a, ii. 259.

EARLY closing legislation, ii. 401.
Echo, i. 319; ii. 239.
Education, i. 4; of his children, i. 116, 347.
Eight hours' question, The, ii. 189, 413, 417.
Election addresses, i. 264, 393.
,, colours, i. 267.
,, funds, i. 263, 267, 278, 396, 400; ii. 265.
,, work, gratuitous, i. 266.
Emerson, R. W., i. 388.
Employer and employed. (*See Master and Servant.*)
Employers' Liability Bill, i. 269; ii. 49, 259, 369, 374, 380, 402, 406, 415.
Enfield, Viscount, i. 147.
Enlisting, i. 26.
Esquiros, A., i. 114.
Evidence Amendment Act (*see also Affirmation and Oath*), i. 129, 169, 284, 288; ii. 216.
Examiner, i. 353, 400.
Expunge the resolutions of exclusion, Motion to, ii. 404, 419.

FANATICAL Monkeys, The, i. 133, 233, 291; ii. 76, 151.
Farrar, Archdeacon, ii. 116.
Favre, Jules, i. 314, 320, 322.
Fawcett, Prof. H., ii. 23.
Fencing, i. 39.
Fenian Brotherhood, The, i. 253.
Ferrier, Dr, ii. 138.
Financial Reformer, The, ii. 68.
First pamphlet, i. 23.
Firth, J. F. B., ii. 216.
Fishing, i. 6, 116; ii. 99, 103, 380, 417.
Flint, Professor, ii. 56, 120, 125.
Flourens, G., i. 322.
Foote, G. W., i. 359, 394; ii. 87, 92, 316, 324, 412.
Forcibly ejected from the House of Commons, ii. 286.
Forster, W. E., ii. 195.
Fournichon, L., i. 317.
Fowler, Sir R., ii. 226, 271, 287, 374.
Fowler, W., i. 397.
France, i. 154, 312.
Fraser, Bishop, ii. 161.
Freeman, The, ii. 285.
Freemasonry, i. 203.
Freethinker, The, ii. 316, 324.
French elections, Nominated at the, i. 321.
Friendly Societies, ii. 404.

"G. R." i. 123.
Gambetta, L., i. 317, 321.
Garibaldi, i. 67, 114, 150, 170, 203, 214.
Garrison, W. L., i. 384, 386.
Gibson, Rev. Marsden, ii. 141, 407.
Gibson, Milner, i. 142.
Gibson, J. G. (Att.-Gen. for Ireland), ii. 226.
Giffard, Sir H. (Lord Halsbury), i. 274, 311; ii. 235, 239, 255, 337. (*See also Counsel.*)
Gilpin, C., i. 265, 268, 394; ii. 65.
Girardin, E. de, i. 330.
Gladstone, W. E., i. 144, 148, 222, 251, 258, 262, 267, 272, 310, 390; ii. 164, 192, 209, 226, 239, 242, 269, 282, 297, 338, 345, 365, 369, 391, 416, 419, 426.
Goldsmith's Row, Working Men's Hall in, i. 47.
Gorst, Sir J., ii. 243, 261, 267, 294.
Gospels, Early Criticism of the, i. 16, 22, 63, 84; ii. 148.
Gospels and the Thirty-nine Articles, The, i. 8.

Grahame, Cuninghame, ii. 382, 384, 414.
Grand Orient of France, i. 204.
Grant, Rev. B., i. 19, 73, 84, 158, 160, 166; ii. 39.
Grantham, W., ii. 75, 257. (*See also Counsel.*)
Granville, Lord, i. 314.
Grote, G., ii. 16, 176.
Guernsey methods, i. 189.
Gurney, J., i. 153, 264, 276, 394, 398.
Guyot, Yves, i. 331.

Habits and surroundings, ii. 97.
Hall of Science, City Road, i. 219.
,, Old Street, i. 248, 336, 343.
Hamilton, Lord G., ii. 308, 375.
Hamilton, Sir W., ii. 213.
Harcourt, Sir W. V., ii. 295, 334, 405.
Harrison, Rev. A. J., i. 338, 341, 342, 354; ii. 39.
Harrison, Frederic, i. 319.
Hartington, Lord, ii. 336.
Harvey, T., i. 94.
Headlam, Rev. S., ii. 23, 275.
Henley, Lord, i. 265, 268, 294.
Herbert, Auberon, ii. 82.
Herzen, A., i. 115, 204.
Hicks-Beach, Sir M., ii. 358, 361, 362, 371, 405.
Hobbes, T., ii. 115, 129.
Holbach, ii. 116.
Holker, Sir J., ii. 219, 265, 269.
Holyoake, Austin, i. 21, 132, 139, 142, 144, 218, 267, 285, 332, 390, 394; ii, 12, 16.
Holyoake, G. J., i. 21, 64, 69, 78, 128, 175, 332; ii. 16, 35, 65, 142, 223, 277.
Home life, i. 111.
Home Rule, i. 258; ii. 192, 200, 363, 369.
Home sold up, The, i. 301.
Homeless, i. 117.
Hooper, A., i. 25, 42, 276.
Hopps, Rev. J. Page, i. 143.
Hopwood, C. H., ii. 219, 358.
Horsley, Rev. J. W., ii. 23.
Howell, G., i. 220, 319.
Hubbard, J. G., ii. 271.
Huddersfield, Difficulties at, i. 240.
Huddersfield Examiner, The, ii. 66, 73.
Hugo, V., i. 65; ii. 162

"Humanity's Gain from Unbelief," 141, 407.
Hunger, i. 25.
Hunter, Dr W. A., ii. 389, 419. (*also Counsel.*)
Hutchings, W., i. 166.
Huxley, Prof., i. 341; ii. 128, 151.
HydePark Meetings:—SundayTradi Bill, i. 52; Government Reform Bi i. 81; Garibaldi, i. 214; Refo League, i. 224, 234; Parks Reg lation Bill, i. 372; Peace Demo strations, ii. 82; Grant to Prin of Wales, ii. 84; Constitutio Rights, ii. 308.
Hyndman, H. M., ii. 414, 417.

"I believe," i. 168
"Iconoclast," Use of the name, i. 144.
Illingworth, A., ii. 258, 337.
"Impeachment of the House of Bru wick," i. 306; ii. 225, 230.
India, ii. 108, 198, 409, 416, 426.
India, Visit to, ii. 106, 409.
Inniscarra, Right of way at, i. 33.
Investigator, i. 64, 79, 87, 95, 97, 1 119.
Italy, The cause of liberty in, i. 1 214; ii. 192, 198.
Ireland, i. 29, 252; ii. 192.
"Ireland Society," The, i. 259.
Irish Question, Essay on the, i. 257
Irish Land Bill, The, ii. 274.

James, Sir H., ii. 215, 273, 391, (*See also Counsel.*)
Jessel, Sir George, ii. 19, 29.
Jingoism, ii. 82.
John Street Institution, The, i. 21
Jones, B. B., i. 17, 62, 218.
Jones, Ernest, i. 82, 232, 268, 378.
Jones, Lloyd, i. 319.
Judges before whom Mr Bradla appeared—
Baggallay, L.J., ii. 262, 292.
Blackburn, Lord, i. 288, 290; 322.
Bovill, L.C.J., i. 287.
Bramwell, L.J., i. 139, 144; ii. 262, 322.
Brett, L.J., i. 286; ii. 27, 292, 307, 355.
Byles, J. i. 187.
Channell, Baron, i. 187, 287.
Cleasby, Baron, i. 147, 287.

dges—*continued.*
Cockburn, L.C.J., i. 287, 293; ii. 21, 23, 36, 179.
Coleridge, L.C.J., ii. 215, 278, 292, 322, 327, 346.
Cotton, L.J., ii. 27, 305, 307, 355.
Denman, J., ii. 278, 292, 305.
Erle, L.C.J., i. 187.
Field, J., ii. 79, 320, 321.
Fitzgerald, Lord, ii. 322.
Grove, J., ii. 74, 278, 280 306, 351.
Hawkins, J., ii. 292, 305, 392.
Holker, L.J., ii. 305.
Huddleston, Baron, ii. 306, 351, 393.
Keating, J., i. 187, 287.
Kelly, L.C. Baron, i. 147, 287, 288.
Lindley, J., ii. 74, 280, 355.
Lush, J., ii. 22, 262.
Manisty, J., ii. 306, 320, 392.
Martin, Baron, i. 141.
Mathew, J., ii. 260, 320, 346.
Mellor, J., i. 288, 294, 295; ii. 21, 25.
Prentice, S., Q.C. (arbitrator), i. 285.
Selborne, Lord Chancellor, ii. 322.
Smith, Montague, J., i. 284, 287. (*See also Counsel.*)
Stephen, J., ii. 318, 320, 346, 354.
Watkin Williams, J., 278, 292, 306, 320.
Watson, Lord, ii. 322.
Willes, J., i. 141, 297.
Williams, J., i. 187.
Wood, Vice-Chancellor, i. 282.

ANT, ii. 122.
elly, Col., i. 115, 253, 256.
enealy, Dr, i. 377.
ipling, Rudyard, i. 213; ii. 198.
nowlton Pamphlet, prosecution of, ii. 16, 20, 33, 175.

ABOUCHERE, H., i. 400; ii. 197, 209, 215, 234, 240, 261, 271, 275, 279, 284, 297, 303, 308, 319, 334, 341, 347, 359, 368, 374, 414.
abour Bureau, ii. 191, 369.
ancashire relief, i. 206, 216.
and laws, Reform of the, i. 129, 264, 375; ii. 179, 182, 368.
ansdowne, Marquis of, i. 149.
aw, Harriet, i. 129, 249; ii. 65.
aw Times, The, ii. 321.
awson, Rev. T., i. 170.
awsuits:—
Att. Gen. (trial at bar), ii. 91, 351.
Bolton, i. 77.
Lawsuits—*continued.*
Clarke, ii. 91, 260.
De Rin, i. 284.
D vonport, i. 182.
Edgcumbe, ii. 73.
English Joint Stock Bank, i. 282.
Erskine, ii. 91, 96, 109, 307, 321.
Gossett, ii. 91, 346.
Gurney, ii. 91, 306, 320.
Huddersfield, i. 243.
Knowlton pamphlet, ii. 16, 20, 33.
Laker, ii. 79.
Mackay's libellous "Life" (various suits), ii. 397.
Mirfield, i. 297.
National Reformer, i. 137.
Newdegate, ii. 91, 322.
Peters, ii. 109, 393.
Queen (Sir H. Tyler), ii. 91, 316, 327.
Razor, i. 290.
St Stephen's Review, ii. 392.
Wigan, i. 168.
Wyatt, i. 48.
Layard, Sir A. H., i. 280, 369.
"Leaves," i. 30.
Lectures at—Accrington, i. 77; Altrincham, i. 194; Ashton-under-Lyne, i. 260; Bedlington, i. 239; Blyth, i. 249; Boardman s Edge, i. 199; Bolton, i. 77; Bradford, i. 74; Chesterfield, i. 198; Congleton, ii. 55; Darwen, i. 313; ii. 53; Dewsbury, i. 200; Doncaster, i. 74, 76; Edinburgh, ii. 56; Glasgow, i. 78; Guernsey, i. 189; Halifax, i. 77; Huddersfield, i. 202, 241, 245, 260; Leeds, i. 200; Leigh, i. 196; Liverpool, i. 238; Manchester, i. 246; Newcastle, i. 73; Newton Abbot, i. 207; Northampton, i. 74; Norwich, i. 170, 308; Oxford, ii. 52; Plymouth, i. 175; Portsmouth, i. 250; Rochdale, i. 196; Scarborough, ii. 58; Seghill, i. 251; Shaw, i. 195; Sheffield, i. 72, 76; Sowerby Bridge, i. 306, 308; Stourbridge, i. 306; Sunderland, i. 73; Warrington, i. 196; Wigan, i. 162; Yarmouth, i. 171.
Lees, Dr F. R., i. 268.
Lennox, Lord H., ii. 225.
Leno, J. B., i. 53.
Lepard & Co., i. 2, 7, 36.
Leverson, M., i. 99, 290.
Lewis, Sir George, ii. 280.
Linton, W. J., i. 109, 130.
Literary Work, i. 23, 63; ii. 103.

Liverpool Daily Post, i. 376.
Living Age, ii. 55.
Lovett, William, i. 8.
Lunatic visitors, ii. 59.

Macdonald, A., i. 376.
Magee, Dr, i. 308; ii. 149, 159, 371.
Magistrates—
D'Eyncourt, Mr, ii. 289.
Figgins, Alderman, ii. 20, 22.
Flowers, Mr, ii. 280.
Mayor, Lord, ii. 317.
Vaughan, Mr, ii. 28, 72, 280.
Marjoribanks, E. (Lord Tweedmouth), ii. 255, 303.
Malthus, Rev. T., ii. 169.
Malthusian advocacy, i. 125, ; ii. 28, 171, 247, 387, 414.
Malthusian League, The, ii. 28.
Manchester Martyrs, The, i. 256.
Manchester poisoning case, A, i. 91.
Manning, Cardinal, i. 341, 374, 389; ii. 93, 239, 252, 309.
Marine adventure, A, i. 181.
Market rights and tolls, ii. 377, 379, 414.
Marriage, i. 48.
Marriage, Views on, ii. 161.
Marsden, Mark E., i. 7.
Martin, Emma, ii. 64.
Martineau, Dr, ii. 123.
Marx, Dr K., i. 331.
Master and servant, i. 123, 129, 264. (*See Employers' Liability Bill.*)
Materialism, ii. 127.
May, Sir E., ii. 216, 230.
Mayne, Sir R., i. 222.
Mazzini, i. 69, 114, 150.
M'Carthy, J., ii. 238.
M'Sorley, Rev. H., i. 102.
Medical students, Rowdyism of, ii. 83.
Melvill, W. H., i. 137.
Memorials, ii. 110.
Merewether, C. G., i. 268, 394; ii. 209.
Metaphysical Club, The, i. 341.
Mill, James, ii. 161.
Mill, J. S., i. 125, 139, 142, 149, 267, 271, 275, 278; ii. 120, 161, 175, 214.
Miners, i. 376.
Mitchell, G., "One from the Plough," i. 378.
Money, Attacked for earning, i. [illegible], 174, 197.
"Monkey" story. (*See Fanatical Monkeys.*)
Moore, R., i. 139, 142.
Morley, J., ii. 116, 177, 216, 227, 239, 276, 332, 347, 390, 420.
Morley, S., i. 82, 374, 392; ii. 218, 276, 301, 313, 359.
Mott, Lucretia, ii. 6.
Müller, Prof. Max, ii. 121.
Mundella, A. J., ii. 191, 292, 308,
Mursell, Rev. A., i. 279; ii. 39, 408.

Naples Colour Company, i. 100,
Napoléon, Emperor Louis, i. 64, 125, 312.
Napoléon, Prince Jérome, i. 328.
National expenditure, i. 264.
National Liberal Club, ii. 93.
National Secular Society, i. 78; 13, 14, 86, 106, 246, 253, 258, 410.
National Reformer, i. 111, 119, ii. 14, 18, 259, 278, 304, 308, 332, 353, 363; and Governm prosecutions, i. 137; and the master General, i. 150.
Newcastle Chronicle, Daily, i. *Weekly*, i. 273, 400; ii. 80.
Newdegate, C. N., i. 14; ii. 13, 271, 277, 292, 295, 321, 371,
Newman, Prof., i. 288, 341.
Nineteenth Century, ii. 252, 256,
"No Popery" riots, i. 246.
Norton, Lord, ii. 254.
Northampton elections, i. 263, ii. 92, 209, 263, 301, 349, 359,
Northcote, Sir S., i. 263; ii. 203, 228, 242, 265, 282, 295, 315, 345, 372.
Norwood, C. H., ii. 249, 359.

Oath of Allegiance, ii. 211; administered, ii. 229.
Oath question, Cost of contesting i. 288; ii. 399.
Oaths Bill, ii. 281, 296, 303, 378, (*See also Affirmation Bill and dence Amendment.*)
Observer, i. 315.
Odger, George, i. 267, 280, 315, 352, 373, 392, 394; ii. 81.
Odium Theologicum raised at N ampton, The, i. 267.
"Old woman" story, The, ii. 77.
"Oppressed of all nations, To th 205.
Origin of Bradlaugh family, i. 1.
Orsini, Felice, i. 64.
"Outlaw or citizen?" i. 292.
Owen, Robert, i. 78, 159, 389; ii.

ER, Rev. J. G., i. 4, 8, 13, 19, 23, 27, 107, 167.
t, Dr, ii. 150.
e, T., i. 158, 218, 321, 333, 378; 111, 117, 140, 153, 165.
Mall Gazette, i. 235; ii. 80, 276, 3, 305.
heism, ii. 121.
l Gendarmes, i. 155.
er, Rev. Dr, ii. 71.
s Regulation Bill, i. 372.
iamentary candidature, First ought of, i. 263.
iamentary struggle, The, ii. 203.
ell, C. S., ii. 193, 239, 244, 247, 8, 358.
e demonstrations, ii. 82.
son, Karl, i. 128.
etual Pensions, ii. 201, 374, 379, 6.
onality, Estimate of his, ii. 421.
rs and Lord Salisbury, ii. 385.
lips, Wendell, i. 384; ii. 3.
ps, P., i. 394; ii. 207.
ry, i. 44.
nd, i. 109, 217.
cy, Early, i. 79, 127.
tical Education, First steps in, i. 6.
itivists and the Franco-Prussian ar, i. 314, 319.
nitive Methodist, The, i. 275; *uarterly Review*, i. 249.
ice of Wales, The, i. 205, 306, 310; . 80, 84.
nters' Journal, The, i. 134.
clamation of the Irish Republic, 253.
portional Representation, ii. 201.
ilists, Encounters with, i. 307, 308; . 54.
rch, i. 186.
at, Felix, i. 204.

AKER Discussion Society, A, i. 58.
Questionable" Book, A, i. 310.

THMINES Church, At, i. 31.
soner, The, i. 23, 60, 62.
clus, Elie, i. 323; Elisée, i. 114, 323.
cruits and the Captain, The, i. 29.
form League, Irish, i. 261, 270.
,, ,, National, i. 220.
,, ,, Political, i. 81.
ligious Orders in France, Laws gainst, i. 331.
Republican Club, London, i. 309.
,, Movement, i. 310, 352; ii. 166.
Reynolds Newspaper, i. 150.
Richard, H., ii. 248.
Richards, H. C., ii. 349, 359.
Riding, i. 39.
Rogers, Thomas, i. 41, 48, 90, 93.
,, Thorold, ii. 230.
Rollin, Ledru, i. 65, 321.
Rossa, O'Donovan, i. 382.
Royal Commission, Examined before the, i. 57.
Ruskin, J., ii. 181.

Sacrifices of the poor, ii. 96, 401.
Salisbury, Lord, ii. 304, 369, 385, 393, 414.
Saturday Review, The, i. 133, 142, 233, 236, 247, 272, 275, 291; ii. 302.
Savage, J., i. 12, 19.
Schœlcher, V., i. 321.
Schooling, i. 4.
Scotsman, The, i. 373.
Secular Society, London, i. 78; National. (*See National Secular Society.*)
Secularism, i. 332; ii. 142.
Security Laws, Repeal of the, i. 149.
Select Committee (Parliamentary struggle), First, ii. 218; Second, ii. 227, 231.
Seymour, Digby, ii. 178. (*See also Counsel.*)
Sheffield inundation, i. 218.
Sheffield Telegraph, ii. 210.
Smith, Joshua B., i. 206, 385; ii. 6.
,, Goldwin, ii. 276.
,, W. H., ii. 374, 391, 419, 425; & Sons, i. 130, 304.
Smoking, ii. 10.
Socialism, ii. 185.
Somerville Club, The, ii. 93.
Southwark Election, i. 280.
Souvenir, A Northampton, i. 268, 277.
Spain, i. 154, 351; ii. 427.
Speaker, The (Sir H. Brand), ii. 216, 224, 260, 265, 282, 289, 299, 304 337, 346, 359 (Sir A. Peel); ii. 361
Spectator, The, ii. 183.
Spencer, H., ii. 127, 151.
Spinoza, ii. 42, 116, 122.
Spiritualism, i. 248, 343.
Sporting Times and Dr Shorthouse The, i. 146, 286.
Spurgeon, Rev. C. H., ii. 78, 210.
Star, Morning, i. 150, 186, 225.

St James's Gazette, ii. 194, 337.
St Luke's Hospital, N.Y., ii. 9.
Suez Canal, The, ii. 53.
Suffrage, The, Adult, i. 129; Manhood, i. 125, 129; Universal, i. 222; Woman, ii. 197.
Sumner, C., i. 384; ii. 3, 6.
Sunday Times, The, i. 233.
Swinburne, A. C., i. 44, 311; ii. 309.

Tablet, The, i. 186.
Talandier, A., i. 114, 204.
Taxation, i. 264.
Taylor, P. A., i. 82, 109.
Telegraph, The Daily, i. 143, 269.
Temperance Advocacy, i. 29.
Theism, ii. 121.
Thiers, A., i. 322, 371.
Thomson, James ("B.V."), i. 40, 44, 49, 80, 91, 96, 109, 117, 133, 210; ii. 287.
Times, The, i. 143, 150, 225, 234, 275, 373, 376, 400; ii. 36, 183, 264, 292, 318, 377, 385.
Tissot, Ch., i. 318, 320.
Torrens, M'Cullagh, ii. 337, 345, 359.
Trades Unions, i. 269.
Trafalgar Square: Meetings in, i. 223, 224, 231; Right of do., ii. 382, 384, 404.
Trelawney, Sir J., i. 169.
Trimby, Elizabeth, i. 35.
Truck Act Amendment, ii. 191, 369, 374, 377, 379.
Truelove, Edward, i. 64, 139, 142, 267; ii. 22, 28, 50, 85.
Turberville Legacy, ii. 31.
Tyler, Sir H., ii. 92, 238, 291, 308, 316, 324, 369.
Tyndall, Professor, ii. 137.

Unitarians, i. 131, 183, 380; ii. 319.
United States, First visit to the, i. 380; Second visit, ii. 1.
University College, ii. 93.
Utilitarianism, i. 334.

Vaccination, i. 275; Royal Commission on, ii. 414.
Vickery, Dr Alice, ii. 24.
Victoria Park, i. 9, 23.
Voltaire, i. 202; ii. 116, 117, 151, 153.
Voysey, Rev. C., i. 134.

Walker, Gen. Sir Beauchamp, i. 35.
Walpole, Spencer, ii. 219, 227, 236.
Walter, J., ii. 2, 271.
Ward, Mrs H., ii. 121, 151.
Warner Place Hall and its habitues, i. 11.
Warton, ii. 271.
Washburne, E. K., i. 322.
"Watch" Story, The, i. 274, 291; ii. 63.
Watts, C., i. 133, 267, 311, 394, 400; ii. 16, 30, 35, 77, 87, 100.
Watts, J., i. 63, 123, 128, 131, 166, 208, 212.
Watson, J., i. 139; ii. 16.
Webb-Peploe, Rev. H. W., ii. 78, 314.
Wedderburn, Sir W., ii. 107, 410.
Wigan, Difficulties at, i. 163.
Wilberforce, Canon, ii. 70, 72.
Wilkes, John, ii. 363, 365.
Williamson, J., i. 117, 175.
Wilson, Henry, i. 385; ii. 3, 9.
Windeyer, Judge, ii. 179.
Wolff, Sir H. D., ii. 217, 224, 338, 369, 375.
Woodhull, Victoria, i. 383.
Worms, Baron H. de, ii. 227, 230, 337.
Wright, Sir T., ii. 209.

Yates, Edmund, ii. 78.
Youth, i. 17.

146
630

A. Bonner, Printer, 1 & 2, Took's Court, London, E.C.

128084

DA
565
B7
B6x

Bonner, Hypathia.
Charles Bradlaugh.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT TYLER
DA565.B7 B6x
Charles Bradlaugh,
0 00 01 0087478 3